

The Proto-eucharistic Pericopes of the New Testament:
A Canonical Approach

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ABSTRACT

That the Eucharist is understood to be vital to the life of both the individual and the church is evidenced in the writings of the New Testament, of the Fathers of the church, and of theologians throughout the centuries. For the Roman Catholic church, the Eucharist is, the “source and summit” for the life of the church and its members (LG 11; SC 10). Not only does the church find its origins in the Eucharist, but also the Eucharist builds up the Church. Systematic Theology has developed eucharistic theology but exegetical work to date has been piecemeal with no attempt to produce a coherent synthesis of the strands of eucharistic theology found within the New Testament.

A survey of the earliest church scholars’ work uncovers a vast number of pericopes used in their writings touching on the Eucharist as well as six regularly recurring themes. The Institution Narratives (Matt 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22:14-23; 1 Cor 11:23-26) are analysed in order to categorise the eucharistic-allusive texts of the New Testament. The resulting categorisation reveals that John 6:51-59 is most closely connected to the Institution Narratives thus providing five proto-eucharistic pericopes as foundational texts which represent the major early church communities and three strands of eucharistic tradition.

Brevard Childs’s Canonical Approach allows the study of these pericopes by building upon data gleaned through a historical-critical study. Using the three lenses of analysis, canonical content, context, and conversation, the approach seeks to understand the relationship of the pericopes to one another, to the individual books, to the New Testament, and to the Old Testament. These lenses honour the close relationship between the pericopes along with their individual emphases, allow the data to be “heard” in a

theological manner, and present the biblical theology of the Eucharist as preserved in the New Testament.

Today's believer needs to hold these accounts in view in spite of the tensions among them in order to come to a more complete understanding of the mystery that is the Eucharist. That the six themes identified in the early church writings are uncovered through the Canonical Approach honours our common heritage.

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Introduction

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Throughout the history of the church, the Eucharist has been viewed as key to the individual Christian and to the community. The evidence of the importance of the Eucharist is found in the writings of the New Testament, of the Fathers of the church, and of theologians throughout the centuries. The Eucharist is, according to the Second Vatican Council, the “source and summit” for the life of the church and its members (LG 11; SC 10). Not only does the church find its origins in the Eucharist, but also the Eucharist builds up the church. In one of a series of homilies on the importance of the Eucharist, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, now Pope Benedict XVI, stated, “The Church originates, and has her continuing existence, in the Lord’s communicating himself to men, entering into communion with them, and thus bringing them into communion with one another. The Church is the Lord’s communion with us, which at the same time brings about the true communication of men with one another.”¹ The importance of the Eucharist should lead to an interest in understanding its foundations in the New Testament writings. Therefore, any study should begin with exegetical work on the eucharistic pericopes found therein. While Systematic Theology has developed eucharistic theology, there is no exegetical synthesis of the theology of the Eucharist as presented in the New Testament. Exegetical work to date on the eucharistic pericopes has been piecemeal rather than an attempt to produce a coherent synthesis of the apparently divergent strands found within the New Testament (see Chapter 1: Status Quaestionis: The Eucharist in the New Testament, below).

¹ Joseph Ratzinger, *God is Near Us: The Eucharist, the Heart of Life* (trans. Henry Taylor; ed. Stephan Otto Horn and Vinzenz Pfnür; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003), 7.

The New Testament contains three strands of eucharistic tradition represented in the five proto-eucharistic² pericopes (Matt 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22:14-23; John 6:51-59; and 1 Cor 11:23-26) whose commonalities and differences bear investigation. While today's diverse Christian communities began with the same stories, they came to different appreciations of the place of the Eucharist in their life of faith. Nonetheless, despite these divergences, contemporary Christian churches find the source of their eucharistic theologies in the same aggregate of foundational New Testament pericopes thereby manifesting a common core to these theologies. This common core reveals the canonical nature of the foundational texts.

Furthermore, throughout the ages, various aspects of the Eucharist have been highlighted by the diverse Christian communities. In present-day ecumenical dialogues, uncovering this common core, or the canonical theology of the Eucharist, will allow the churches to reach a common understanding of the place of the Eucharist within each tradition.

2. RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The research hypothesis employed in this project holds that by using the canonical approach of Brevard Childs we will uncover the theology of the Eucharist as present in the canonical Scriptures. As stated above, exegetical work on the Eucharist in the New Testament has been done in a piecemeal fashion. In contrast, this project seeks to study in a systematic way specific proto-eucharistic pericopes in order to discover the underlying theology of the Eucharist. Exegetical work using the canonical approach has been done by the author on the four Institution Narratives (a set of pericopes so named because scholars agree they point to the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper: Matt 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22: 14-23; and 1 Cor 11: 23-26). The foundational

² The term "proto-" is used in the sense of "anterior, relating to a precursor." In other words, the pericopes chosen are those which lead most directly to what the Church later termed "the Eucharist."

texts on which the different theologies of the Eucharist are built have a common theological core that could be uncovered if one allows the five proto-eucharistic pericopes to inform one another.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The style guide chosen for use in bibliography and footnote entries is found in *The SBL Handbook of Style*.³ A short description of the purpose of each chapter is given below. As well, the contents of the appendices are described briefly here; further details of each appendix are given in the text of the thesis the first time its contents are referenced. The first appendix is not mentioned in the text; Appendix I: Greek Texts and Translation contains the author's translation of the five pericopes.

Chapter 1: Status Quæstionis: The Eucharist in the New Testament outlines the work done on the Eucharist from a biblical studies point of view. The review begins with Patristic writers who, it must be remembered, did not have a copy of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible with them as they wrote on other matters.⁴ For the majority of these writers, their aim was to address issues other than the Eucharist (e.g., the natures of Christ, the nature of the church, etc.); they were not presenting a systematic, well-footnoted exposé on the Eucharist. The expected outcome of this review was the identification of a suitably small number of core texts representing at least one other early community to add to the voices of the communities which are represented in the Institution Narratives. Following these early church writers, the chapter fast-forwards to key medieval scholars and then to Thomas Aquinas as he also used the eucharistic texts in his discussions. Finally, three modern authors who have done major studies on the Eucharist from a biblical studies point of view are presented. Even with the medieval and

³ Patrick H. Alexander, et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999), 38–67. At times, especially with lengthy footnotes, the superscript for the footnote may appear on a page earlier than the footnote itself.

⁴ Later scholars provided the citations for the biblical quotes or allusions found in Patristic works.

modern scholars' work there turned out to be no suitably small number of pericopes intimately linked to the Eucharist while, at the same time, representing the main communities of the early church as represented in the New Testament texts.⁵ However, this survey revealed six themes which appeared regularly in the texts.⁶ The best approach for this study can be chosen only after the body of texts to be analysed are identified.

Because the analysis in Chapter 1 revealed the vast number of pericopes scholars have considered relevant to a discussion of the Eucharist in the New Testament, we required a method for categorising the eucharistic-allusive texts. Chapter 2: The Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes presents systematic criteria for analysing the relevant New Testament pericopes based on the unique features of the Institution Narrative texts: namely, that all are linked to the Last Supper, have sacrificial language (Jesus' body and blood), references to both bread and wine, and have cultic aspects in the form of descriptions of words spoken by Jesus and his actions along with the expectation that the ritual be repeated. These criteria allow the placement of the many eucharistic-allusive texts into concentric circles based on their level of similarity to the Institution Narratives. This analysis identifies five pericopes which are closely related to the Eucharist and, at the same time, represent the major early church communities. Following this categorisation, language and anthropological issues are discussed in order to justify the inclusion in this project of a portion of John's Bread of Life discourse.⁷ The next step in the chapter presents the scholarship on the nature of John 6:51-59: is it eucharistic or

⁵ The main communities of the New Testament period are those of the evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as well as the early church communities established by Paul.

⁶ While the number of Scripture passages utilised by the various scholars is vast, six themes became apparent within these texts: 1) body and blood: the elements of bread and wine undergo a change, becoming the body and blood of Christ and they nourish the recipient both physically and spiritually; 2) sacrificial aspect; 3) thanksgiving aspect (the very meaning of Eucharist); 4) ecclesial aspect which brings about not only union with other participants but also with Christ; 5) knowledge aspect; and 6) typology. Further explanation is found in Chapter 1.

⁷ The choice to add John 6:51-59 to the study follows in the footsteps of the early church scholars who also chose this text.

not-eucharistic? The final section of the chapter presents the reasons for the beginning and ending verses of each of the chosen five proto-eucharistic pericopes.

The choice of five pericopes for analysis necessitates an approach which will respect each community's presentation of the Eucharist, honouring each voice and their inter-relatedness. Chapter 3: Methodology presents a detailed analysis of the canonical approach as developed by Brevard Childs in order to ascertain its suitability for the analysis required in this project. The choice of the canonical approach is not explained until this time due to the fact that the viability of an exegetical approach or method depends upon the question being asked and the data which is to be used for analysis. With five texts which have different emphases, the canonical approach is shown to be suitable for the study. The chapter ends with the plan for the final two chapters of the dissertation.

Chapter 4: Historical-Critical Analysis of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes presents the historical-critical analysis of each pericope independently. The pericopes will be analysed in the order of the assumed writing of the books in which they are found in order to uncover the ongoing reactualisation of each community's understanding of the Eucharist. For each pericope, this chapter presents general information about the biblical book (authorship, dating, intended audience, place of writing) followed by verse by verse analysis of the text. The intent is to present generally held scholarship rather than weighing the arguments which scholars utilise in their work because the purpose of this step is to gather the data for analysis through the lenses of the canonical approach.

Chapter 5: A Canonical Reading of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes follows the canonical approach as outlined in Chapter 3. The preparatory step for a canonical reading, historical-critical analysis of each pericope, is presented in Chapter 4 and forms the foundation upon which the canonical reading will unfold. The first framework, the canonical content, looks at the data revealed in the historical-critical analysis but explores that data in reference to the other four proto-eucharistic pericopes. After reviewing each

pericope in order of the assumed dating of its book, the changes seen in the historical development of the eucharistic words and actions are presented. This “content” step is presented first as it is the framework which analyses the details of the pericopes.

Following the “canonical content” analysis, we move outward to analyse the pericopes’ contexts to see how each functions within its own New Testament book. The first portion of the analysis is presented by canonical order because interpretation of any text is informed by its context. Once the analysis moves beyond the individual book, the order of presentation shifts to the themes uncovered in Chapter 1 with links first within the New Testament and then links to Old Testament texts. In this context step, we continue to move from close links to wider ones.

The “canonical conversation” reviews the data uncovered in the other two frameworks and presents the biblical theology of the Eucharist. This reading respects the varied voices revealed in the canonical content and canonical context steps in order to adapt the biblical teachings on the Eucharist to our modern context. These voices are heard in a complementary rather than an adversarial manner. This conversation continues the conversations which occurred among the various texts which were included within the canonical New Testament. Rather than privileging one particular voice or harmonising away any differences, this conversation seeks the value of each in an additive manner.⁸ Further details of the process are found in Chapter 3.

With the analysis completed, the Conclusion chapter reviews the project as a whole outlining the reasons for its structure and the threads which lead the project from small details to larger and larger contexts to present the common core, or the canonical

⁸ Robert W. Wall, “The Significance of a Canonical Perspective of the Church’s Scripture,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 539–40.

theology of the Eucharist, as revealed in the five proto-eucharistic pericopes of our canon of Scripture.

The appendices are as follows:

Appendix I: Greek Texts and Translation contains the Greek texts as found in *The Greek New Testament*⁹ and the translation by the author of this dissertation.

Appendix II: Themes Apparent in Relevant Texts presents in chart form the six identified themes related to the Eucharist as discussed in Chapter 1.

Appendix III: Scripture References / Allusions in Relevant Texts presents in chart form the Scripture passages to which the writings discussed in Chapter 1 refer. This chart is representative; it cannot be exhaustive as few of the writers actually indicated what Scripture passage prompted the thought presented.

Appendix IV: Use of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes in the New Testament presents in chart form the authors who used any verse from the proto-eucharistic pericopes in their writings. This chart summarises further the information in Appendix III and is referenced in Chapter 1.

Appendix V: Categorising Eucharistic Pericopes of the New Testament presents in chart form the text of the first section of Chapter 2. In essence, this appendix is a pictorial view of the author's method of categorising the many New Testament pericopes which are allusive to the Eucharist. The aim of this categorisation was to identify a reasonable number of representative texts which are closely connected to the Institution Narratives for analysis in this project.

Appendix VI: The Structure of John Chapter 6 and of the Bread of Life Discourse presents in chart form information mentioned in Chapter 2 as well as in Chapter 4.

⁹ Barbara Aland, et al., *The Greek New Testament* (4th revised ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000).

Appendix VII: Greek Texts Showing Voices presents information about the conversation partners found in the texts as discussed in Chapter 2.

Appendix VIII: Structure of the Gospel of John presents the overall structure of John's gospel indicating the placement of the Johannine proto-eucharistic pericope for use in the discussions of Chapter 4.

The following four appendices are all chart representations of the discussions found in Chapters 4 and 5.

Appendix IX: Comparison of Greek Texts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke presents a "synoptic exercise" on the Greek proto-eucharistic Synoptic Gospels pericopes.

Appendix X: Comparison of Greek Texts of Mark, Luke, and Paul presents a modified "synoptic exercise" on those three proto-eucharistic pericopes.

Appendix XI: Comparison of Greek Texts for Common Features of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul presents in chart form the words which appear in those four proto-eucharistic pericopes.

Finally, Appendix XII: Comparison of Greek Texts for Unique and Common Features of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul presents in chart form the words which are unique to each pericope as well as those which they have in common.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, before being included in the canon the traditions were spoken, then written, read, re-read, and re-interpreted within the communities of believers. By studying the results of this process through a canonical reading of the proto-eucharistic pericopes this project will present a truly theological biblical theology of the Eucharist.

Having stated the problem which was identified as the impetus for this project, having given the research hypothesis which undergirds this project, and having outlined the structure of the thesis, the project begins with a look at how New Testament texts have been used throughout history to develop a theology of the Eucharist.

Chapter 1
Status Quæstionis
The Eucharist in the New Testament

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the work done to date on identifying the theology of the Eucharist in the New Testament. First, the earlier writings will be discussed before delving into the works of the Fathers who wrote before the sixth century and whose writings are representative of the approaches of the time. Secondly, the work of medieval scholars up to and including Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274)¹ will be explored, and finally, several comprehensive eucharistic works by modern scholars will be examined. In all cases, the intent is to investigate which New Testament texts were used and how they were used by the various authors to explain the Eucharist. It is hoped that this investigation will identify a small number of pericopes which are representative of the understanding of the Eucharist as presented in the New Testament. A secondary purpose is to ensure that the approach of this dissertation has not been employed in the literature and that its findings will form an addition to the existing knowledge of the biblical understanding of the Eucharist.

2. THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

There are few works of the Fathers devoted to the Eucharist; rather, their mentions of the Eucharist tend to appear as references or allusions to particular scriptural verses or

¹ Dates for documents, Fathers, and Thomas Aquinas taken from William A. Jurgens, selector and translator, *The Faith of the Early Fathers: Volume 1* (vol. 1 of *The Faith of the Early Fathers: A Source-Book of Theological and Historical Passages from the Christian Writings of the Pre-Nicene and Nicene Eras*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1970).

pericopes as they focus on other “issues” for their audiences. Fathers (such as: Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386), Ambrose of Milan (ca. 333–397), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428)) wrote scriptural commentaries and gave homilies covering eucharistic passages and works known as Mystagogical Catecheses;² other Fathers (such as: John Chrysostom (ca. 344–407), Augustine (354–430), Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), and Leo the Great (Pope 440–461)) made reference to the eucharistic pericopes in their writings on other topics.³ However, according to Robin Darling Young, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–211/216) was “the first to sketch out the main lines of what became the typical description of the Eucharist among later authors like Origen [ca. 185–253/254], Athanasius [ca. 295–373], Cyril of Jerusalem, and their successors among fourth- and fifth-century Greek writers.”⁴ Robin Darling Young points out that the Fathers viewed the Eucharist as “both the atoning sacrifice of Christ and the church’s own cultic sacrifice.”⁵ According to R. J. Halliburton, the Fathers are unequivocal in their belief that communicants receive the body and blood of Christ. He notes that they speak of the bread and the wine as symbols (using words such as *figurae / typoi, antitypoi*) and that the Alexandrian tradition, in particular, focussed on the spiritual nature of communion but maintains that they also held “that the figure, type, or symbol is closely to be identified with that which it symbolizes, and that spiritual interpretations of the benefits of receiving the sacrament are not incompatible with belief in the objective identification of the

² Cyril of Jerusalem, *Five Mystagogical Catecheses*; Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacraments and On the Mysteries*; and Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Catecheses*. Stephen B. Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist: A Scriptural Introduction* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Charis/Servant Publications, 2000), 231.

³ John Chrysostom in *On the Priesthood* and in his scriptural homilies; Cyril of Alexandria in his *Commentary on John*; and Leo the Great in his *Festal Sermons*. Augustine’s sacramental theology was formative for Western liturgical theology and will be discussed briefly below. Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 231.

⁴ Robin Darling Young, “The Eucharist as Sacrifice According to Clement of Alexandria,” in *Rediscovering the Eucharist: Ecumenical Conversations* (ed. Roch A. Kereszty; New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 65.

⁵ Young, “Eucharist as Sacrifice,” 65.

elements with the body and blood of Christ.”⁶

However, before looking at how Clement of Alexandria understood the Eucharist, this chapter will look at the earlier works as the thoughts found in these works constitute the culture in which Clement of Alexandria found himself. In order to understand more easily the volume of material, several steps were undertaken: first, modern scholars’ works were read and the sources they quoted were noted; secondly, “source books”⁷ were consulted for eucharistic themes and for references to Scripture passages considered eucharistic (the Institution Narratives, for example); thirdly, the texts and authors noted in the first two steps were reviewed and key-words which represented well the thoughts of each author were identified; and, finally, the original 10 key-words were grouped into the following six identifiable themes: 1) body and blood: the elements of bread and wine undergo a change, becoming the body and blood of Christ (the modern term is “real presence”) and they nourish the recipient both physically and spiritually; 2) sacrificial aspect; 3) thanksgiving aspect (the very meaning of Eucharist); 4) ecclesial aspect which brings about not only union with other participants but also with Christ; 5) knowledge aspect; and 6) typology.⁸ These themes are itemised in table form in Appendix II: Themes Apparent in Relevant Texts along with indicators of which texts contain each theme. References to these themes are flagged by an asterisk (*) at the end of the specific word in the sections which follow. Another appendix⁹ presents the various Scripture references

⁶ R. J. Halliburton, “The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist,” in *The Study of Liturgy* (rev. ed.; ed. Cheslyn Jones, et al.; London: SPCK, 1992), 249.

⁷ Jurgens, *Faith Volume 1*; Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*; Jurgens, *Faith Volume 3*.

⁸ Note that these themes “came out” of the texts consulted; they were not chosen before the research began.

⁹ Appendix III: Scripture References / Allusions in Relevant Texts. It should be noted that, because not all texts and authors indicated all Scripture references and/or allusions, this table merely gives an impression of the wide range of Scripture verses considered by the authors. It is notable that the sheer volume of these references cannot be treated in depth in a project of this nature. It is from these many references that we must choose a few pericopes which are most closely connected with the Eucharist in the early Church and which also represent many of the communities.

found in the writings mentioned in the following sections. This table reveals graphically the vast number of Scripture passages used by these authors.

2.1. Early Writers and Documents (ca. 110 – ca. 202)

The extant patristic writings which pre-date Clement of Alexandria tend to contain biblical allusions and paraphrases rather than strictly copied and referenced biblical citations such as are expected in today's scholarly world. This section will summarise the findings regarding the Eucharist in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 110), Justin Martyr (ca. 100/110 – ca. 165), and Irenaeus (ca. 140–202), as well as the *Didache* (ca. 140) because these works are the ones which contain references to the Eucharist prior to Clement of Alexandria. It must be remembered that the authors were writing to address other issues rather than teaching about the Eucharist. According to John Norman Davidson Kelly it is clear that they saw the Eucharist as truly Christ's body and blood* and as sacrifice* by the end of the first century if not earlier.¹⁰ That the Eucharist was seen as the accomplishment of the prophecy of Mal 1:10-11¹¹ is evident in these early writings.¹²

¹⁰ “The words of institution, ‘Do this’ (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε), must have been charged with sacrificial overtones for second-century ears.” John Norman Davidson Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (2d ed.; London: A&C Black, 1960), 196.

¹¹ “Oh, that one among you would shut the temple gates to keep you from kindling fire on my altar in vain! I have no pleasure in you, says the LORD of hosts; neither will I accept any sacrifice from your hands, For from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name is great among the nations; And everywhere they bring sacrifice to my name, and a pure offering; For great is my name among the nations, says the LORD of hosts” Mal 1:10-11.

¹² Ignatius's letters (see below); Justin's *Dialogue* (41, 2-3 see below); “God has therefore announced in advance that all the sacrifices offered in His name, which Jesus Christ commanded to be offered, that is, in the Eucharist of the Bread and of the Chalice, which are offered by us Christians in every part of the world, are pleasing to Him. But He refuses to accept your sacrifices and those offered through your priests, saying, [he again quotes Mal 1:10-12]. . . . For Christians were instructed to offer only such prayers, even at their thanksgiving for their food, both liquid and solid, whereby the Passion which the Son of God endured for us is commemorated” (*Dial.* 117, 1). Justin Martyr, *Saint Justin Martyr* (vol. 6 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Thomas B. Falls; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 328; the *Didache* “αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου· ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάραν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.” “For this is the sacrifice mentioned by the Lord: ‘In every place and time, bring me a pure sacrifice. For I am a great King, says the Lord, and my name is considered marvellous among the Gentiles [Mal 1:11, 14]” (*Didache* 14, 3). Bart D. Ehrman, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers*

First, Ignatius of Antioch speaks clearly of the reality of the Eucharist being Christ's body and blood* when he refutes the Docetists' denial of the reality of the Incarnation. For him, Christians were brought into union* with their Lord and one another through the Eucharist.¹³ Ignatius views the Eucharist as medicine* which brings

Volume 1 (vol. 24 of *Loeb Classical Library*; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 438–39; “De celle-ci, parmi les douze prophètes, Malachie a parlé d’avance en ces termes : « Je ne prends pas plaisir en vous, dit le Seigneur tout-puissant, et je n’agrèerai pas de sacrifice de vos mains; car du levant au couchant, mon nom est glorifié parmi les nations, et en tout lieu de l’encens est offert à mon nom, ainsi qu’un sacrifice pur : car mon nom est grand parmi les nations, dit le Seigneur tout-puissant. » Il signifiait très clairement par là que le premier peuple cesserait d’offrir à Dieu, tandis qu’en tout lieu un sacrifice lui serait offert, pur celui-ci, et que son nom serait glorifié parmi les nations” Irenaeus’s *Against Heresies* (4, 17, 5). Irenaeus of Lyons, *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies: Dénonciation et réfutation de la gnose au nom menteur* (Nouvelle édition; Adelin Rousseau; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 460.

¹³ “καταμάθετε δὲ τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας εἰς τὴν χάριν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοῦσαν, πῶς ἐναντίοι εἰσὶν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ. περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου ἢ λελυμένου, οὐ περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος. Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν. οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν. συνέφερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν. πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων καὶ μῆτε κατ’ ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν λαλεῖν μῆτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται. τοὺς δὲ μερισμοὺς φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν.” “But take note of those who spout false opinions about the gracious gift of Jesus Christ that has come to us, and see how they are opposed to the mind of God. They have no interest in love, in the widow, the orphan, the oppressed, the one who is in chains or the one set free, the one who is hungry or the one who thirsts. They abstain from the eucharist and prayer, since they do not confess that the eucharist is the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered on behalf of our sins and which the Father raised in his kindness. And so, those who dispute the gift of God perish while still arguing the point. It would be better for them to engage in acts of love, that they might also rise up. And so it is fitting to avoid such people and not even to speak about them, either privately or in public, but instead to pay attention to the prophets, and especially to the gospel, in which the passion is clearly shown to us and the resurrection is perfected. But flee divisions as the beginning of evils” (*Smyrn.* 6, 2–7, 2). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 302–3. “οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος.” “I have no pleasure in the food that perishes nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, from the seed of David; and for drink I desire his blood, which is imperishable love” (*Rom.* 7, 3). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 278–79. “Σπουδάσετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως.” “Be eager, therefore, to come together more frequently to give thanks and glory [*Or: to celebrate the eucharist and give glory*] to God. For when you frequently gather as a congregation, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his destructive force is vanquished by the harmony of your faith” (*Eph.* 13, 1). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 232–33. “Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι: μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θουσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, τοῖς συνδούλοις μου: ἵνα, ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ θεὸν πράσσητε.” “And so be eager to celebrate just one eucharist. For there is one

immortality.¹⁴

Secondly, as mentioned above, Justin Martyr points to the passage in Malachi to demonstrate the sacrificial nature* of the Eucharist. He uses “thanksgiving*” as a technical term for the “eucharistized bread and wine*” being offered for a memorial of Christ’s passion. For him, the Eucharist is much more than the community’s spiritual recollection. Justin’s language indicates that the Eucharist is linked to Christ’s offering* in the Passion.¹⁵

flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup that brings the unit of his blood, and one altar, as there is one bishop together with the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow slaves. Thus, whatever you do, do according to God” *Philad.* 4. Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 286–87. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 197–8.

¹⁴ “μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ, ὅτι οἱ κατ’ ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυίδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπᾶστω διανοίᾳ, ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.” “I will especially do so if the Lord shows me that all of you to a person are gathering together one by one in God’s grace, in one faith and in Jesus Christ—who is from the race of David according to the flesh, and is both son of man and son of God—so that you may obey the bishop and the presbytery (which is undistracted in mind), breaking one bread, which is a medicine that brings immortality, an antidote that allows us not to die but to live at all times in Jesus Christ” (*Eph.* 20, 2). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 238–41.

¹⁵ “And this food is called among us eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake except one who believes that the things which we teach are true, and has received the washing that is for the remission of sins and for rebirth, and who so lives as Christ handed down. For we do not receive these things as common bread nor common drink; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour having been incarnate by God’s logos took both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food eucharistized through the word of prayer that is from Him, from which our blood and flesh are nourished by transformation, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who became incarnate. For the Apostles in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, thus handed down what was commanded them: that Jesus took bread and having given thanks said: ‘Do this for my memorial, this is my body’; and likewise He took the chalice and having given thanks said: ‘This is my blood’; and gave it to them alone. Which also the wicked demons have imitated in the mysteries of Mithra and handed down to be done; for that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain words said over them in the secret rites of initiation, you either know or can learn” (*First Apology* 66). Justin Martyr, *St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies* (vol. 56 of *Ancient Christian Writers*; trans, intro & notes Leslie William Barnard; New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 70–71. “God speaks through Malachias, one of the twelve Prophets, concerning the sacrifices you then offered up to Him: [then quotes Mal 1:10-12]. By making reference to the sacrifices which we Gentiles offer to Him everywhere, the Eucharistic Bread and the Eucharistic Chalice, He predicted that we should glorify His name, but that you should profane it” (*Dial.* 41). Justin Martyr, *Saint Justin Martyr*, 210. “What lepers had to offer (Lev 14:10) in thanksgiving for cleansing as stated in Lev 14:10 was understood by Justin to be a “prototype of the Eucharistic Bread, which our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to offer in remembrance” (*Dial.* 41). Justin Martyr, *Saint Justin Martyr*, 209

Thirdly, Irenaeus uses language which evokes the Institution Narratives in describing the Eucharist as a sacrificial* offering with the elements recognised as Christ's body and blood*; the Eucharist is the oblation received by the church* from the apostles.¹⁶ As Kelly states, Irenaeus's "witness is, indeed, all the more impressive because he produces it quite incidentally while refuting the gnostic and docetic rejection of the Lord's real humanity."¹⁷

Finally, the *Didache* (ca. 140) contains another early use of the term "Eucharist,"¹⁸

¹⁶ "A [sic] ses disciples aussi il conseillait d'offrir à Dieu les prémices de ses propres créatures, non que celui-ci en eût besoin, mais pour qu'eux-mêmes ne fussent ni stériles ni ingrats. Le pain, qui provient de la création, il le prit, et il rendit grâces, disant : « Ceci est mon corps. » Et la coupe pareillement, qui provient de la création dont nous sommes, il la déclara son sang et il enseigna qu'elle était l'oblation même que l'Église a reçue des apôtres et que, dans le monde entier, elle offre au Dieu qui nous donne la nourriture, comme prémices des propres dons de Dieu sous la nouvelle alliance" (*Contre les hérésies* 4, 17, 5). Irenaeus of Lyons, *Contre les hérésies*, 459–60. "Ainsi donc, l'oblation de l'Église, que le Seigneur a enseigné à offrir dans le monde entier, est réputée sacrifice pur auprès de Dieu et lui est agréable. Ce n'est pas qu'il ait besoin de notre sacrifice, mais celui qui offre est lui-même glorifié du fait qu'il offre, si son présent est accepté" (*Contre les hérésies* (4, 18, 1). Irenaeus of Lyons, *Contre les hérésies*, 461.

¹⁷ "Vains, de toute manière, ceux qui rejettent toute l'« économie » de Dieu, nient le salut de la chair, méprisent sa régénération, en déclarant qu'elle n'est pas capable de recevoir l'incorruptibilité. S'il n'y a pas de salut pour la chair, alors le Seigneur ne nous a pas non plus rachetés par son sang, la coupe de l'eucharistie n'est pas une communion à son sang et le pain que nous rompons n'est pas une communion à son corps. Car le sang ne peut jaillir que de veines, de chairs et de tout le reste de la substance humaine, et c'est pour être vraiment devenu tout cela que le Verbe de Dieu nous a rachetés par son sang, comme le dit son Apôtre : « En lui nous avons la rédemption par son sang, la rémission des péchés. » Et parce que nous sommes ses membres et sommes nourris par le moyen de la création — création que lui-même nous procure, en faisant lever son soleil et tomber la pluie selon sa volonté —, la coupe, tirée de la création, il l'a déclarée son propre sang, par lequel se fortifie notre sang, et le pain, tiré de la création, il l'a proclamé son propre corps, par lequel se fortifient nos corps" (*Contre les hérésies* 5, 2, 2). Irenaeus of Lyons, *Contre les hérésies*, 573–74. "Si donc la coupe qui a été mélangée et le pain qui a été confectionné reçoivent la parole de Dieu et deviennent l'eucharistie, c'est-à-dire le sang et le corps du Christ, et si par ceux-ci se fortifie et s'affermi la substance de notre chair, comment ces gens peuvent-ils prétendre que la chair est incapable de recevoir le don de Dieu consistant dans la vie éternelle, alors qu'elle est nourrie du sang et du corps du Christ et qu'elle est membres de celui-ci, comme le dit le bienheureux Apôtre dans son épître aux Éphésiens : « Nous sommes les membres de son corps, formés de sa chair et de ses os » ? Ce n'est pas de je ne sais quel « homme pneumatique » et invisible qu'il dit cela, « car l'esprit n'a ni os ni chair », mais il parle de l'organisme authentiquement humain, composé de chairs, de nerfs et d'os : car c'est cet organisme même qui est nourri de la coupe qui est le sang du Christ et fortifié par le pain qui est son corps" (*Contre les hérésies* 5, 2, 3). Irenaeus of Lyons, *Contre les hérésies*, 574. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 198.

¹⁸ "Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ

apparently assuming that the link to Jesus' words and actions at the Last Supper was well enough known that the term did not require explanation; in chapters 9 and 10, the Eucharist in the *Didache* has no Institution Narrative and no reference to the body or blood of Jesus or to Jesus' Last Supper.¹⁹ The community of the *Didache* accepted that the bread of the Last Supper and of their Lord's supper was no ordinary bread* and that they needed new categories to understand the Eucharist.²⁰ Through the *Didache*, it is evident that thanksgiving* permeated their lives, that sacrifice* flows from thanksgiving, that Christian sacrifice is spiritual (which differentiates it from pagan sacrifice), and that the prayer of thanksgiving is a perfect garb for sacrifice.²¹ Communities need ecclesial* traditions and traditions need community in which to develop. The Eucharist is meant to be about unity: the bread now broken and scattered may be reassembled and reunited into one. While there are many celebrations of the Eucharist, there is but one church.²² However, the community of the *Didache* separated itself somehow from surrounding

θυσία ὑμῶν.” “On the Lord’s own day [or On the Lord’s day of the Lord], when you gather together, break bread and give thanks [*Or: celebrate the eucharist*] after you have confessed your unlawful deeds, that your sacrifice may be pure. Let no one quarrelling with his neighbour join you until they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled [Cf. Matt 5:23-24]” (*Didache* 14, 1-2). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 438–39.

¹⁹ Hyam Maccoby, “Paul and the Eucharist,” *New Testament Studies* 37 (April 1991): 251; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (vol. 7 of *Sacra Pagina*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1999), 375.

²⁰ Eugene LaVerdiere, *The Eucharist in the New Testament and the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1996), 1–11.

²¹ Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (trans. Francis A. Brunner; Liturgical Studies 8; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 29–49.

²² LaVerdiere, *Eucharist in NT and Early Church*, 128–47; Halliburton, “The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist,” 246; “ὡςπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.” “As this fragment of bread was scattered upon the mountains and was gathered to become one, so may your church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom. For the glory and the power are yours through Jesus Christ forever” (*Didache* 9, 4) Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 430–31; Jurgens, *Faith Volume 1*, 4, 5 n.31.

communities and, in the end, did not survive.²³ The *Didache* also uses the word ἐπιούσιος²⁴ in relation to the eucharistic bread; this word occurs only in the New Testament in the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9-13; Luke 11:2-4) and in patristic texts on those pericopes.²⁵

Having looked briefly at the writings which pre-date Clement of Alexandria, we now turn to his more extensive writings keeping in mind that those earlier writings form the backdrop, or culture, within which Clement understood the Eucharist. It is through those lenses that he explained the Eucharist to his contemporaries.

2.2. Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–211/216)

While not exploring the Eucharist in depth, Clement of Alexandria demonstrates his understanding of the “real presence”* and the sacrificial* aspects which later Fathers will express more explicitly. His three main works reveal a step-by-step journey: first, in the *Protreptikos*, he uses protreptic discourse²⁶ forming it into an apology against pagan cult and calling Christians to liturgical worship. Secondly, in the *Paidagogos* (also known as *The Instructor of Children*), he presents Christ as the companion in knowledge who will bring Christians beyond the entry point in the ethical life. For Clement, as with Paul in Phil 2:6-7, Christ is the pedagogue; furthermore, the liturgical church is the school, and

²³ That the *Didache* was not accepted into the New Testament canon indicates that the community which gave us the document was not able to adapt. While traditions are necessary for healthy community life, most especially the Eucharist, they must be “both resilient and open.” LaVerdiere, *Eucharist in NT and Early Church*, 130. While we see this balance maintained by the community which gave us Matthew's gospel, the community of the *Didache* clung too tightly to its traditions resulting in a “community fighting to stay alive but slowly dying of inanition for lack of adequate traditions.” LaVerdiere, *Eucharist in NT and Early Church*, 131.

²⁴ The meaning is uncertain; “necessary for today, necessary for tomorrow, daily, sufficient.” William D. Mounce, *The Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), 208.

²⁵ “τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον” “Give us today our daily bread [Or: the bread that we need; or: our bread for tomorrow]” (*Didache* 8, 2). Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers Vol. 1*, 428–29; LaVerdiere, *Eucharist in NT and Early Church*, 9.

²⁶ Protreptic: “an utterance (as a speech) designed to instruct and persuade” from <http://mw1.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/protreptic> accessed 5 March 2009.

the Eucharist gives Christians the pattern by which they are to live their lives.²⁷ Finally, in the *Stromateis*, he presents the highest level of knowledge a believer receives from Christ about the Father and the created world. Continuing the thought of the two earlier works, Clement uses the Hellenistic rhetorical form of miscellany²⁸ to show how Christ should be appropriated by Christians as a reverse-sacrifice, the sacrificial* offering of God to humanity.²⁹

With this overview in mind, we now turn to a more detailed look at the second and third of these works.³⁰ In the *Paidagogos* Clement focusses on the way a Christian must practice living in the midst of a pagan culture rather than contrasting the pagan rites to Christian ones. The Christian is called to appropriate and participate in the knowledge of the truth of Christ's passion, to live in imitation of this truth, and to speak this truth to others. Doing so, for Clement, amounts to participation in Christ's death as an atoning sacrifice* on the cross and celebrated in the Eucharist.³¹ In the *Paidagogos*, Clement uses

²⁷ Young, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 72–3.

²⁸ Rather than writing an expected book, the *Didaskalos*, Clement wrote the *Stromateis* whose name indicates he felt it to be the highest level of knowledge, "appropriation of the knowledge that Christ gives of the Father and the created invisible world. . . . This form was carefully structured to represent an assemblage of topics in a way that apparently lacked organization." Young, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 73.

²⁹ Young, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 73.

³⁰ Note that *Protrepitkos* is aimed at pagans, *Paidagogos* at new Christians, and *Stromateis* at mature believers. The first work speaks of the horrors of pagan sacrifice while the second and third speak of the Christian Eucharist.

³¹ "Elle [l'Eglise] n'a pas eu de lait, car le lait, c'était ce beau petit enfant approprié, le corps du Christ ; elle a nourri du Verbe le peuple nouveau que le Seigneur lui-même mis [sic] au monde dans les douleurs de la chair, et lui même langé de sang précieux. O saint enfantement ! O saints langes ! Le Verbe est tout pour le petit enfant : père, mère, pédagogue et nourricier. « Mangez ma chair, dit-il, et buvez mon sang » (Jn 6, 53). Ces nourritures qui nous conviennent, le Seigneur nous les dispense, il offre sa chair et verse son sang. Rien ne manque aux petits enfants pour leur croissance." (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* I 42, 2-3) Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue* (vol. 44–45 of *Les pères dans la foi*; trans. Bernadette Troo and Paul Gauriat; Paris: Migne, 1991), 61–62; "De plus, usant encore d'une image, le Seigneur a nommé « une coupe » (Mt 26, 39, 42) l'accomplissement de sa Passion, coupe qu'il lui fallait boire seul jusqu'à la dernière goutte. Ainsi la nourriture du Christ était d'accomplir la volonté de son Père ; mais nous, les petits, nous avons le Christ lui-même pour nourriture : nous buvons le Verbe du ciel. C'est pourquoi le mot grec qui signifie « chercher » appartient à la même famille que le nom « mamelle » ; car les petits enfants qui cherchent le Verbe se nourrissent de lait aux mamelles de la bonté paternelle. En outre, le Verbe s'est appelé lui-même le « pain du ciel ». « Ce n'est pas Moïse, dit-il, qui vous a donné le pain du ciel ; c'est mon Père qui vous le donne, le pain du ciel, le vrai, car le pain de Dieu est celui qui descend du ciel et donne la vie au monde. Le pain que je donnerai, c'est ma chair pour la vie du monde » (Jn 6, 32-33, 51).

John 6:53³² to speak of the importance of the Christian's receiving Christ's flesh and blood.³³ He sees this reception as both corporeal and spiritual*, strengthening the recipient in both dimensions.³⁴

Clement also uses Exod 3:8³⁵ to interpret the Eucharist as both physical and spiritual food* for the Christian who needs nourishment in both senses from Christ the teacher. Similarly, he uses 1 Cor 3:2-3,³⁶ Paul's distinction between milk and solid food,

Il faut attribuer ici un sens mystique au pain : c'est sa chair, dit-il, — naturellement, sa chair ressuscitée : comme du grain semé et pourri lève le froment, sa chair renaît du feu pour la joie de l'Eglise, tel un pain qu'on a cuit" (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* I, 46). Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 64; "Vous le savez bien, il a pris du vin, lui aussi, car il était homme ; il a béni le vin, en disant : « Prenez, buvez, ceci est mon sang » ; le sang de la vigne signifie le Verbe « versé pour beaucoup, en rémission des péchés » (Mt 26, 28), source sainte de la joie. Le buveur doit être sobre : il l'a montré clairement par son enseignement dans les banquets : il n'était pas ivre quand il enseignait. C'était du vin, ce qu'il avait béni. Il l'a montré encore en disant à ses disciples : « Je ne boirai plus de ce fruit de la vigne, jusqu'à ce que j'en boive avec vous dans le royaume de mon Père » (Mt 26, 29). C'était bien du vin, ce que buvait le Seigneur : il le dit encore lui-même à son propre sujet, accusant la dureté de cœur des Juifs : « Le Fils de l'homme est venu, et l'on dit : voilà un homme qui mange et qui boit du vin, un ami des publicains » (Mt 11, 19)" (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* II, 32, 2-4). Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 141.

³² "So Jesus said to them, 'Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you'" John 6:53.

³³ "Mais le Père, dans sa tendresse et sa bienveillance pour les hommes a fait descendre comme une rosée le Verbe qui s'est fait lui-même nourriture spirituelle pour les justes." (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* I, 41, 3) Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 61.

³⁴ "Le sang du Seigneur est double : l'un est charnel et par lui nous avons été rachetés de la perdition, l'autre est spirituel, c'est celui par lequel nous avons été consacrés. Et c'est [sic] boire le sang de Jésus que de participer à l'incorruptibilité du Seigneur. La force du Verbe, c'est l'esprit, comme le sang est la force de la chair." (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* II, 19, 4) Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 131; "Par analogie donc, le vin se mélange à l'eau comme l'homme est mélangé d'esprit : l'un, le mélange du vin, est un régal pour la foi, l'autre, l'esprit, mène à l'incorruptibilité, puis le mélange des deux – de la boisson et du Verbe – s'appelle Eucharistie – grâce, louange et beauté – dont les participants selon la foi sanctifient le corps et l'âme, c'est-à-dire l'homme, ce mélange divin, que la volonté du Père a mêlé mystiquement d'esprit et de Verbe. En vérité l'esprit est uni à l'âme, qu'il porte, et au Verbe est unie la chair, par laquelle « le Verbe s'est fait chair » (Jn 1, 14). (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* II, 20, 1) Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 131–32; "This, with what follows, may be taken as an indication of a rather keen theological insight in Clement, a rather forceful expression of the fact that in receiving the Eucharist with worthy dispositions, we receive not only the Body and Blood of Christ, but receive also an increase of the indwelling Holy Spirit." Jurgens, *Faith Volume 1*, 180, n. 7.

³⁵ "Therefore I have come down to rescue them from the hands of the Egyptians and lead them out of that land into a good and spacious land, a land flowing with milk and honey" Exod 3:8.

³⁶ "I fed you milk, not solid food, because you were unable to take it. Indeed, you are still not able, even now, for you are still of the flesh" 1 Cor 3:2-3.

as he guides his audience and then quotes John 6:55³⁷ to remind them that the Eucharist provides the nourishment* they require.³⁸ For Clement the use of the word symbol for the Eucharist indicates that the Eucharist has the power to bring about what it signifies. It is, as with Justin, the medicine of immortality.³⁹

In the *Stromateis*, Clement neither advocates nor applauds the martyrs' deaths. He does see that, like Christ's death, theirs serve an epideictic purpose. And while he does not make as clear a connection to Christ's passion as did Tertullian and Origen, he does understand the foreshadowing of Christ's priesthood by Melchizedek. Here he is looking at the incorporeal world behind the realities of the deaths of the martyrs, the priesthood of Christ, and the Eucharist thereby spiritualising the interpretation of the sacrifices* of the Old Testament as well as the sacrifice which for him constitutes the Eucharist.⁴⁰

³⁷ "My blood is true drink" John 6:55.

³⁸ "Il nous faut ici défendre notre enfance et de plus examiner la parole de l'apôtre : « Je vous ai donné du lait à boire comme à de petits enfants dans le Christ, non des aliments solides car vous n'auriez pas pu les supporter ; et même maintenant vous ne le pourriez pas » (1 Co 3, 1-2). A mon avis, il ne faut pas interpréter cette expression dans la perspective d'Israël. J'en rapprocherai cet autre passage de l'Écriture : « Je vous conduirai vers la bonne terre où coulent le lait et le miel » (Ex 3, 8 ; 3, 17)." (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* I 34, 3). Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 56. "« Mon sang, dit le Seigneur, est vraiment un breuvage » (Jn 6, 55). Par cette parole « je vous ai donné à boire », l'apôtre ne désigne-t-il pas la joie plénière dans le Verbe figuré par le lait, la connaissance de la vérité ? Dans la suite de la phrase « non une nourriture solide, car vous n'auriez pu encore la supporter » (1 Co 3, 2), la nourriture solide peut désigner symboliquement la révélation fulgurante du siècle à venir où nous contemplerons Dieu face à face." (Clement of Alexandria *Le Pédagogue* I 36, 5). Clement of Alexandria, *Le Pédagogue*, 57–58.

³⁹ Young, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 82.

⁴⁰ "Αἰνίσσεται, οἶμαι, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι στοιχείων ψυχῆς γαλακτώδη πρώτην τροφήν, μεθ' ἣν ἤδη πεπηγὸς γάλα τὸ βρῶμα, τελευταῖον δὲ αἷμα ἀμπέλου τοῦ λόγου [Cf. John 6:53-56] τὸν « αἶθοπα οἶνον », τὴν τελειοῦσαν τῆς ἀγωγῆς εὐφρασύνην, διδάσκει. Δρῶψ δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ δραστήριος, ὁ ἐκ κατηγήσεως τῆς πρώτης εἰς αὐξήσιν ἀνδρός, « εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας », ἐκφλέγων καὶ ἐκφωτίζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον." "Il désigne indirectement par là, je crois, la première nourriture de l'âme au moyen des vingt-quatre lettres, nourriture comparable au lait ; après elle il mentionne le lait qui a déjà caillé, la nourriture solide (Cf. Jn 6: 53-56); et pour finir il enseigne « le vin ardent », le sang de la vigne du Logos, la joie de l'éducation qui rend parfait. *Drôps* est le Logos actif (*drastêrios*), qui, depuis la première catéchèse, enflamme et illumine l'homme (*anthrôpos*) jusqu'à la croissance de l'âge viril, « jusqu'à la mesure de la taille adulte »." (Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis V:1* 48, 8-9) Clement of Alexandria, *Les Stromates V:1* (vol. 278 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Alain Le Boulluec; Paris: Cerf, 1981), 104–5; "Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γάλα τῶν νηπίων, τὸ βρῶμα δὲ τῶν τελείων τροφή πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἴρηται, γάλα μὲν ἡ κατηγήσις οἶονεὶ πρώτη ψυχῆς τροφή νοηθήσεται, βρῶμα δὲ ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία· σάρκες αὐταὶ καὶ αἷμα τοῦ λόγου, τουτέστι κατάληψις τῆς θείας δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας." "Si donc l'Apôtre a appelé « lait » l'aliment des « petits enfants », et « nourriture solide » celui des « parfaits », on entendra par le « lait » la catéchèse, qui est comme le premier aliment de l'âme, et par la

Comparing Clement's work with that of the other Alexandrian Fathers, Kelly states that, through the use of allegory, Clement keeps the spiritual world behind the physical phenomenon in view as he equates the eucharistic elements with the body and blood* of Christ.⁴¹ Furthermore, for Clement the Eucharist is also the Christians' sacrifice* (προσφορά) with Melchizedek's offering as its type*.⁴²

For his part, Everett Ferguson raises a caution about using Clement of Alexandria as a representative of the eucharistic thought of the time as Clement does not have any

« nourriture solide » la contemplation de la vision initiatique : voilà les chairs et le sang du Logos, c'est-à-dire la saisie de la puissance et de l'essence divines.» (Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis V:1* 66, 2) Clement of Alexandria, *Les Stromates V:1*, 134–35.

⁴¹ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 213. "I am He who feeds thee, giving Myself as bread, of which he who has tasted experiences death no more, and supplying day by day the drink of immortality. I am teacher of supercelestial lessons. For thee I contended with Death, and paid thy death, which thou owedst for thy former sins and thy unbelief towards God." *Quis div.* 23, 4 (<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html>, accessed 6 March 2009).

⁴² "The action in accordance with the rational Word is brought to fulfillment in accord with God. 'And nothing came into being without him,' says Scripture of the Word of God. Did the Lord not do everything by his Word? Animals work when they are driven by pressure of fear. Are we not to say that the so-called orthodox are drawn to good works without knowing what they are doing? (Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis I*, 45, 5-6) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis: Books 1–3* (vol. 85 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. John Ferguson; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 56; "This is why the Saviour took bread and began by speaking words of thanks [Matt 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24]. He then broke the bread and offered it for us to eat in the spirit of the Logos, and, in knowledge of the Scriptures, to work out our citizenship in obedience." (Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis I*, 46, 1) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 56; "I offer an invitation to those who lack intelligence' (clearly those attached to the heresies), says Wisdom. 'Touch the mystic loaves in gladness, and delicious stolen water.' [Prov 9:16-17] Scripture sets down bread and water in clear reference simply to the heresies that use bread and water in their offertory contrary to the rules of the Church. There are some who actually celebrate the Eucharist with plain water." (Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis I*, 96, 1) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 96; "Αὕτη ἡ τῷ ὄντι δικαιοσύνη, μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν θατέρῳ, ὅλον δὲ εἶναι ἡγιασμένον νεὼν τοῦ κυρίου. Δικαιοσύνη οὖν ἐστὶν εἰρήνη βίου καὶ εὐστάθεια, ἐφ' ἣν ὁ κύριος ἀπέλυε λέγων· « Ἄπελθε εἰς εἰρήνην· » Σαλήμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται εἰρήνη, ἧς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἀναγράφεται βασιλεὺς, ὃν φησι Μωυσῆς, « Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὕψιστου », ὁ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸν ἄρτον τὴν ἡγιασμένην διδοὺς τροφήν εἰς τύπον εὐχαριστίας. Καὶ δὴ ἐρμηνεύεται ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, συνωνυμία δὲ ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰρήνης." "La justice est donc la paix de la vie et la stabilité de l'âme, pour laquelle le Sauveur renvoyait absous en disant « Va-t-en en paix ». Salem s'interprète « paix », dont notre Sauveur est décrit comme le roi, ainsi que le dit Moïse : « Melchisédec roi de Salem, le prêtre du Dieu très haut », qui donnait dans le vin et le pain la nourriture consacrée comme symbole de l'Eucharistie. Et Melchisédec se traduit par « roi juste » : le nom est donc synonyme de justice et de paix. (Clement of Alexandria *Stromate IV* 161, 2-3) Clement of Alexandria, *Les Stromates IV* (vol. 463 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Claude Mondésert; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 324–25; see also *De virg. vel.* 9 Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 214.

writing which has the Eucharist as its primary focus. However, Clement does allude to the Eucharist and views the Bread of Life Discourse of John 6 as the most important eucharistic* text with its “take,” “give thanks,” and “break” terminology. Furthermore, for Clement eating and drinking is an image evoking the acquisition of divine knowledge*.⁴³

Maurice F. Wiles points out that the earliest exegesis on the multiplication of the loaves in John 6:1-21 did not have the eucharistic interpretation which is so familiar to modern ears. Clement does speak “of the eating of Christ’s flesh and the drinking of his blood commanded in this chapter [John 6] as the assimilation by faith of Christ the Word.”⁴⁴ And elsewhere “he suggests that the passage contains an allusion to the Eucharist or (and he seems to regard this as the more valuable line of interpretation) to Christ’s body, the Church.[*]”⁴⁵

In summary, Clement presents the Eucharist as the entry into salvation in the *Protrepitkos* and as the pattern of the Christian life in the *Paidagogos*. In the *Stromateis*, he presents the Eucharist with a dual interpretation as it touches the recipient both corporeally and spiritually. He leads the way for later authors’ understanding of the Eucharist as the atoning sacrifice*, and as a participation in the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ replacing the sacrifices of the old covenant and opposing pagan sacrifices. The Eucharist is also seen as transparent to that which it communicates*.⁴⁶

There is only one extant homily from Clement of Alexandria, the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, on the rich young man (Mark 10:17-31). In a difficult section, Clement sees

⁴³ Everett Ferguson, “A Response to Robin Darling Young on The Eucharist According to Clement of Alexandria,” in *Rediscovering the Eucharist: Ecumenical Conversations* (ed. Roch A. Kereszty; New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 109.

⁴⁴ Maurice F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 52–3. See *Paidagogos*, 1, 6, 38–47.

⁴⁵ Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel*, 52–3. See *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 13.

⁴⁶ Young, “Eucharist as Sacrifice,” 89.

this pericope as allusive of the Eucharist* or to Christ's body, the church*.⁴⁷ Clement uses this homily to discuss the Incarnation and its effects on Christian society*.⁴⁸ In a work entitled "The Rich Man's Salvation," Clement points out that effort is required by the individual for salvation.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ "Οὗτος ἐστὶν « ἄρτος » ἐπουράνιος καὶ πνευματικὴ Τροφή ζωῆς παρεκτικὴ κατὰ τὴν βρωσὶν καὶ γνῶσιν, « τὸ Φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων », τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δηλονότι. Οἱ μὲν οὖ « τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον » « φαγόντες ἀπέθανον » ὁ δὲ « τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄρτον » τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐσθίωσιν οὐ τεθνήξεται. Ὁ « ζῶν ἄρτος » ὁ « ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς δοθεὶς » ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐσθίωσιν βουλομένοις. « Ὁ δὲ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω », φησὶν, « ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστὶν », ἥτοι ὧ τρέφεται ἡ σὰρξ διὰ τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, <ἥ>, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἡ σὰρξ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, « ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία », « ἄρτος οὐράνιος », συναγωγὴ εὐλογημένη. τάχα δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενομένων, καὶ ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους τευξομένων." "C'est Lui « *le Pain* » *supra-céleste* (ἐπουράνιος) et *l'Aliment spirituel* (πνευματικὴ) qui procure la Vie sur le plan de la nourriture et de la Connaissance (γνῶσις), Lui, « *la Lumière des Hommes* », – de l'Église, évidemment. Ainsi, ceux qui « *ont mangé le pain du ciel* » [matériel] (οὐράνιος) « *sont morts* » : mais celui qui mange « *le Pain véritable* » de l'Esprit (Πνεῦμα) « *ne mourra pas* ». Le « *Pain vivant* », celui « *que le Père a donné* », c'est le FILS, pour ceux qui veulent le manger. « *Et le pain que je donnerai* », dit-il, « *c'est ma chair* » : soit que cette chair soit celle qu'il donne, par l'Eucharistie, à celui qu'il nourrit ; soit, mieux encore, que cette chair soit « *son corps, qui est l'Église* » « *Pain céleste* », Assemblée bénie, – sans doute en tant que les « élus » sont issus de la même substance (οὐσία) selon leur situation de sujets (κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον) et qu'ils atteindront la même fin." (Clement of Alexandria, *Extraits de Théodote* 13) Clement of Alexandria, *Extraits de Théodote* (vol. 23 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. F. Sagnard; Paris: Cerf, 1948), 84–85.

⁴⁸ Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel*, 52–3; Young, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 74.

⁴⁹ Effort for salvation is necessary; "οὕτως τις καὶ τὴν ἐπίγειον ταύτην περιβεβλημένος περιβολὴν μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἄθλων τοῦ σωτήρος ἐκκηρυσσέτω, πιστὸς γε ὢν καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον συνορῶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, μήτε μὴν αὐθις ἀνάσκητος καὶ ἀναγώνιστος μείνας ἀκονιτὶ κἀνιδρωτὶ τῶν στεφάνων τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐλπίζετω μεταλαβεῖν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὑποβαλέτω φέρων γυμναστῆ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀγωνοθέτη δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ· τροφή δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ποτὸν γενέσθω τεταγμένον ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου, γυμνάσια δὲ αἱ ἐντολαί, εὐσημησύνη δὲ καὶ κόσμος αἱ καλαὶ διθέσεις, ἀγάπη, πίστις, ἐλπίς, γνῶσις ἀληθείας, <ἐπιείκεια, > πραότης, εὐσπλαγχνία, σεμνότης, ἴν', ὅταν <ἡ> ἐσχάτη σάλπιγξ ὑποσημήνη <τὸ τέλος> τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἕξοδον καθάπερ ἐκ σταδίου τοῦ βίου, μετ' ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ παραστῆ νικηφόρος, ὡμολογημένος τῆς ἄνω πατρίδος ἄξιος, εἰς ἣν μετὰ στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἀγγελικῶν ἐπανέρχεται." "In the same way let not one who is clothed with this earthly covering proclaim himself barred at the start from the Saviour's prizes, if, that is, he is faithful and surveys the magnificence of God's love to men; nor, once again, let him hope, by remaining undisciplined and unused to conflict, to partake of the crowns of incorruption without dust and sweat. But let him come and subject himself to reason as trainer and to Christ as master of the contests. Let his appointed food and drink be the Lord's new covenant [See 1 Cor 11:25], his exercise the commandments, his grace and adornment the fair virtues of love, faith, hope, knowledge of the truth, goodness, gentleness, compassion, gravity; in order that, when the last trumpet signals the end of the race and his departure from the present life as from a course, he may with a good conscience stand before the judge a victor, admitted to be worthy of the fatherland above, into which with angelic crowns and proclamations he now ascends." (Clement of Alexandria *The Rich Man's Salvation* 3) Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks, The Rich Man's Salvation, And the Fragment of an Address Entitled To the Newly Baptized*, in *Loeb Classical Library* (trans. G. W. Butterworth; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 276–79; "ἐγὼ σου

2.3. Summary of the Writings Regarding the Eucharist by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, and Cyprian

Following this detailed look at Clement of Alexandria's work, this section summarises the work of Tertullian (ca. 155/160 – ca. 240/250), Hippolytus (d. 235), Origen (ca. 185–253/254), and Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258). As with the earlier writers mentioned above, they did not explicitly address the Eucharist. Rather, they made references to the Eucharist while dealing with other subjects. As with all the writings, care must be taken to read them in their proper context, that is with those works written prior to or contemporary with the given text.

First, according to Kelly, the body and blood language used by Tertullian may, in spite of its realism, be symbolical. Tertullian refers to the bread as “a figure” (*figura*) of Christ's body, and says that it is the bread “by which He represents (*repraesentat*) His very body.”⁵⁰ However, at the time of Tertullian's writing, “a mysterious relationship

τροφεὺς ἄρτον ἑμαυτὸν διδοὺς, οὐ γευσάμενος οὐδεὶς ἔτι πεῖραν θανάτου λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδιδοὺς ἀθανασίας.” “I am your nurse, giving Myself for bread, which none who taste have any longer trial of death [See John 6:50-51], and giving day by day drink of immortality.” (Clement of Alexandria *The Rich Man's Salvation* 23) Clement of Alexandria, *Rich Man's Salvation*, 318–19.

⁵⁰ “Mais seul le nouveau roi des siècles nouveaux, le Christ Jésus, a porté sur son épaule la puissance et la sublimité de sa gloire nouvelle, c'est-à-dire la croix, pour permettre au Seigneur, d'après la prophétie précédente, de régner à partir du bois. Ce bois t'est encore indiqué par Jérémie dans sa prophétie aux juifs qui diraient : « Venez, jetons du bois sur son pain » : comprenons sur son corps. Car dans votre évangile aussi, le Seigneur a bien révélé cette interprétation quand il appelle pain son corps, pour faire comprendre par là aussi qu'il avait déjà donné au pain la figure de son corps, lui dont jadis le prophète avait représenté le corps sous la figure du pain, le Seigneur lui-même devant plus tard nous expliquer ce mystère” (Tertullian *Contre Marcion III* 19, 3-4). Tertullian, *Contre Marcion Livre III* (vol. 399 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. René Braun; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 167. Citing Moses's declaration of the Lord's Passover, Tertullian states, “C'est pourquoi il a montré aussi son sentiment en disant : « *J'ai désiré d'un grand désir manger la pâque avec vous avant de souffrir ma passion.* » O le destructeur de la Loi, lui qui avait désiré même conserver la pâque ! Pas de doute que la viande de mouton des juifs devait faire ses délices ! Ou alors n'était-il pas précisément celui qui, ayant à être mené au sacrifice comme une brebis et étant destiné à ne pas ouvrir la bouche ainsi qu'une brebis devant le tondeur, désirait accomplir la figure de son sang porteur du salut” (Tertullian *Contre Marcion IV* 40, 1-2). Tertullian, *Contre Marcion Livre IV* (vol. 456 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. René Braun; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 495–97. “C'est ainsi que, après avoir professé qu'il avait désiré d'un grand désir manger la pâque parce que sienne – car il eût été indigne de Dieu de désirer quelque chose qui lui fût étranger –, ayant pris le pain et l'ayant distribué à ses disciple, il en fit son corps en disant : « *Ceci est mon corps* » – c'est-à-dire la figure de mon corps. Il n'y aurait pas eu de figure s'il n'y

existed between the thing symbolized and its symbol, figure or type; the symbol in some sense *was* the thing symbolized.”⁵¹ So, the verb *repraesentare* would mean “to make present.” He equates the bread and the wine with Christ’s body and blood* knowing that there is a difference between the sacrament and Christ’s body.⁵² For Tertullian, the bread

avait pas eu un corps de toute vérité. D’ailleurs la chose inconsistante qu’est un fantôme ne pourrait pas prendre de figure. Ou alors s’il a feint de prendre le pain pour son corps à cause précisément qu’il était privé de la vérité du corps, eh bien donc c’est du pain qu’il aurait dû livrer pour nous. Voilà qui allait bien dans le sens de l’inanité de Marcion, qu’un pain fût crucifié ! Mais pourquoi le Christ appelle-t-il son corps pain, et non pas plutôt pastèque – celle que Marcion a eue à la place du cœur puisqu’il n’a pas compris que c’était là une ancienne figure du corps du Christ, quand celui-ci dit par Jérémie : « *Ils ont eu une pensée contre moi, en disant : “Venez, jetons ensemble le bois sur son pain”* », évidemment la croix sur son corps ? C’est pourquoi la signification qu’a voulu alors donner à « pain » l’illuminateur des réalités anciennes a été rendu suffisamment claire quand il appelle pain son corps. De même aussi, dans la mention de la coupe, quand il établit une alliance scellée de son sang, il a confirmé la réalité substantielle de son corps. Il ne peut en effet y avoir sang d’aucun corps, sinon d’un corps de chair. Car même si l’on doit nous opposer quelque qualité de corps non charnelle, ce qui est sûr, c’est ceci : n’aura de sang qu’un corps charnel. Ainsi la preuve du corps s’établira par le témoignage de la chair, la preuve de la chair par celui du sang. D’autre part, pour que tu reconnaisse aussi dans le vin une ancienne figure du sang, Isaïe sera à ta disposition : « *Qui est, dit-il, celui qui arrive d’Édom, le rouge de ses vêtements est de Bosor ? Il est beau ainsi dans sa robe de violence accompagnée de force ? Pourquoi rouges sont tes vêtements et tes habits, comme au sortir de l’espace du pressoir, plein de ce qui a été foulé aux pieds ?* » Car l’Esprit prophétique comme s’il contemplait déjà le Seigneur venant à sa passion, vêtu évidemment de sa chair puisque c’est en elle qu’il a souffert cette passion, désigne dans la rougeur des vêtements son habit sanglant de chair, de cette chair qui a été foulée aux pieds et pressurée par la violence de la passion comme dans l’espace du pressoir, parce que c’est de là aussi que les hommes descendent comme ensanglantés du rouge du vin. Avec bien plus de clarté encore, la *Genèse*, dans la bénédiction de Juda dont la tribu devait procurer l’origine de la chair du Christ, dessinait déjà alors le Christ en parlant de Juda : « *Il lavera sa robe dans le vin, et dans le sang de la grappe son manteau* » – montrant que robe et manteau, c’est la chair, et que le vin c’est le sang. Et c’est ainsi que maintenant il a consacré son sang dans le vin, lui qui alors a figuré le vin dans le sang” (Tertullian *Contre Marcion IV* 40, 3-6). Tertullian, *Contre Marcion Livre IV*, 499–503. “Mais ton dieu (sic) en tout cas, lui, jusqu’à maintenant, n’a réprouvé du Créateur ni l’eau dont il baptise les siens, ni l’huile dont il oint les siens, ni le mélange de miel et de lait dont il nourrit les siens à leur renaissance, ni le pain grâce auquel il rend présent son corps même; il a besoin même dans ses propres sacrements, des aumônes du Créateur! Mais toi, s’il est vrai que, disciple au-dessus de ton maître et esclave au-dessous de ton seigneur, tu as une sagesse plus sublime que lui, détruisant ce dont il sent le besoin” (Tertullian *Contre Marcion I* 14, 3-4). Tertullian, *Contre Marcion Livre I* (vol. 365 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. René Braun; Paris: Cerf, 1990), 165–67.

⁵¹ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 212.

⁵² Tertullian, in *Against Marcion* (4, 22) uses *repraesentare* this way. And we see his understanding of the reality of Christ’s presence in: “who would not be concerned when she spends the whole night away from the house during the Paschal solemnities. Who, without feeling some suspicion, would let her go to assist at the Lord’s Supper, when such vile rumors are spread about it?” (Tertullian *To his Wife*, 4). Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage: To His Wife; An Exhortation to Chastity; Monogamy* (vol. 13 of *Ancient Christian Writers*; trans. William P. Le Saint; Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1951), 29. “Will not your husband know what it is you take in secret before eating any other food? If

is the Lord's body⁵³ and he defines the priestly function as one of "offering" (*offerre*). However, "What the sacrifice consists in, he does not specify. No doubt he views it primarily as an offering of prayer and worship, but worship in the context of the Saviour's passion[*] and of the elements which 'represent' His sacrificed body and blood."⁵⁴

he recognizes it as bread, will he not believe it to be what it is rumored to be? Even if he has not heard these rumors, will he be so ingenuous as to accept the explanation which you give, without protest, without wondering whether it is really bread and not some magic charm?" (Tertullian *To his Wife*, 5). Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, 30. "How shall we ever be able adequately to describe the happiness of that marriage which the Church arranges, the Sacrifice strengthens, . . . Side by side they . . . partake of God's Banquet . . . they attend the Sacrifice without difficulty" (Tertullian *To His Wife*, 8). Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, 35. In discussing chastity and second marriages: "You offer the annual Sacrifice for her. Do you wish, then, to stand before the Lord with as many wives as you remember in your prayers? Will you offer the Sacrifice for two wives and have recommendation made of both through the ministry of a priest whose monogamy is a necessary condition for his ordination, or who is consecrated for his office in a special way by reason of his virginity, and who stands at the altar surrounded by widows who were married only once? Will you feel no shame as your sacrifice ascends before the Lord? Will you dare ask chastity for yourself and for your wife, among the other spiritual gifts you pray for?" (Tertullian *An Exhortation to Chastity*, 11). Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, 59–60. A widow prays for her husband after his death: "To be sure, she prays for his soul. She asks that, during the interval, he may find rest and that he may share in the first resurrection. She offers the Sacrifice each year on the anniversary of his falling asleep. If she fails to do this, she has indeed divorced him as far as it lies in her power to do so" (Tertullian *Monogamy*, 10). Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, 92.

⁵³ Talking about the Parable of the Prodigal Son: "Then, for the first time, he also receives a ring, and, after he has been questioned, this seals the pact of faith; and so, thereafter, he feeds upon the richness of the body of the Lord, I mean the Eucharist" (Tertullian *On Purity*, 9). Tertullian, *Treatises on Penance: On Penitence; On Purity* (vol. 28 of *Ancient Christian Writers*; trans. William P. Le Saint; Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1959), 78. In reference to refusing pardon to adultery: "Accordingly, the Apostle also, deriving his doctrine from this source, says: *I wrote to you in a letter not to associate with fornicators. I meant not, of course, the fornicators of this world etc., else it would be necessary to depart from the world. But now I write to you that if anyone called a brother among you should be a fornicator or an idolater* (for what else is so intimately bound up with it?) *or a deceiver* (for what else is so closely joined with it?) etc., *with such a one you should not even take food* –to say nothing of the Eucharist" (Tertullian *On Purity*, 18). Tertullian, *Treatises on Penance*, 107. "The flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul also may be fed from God" (Tertullian *Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh* 8). Tertullian, *Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh* (trans. A. Souter; New York: Macmillan, 1922), 21.

⁵⁴ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 214. "(1) For, in our case, we pray for the welfare of the emperors to the eternal God, the true God, the living God, whom even the emperors themselves prefer to have propitious to them before all other gods. They know who has given them power; they know—for they are men—who has given them life; they feel that He is the only God in whose power alone they are. . . . (5) Such petitions I cannot ask from any other save from Him, and I know that I shall obtain them from Him, since He is the only One who supplies them and I am one who ought to obtain my request. For, I am His servant; I alone worship Him; for His teaching I am put to death; I offer Him the rich—and better—sacrifice which He Himself has commanded, the prayer sent up from a chaste body, an innocent heart, and a spirit that is holy; not grains of incense worth a mere penny, or tears of the Arabic tree, or two drops of wine, or the blood of a worthless ox that is longing for death, and, in addition to all this filth, a polluted conscience—

Secondly, for Hippolytus, Christ's body and blood* save the church*. He also points to the prophecy of Malachi saying that in the Eucharist the bread and wine are offered only after the Last Supper* and Christ's passion* are remembered.⁵⁵

so that I wonder when, among you, victims are examined by the most vicious of priests, why it is the hearts of the slain animals are examined rather than those of the priests themselves. So, then, as we kneel with arms extended to God, let the hooks dig into us, let the crosses suspend us, the fires lick us, the swords cut out throats, and the wild beasts leap upon us: the very posture of a Christian in prayer makes him ready for every punishment. Carry on, good officials, torture the soul which is beseeching God on behalf of the emperor! Here will lie the crime, where there reigns truth and devotion to God!" (Tertullian, *Apology* 30 1, 5-7). Tertullian, *Apologetical Works And Minucius Felix Octavius* (vol. 10 of *Fathers of the Church*; trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, et al.; New York: Fathers of the Church Press, 1950), 85–87. "This is why we also offer sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor, but to God, who is our God and his—and in the way God commanded us, with pure prayer. God, the Maker of the universe, does not need any odor or blood. These are the food of demons. And the demons we not only reject, but convict; we daily expose them, and cast them out of men, as is well know to many. Therefore, we pray in a better way for the welfare of the emperor, asking it from Him who is able to give it. Surely, it can be sufficiently clear to you that we act according to the teachings of godly patience, when, as such a great multitude of men—almost the majority in every city—we live in silence and loyalty, known, perhaps, more as individuals than as a group, and knowable in no other way than by the reformation of our former vices. For far be it from us to take it ill that we suffer things for which we long, or to plot of ourselves any vengeance which we await from God" (Tertullian, *To Scapula* 2). Tertullian, *Apologetical Works And Octavius*, 153–54. "For this is the spiritual victim which has abolished the pristine sacrifices. "To what purpose," saith He, "(bring ye) me the multitude of your sacrifices? I am full of holocausts of rams, and I desire not the fat of rams, and the blood of bulls and of goats. For who hath required these from your hands?" What, then, God has required the Gospel teaches. "An hour will come," saith He, "when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and truth. For God is a Spirit, and accordingly requires His adorers to be such." We are the true adorers and the true priests, who, praying in spirit, sacrifice, in spirit, prayer,—a victim proper and acceptable to God, which assuredly He has required, which He has looked forward to for Himself! This victim, devoted from the whole heart, fed on faith, tended by truth, entire in innocence, pure in chastity, garlanded with love, we ought to escort with the pomp of good works, amid psalms and hymns, unto God's altar, to obtain for us all things from God" (Tertullian *On Prayer* 28). From http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-51.htm#P12023_3351970, translated by S. Thelwall, accessed March 22, 2010.

⁵⁵ "οὐ παραγενομένου « ἀρθήσεται θυσία καὶ σπονδή » ἡ νῦν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῷ θεῷ προσφερομένη." "Quand celui-ci aura fait son apparition, seront supprimés le sacrifice et l'oblation offerts aujourd'hui à Dieu en tout lieu par les nations" (Hippolytus, *Commentaire sur Daniel* 4, 35). Hippolytus, *Commentaire sur Daniel* (vol. 14 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Maurice Lefèvre; Paris: Cerf, 1947), 334, 335. Also *In Cant.* 3, 4 and *in Gen.* 38, 19. "When he has been made bishop, . . . And let the deacons offer to him the oblations, and let him, . . . say, giving thanks: 'We render thanks to you, God, through your beloved Child Jesus Christ, whom in the last times you sent to us as saviour and redeemer . . . who fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people, stretched out [his] hands when he was suffering, that he might release from suffering those who believed in you; who when he was being handed over to voluntary suffering, that he might destroy death and break the bonds of the devil, and tread down hell and illuminate the righteous, and fix a limit and manifest the resurrection, taking bread [and] giving thanks to you, he said: "Take, eat, this is my body that will be broken for you." Likewise also the cup, saying: "This is my blood that is shed for you. When you do this, you do my remembrance." Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to you the bread and cup, giving thanks to you because you have held us

Thirdly, Origen, in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, first accepts that the eucharistic species consist of both corruptible matter which merely passes through the recipient and incorruptible reality which sanctifies the recipient.⁵⁶ More important for

worthy to stand before you and minister to you. And we ask that you would send your Holy Spirit in the oblation of [your] holy church, [that] gathering [them] into one you will give to all who partake of the holy things [to partake] in the fullness of the Holy Spirit, for the strengthening of faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify you through your Child Jesus Christ, through whom [be] glory and honour to you, Father and Son with the Holy Spirit, in your holy church, both now and to the ages of ages. Amen” (Hippolytus, *The Apostolic Tradition* 4). Paul Bradshaw, et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2002), 38–40.

⁵⁶ In contrast to Celsus’s “ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε παρελθόντα εἰς τὸν βίον δαίμοσι τοῖς τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰληχόσιν εὐχαριστητέον καὶ ἀπαρχὰς καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοτέον, ἕως ἂν ζῶμεν, ὡς ἂν φιλανθρώπων αὐτῶν τυγχάνοιμεν.” “*il faut rendre grâce aux démons qui ont reçu en partage les choses de la terre, leur offrir des prémices et des prières toute sa vie, afin d’obtenir leur bienveillance,*” Origen states, “Καὶ βιωτέον οὖν ἡμῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ βιωτέον, ὅσον οἶόν τε καὶ δίδεται κατ’ αὐτὸν βιοῦν· δίδεται δὲ καὶ ὅτε, εἴτ’ ἐσθίομεν εἴτε πίνομεν, « πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ » ποιοῦμεν.” “Certes il faut vivre, et vivre selon la parole de Dieu autant qu’il est possible et qu’il est donné de vivre selon elle. Or cela nous est donné même quand nous mangeons et quand nous buvons en faisant tout pour glorifier Dieu.” “ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες καὶ τοὺς μετ’ εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγίον τι καὶ ἀγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιόσδε προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους.” “Pour nous, qui rendons grâce au Créateur de l’univers, nous mangeons les pains offerts avec action de grâce et prière sur les oblats, pains devenus par la prière un corps saint et qui sanctifie ceux qui en usent avec une intention droite” (Origen, *Contre Celse* 8, 33). Origen, *Contre Celse* (vol. 150 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Marcel Borret; Paris: Cerf, 1969), 246–47. “Now some one when dealing with the passage might say, that just as ‘not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man,’ of even though it may be thought by the Jews to be defiled, so not that which entereth into the mouth sanctifieth the man, even though what is called the bread of the Lord may be thought by the simpler disciples to sanctify. And the saying is I think, not to be despised, and on this account, demands clear exposition, which seems to me to be thus; as it is not the meat but the conscience of him who eats with doubt which defiles him that eateth, for ‘he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith,’ and as nothing is pure to him who is defiled and unbelieving, not in itself, but because of his defilement and unbelief, so that which is sanctified through the word of God and prayer does not, in its own nature, sanctify him who uses it, for, if this were so, it would sanctify even him who eats unworthily of the bread of the Lord, and no one on account of this food would become weak or sickly or asleep for something of this kind Paul represented in saying, ‘For this cause many among you are weak and sickly and not a few sleep.’ And in the case of the bread of the Lord, accordingly, there is advantage to him who uses it, when with undefiled mind and pure conscience he partakes of the bread. And so neither by not eating, I mean by the very fact that we do not eat of the bread which has been sanctified by the word of God and prayer, are we deprived of any good thing, nor by eating are we the better by any good thing; for the cause of our lacking is wickedness and sins, and the cause of our abounding is righteousness and right actions; so that such is the meaning of what is said by Paul, ‘For neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse.’ Now, if ‘everything that entereth into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught,’ even the meat which has been sanctified through the word of God and prayer, in accordance with the fact that it is material, goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught, but in respect of the prayer which comes upon it, according to the proportion of the faith, becomes a benefit and is a means of clear vision to the mind which looks to that which is beneficial, and it is not the material

Origen is the way in which Christ's body and blood* signify Christ's teaching*⁵⁷. The

of the bread but the word which is said over it which is of advantage to him who eats it not unworthily of the Lord. And these things indeed are said of the typical and symbolical body. But many things might be said about the Word Himself who became flesh, and true meat of which he that eateth shall assuredly live for ever, no worthless person being able to eat it; for if it were possible for one who continues worthless to eat of Him who became flesh, who was the Word and the living bread, it would not have been written, that 'every one who eats of this bread shall live for ever'" (Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* 11, 14). Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (trans. John Patrick; 2010), [Http://www.elopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/fathers/origen/matthew-commentary.asp?pg=74 and pg=75](http://www.elopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/fathers/origen/matthew-commentary.asp?pg=74 and pg=75) , accessed March 26, 2010.

⁵⁷ "Our Lord and Saviour says, 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you will not have life in you. For my flesh is true food and my blood is true drink. [John 6:53, 55]' Therefore, since Jesus is totally clean, all his 'flesh is food' and all his 'blood is drink' because his every deed is holy and his every word is true. For this reason, therefore, his 'flesh is true food and' his 'blood is true drink.' For from the flesh and blood of his word, as from pure food and drink, he give drink and refreshment to every kind of person" (Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus* 7, 5, 3). Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16* (vol. 83 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Gary Wayne Barkley; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 145–46; "For even in the Gospels, it is 'the letter' that 'kills.' . . . that one who does not spiritually perceive what is said. For if you follow according to the letter that which is said, 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, [John 6:53]' this 'letter kills.' . . . But if you take it spiritually, it does not kill, but there is in it 'a spirit that gives life.' For this reason, receive spiritually what is said either in the Law or in the Gospels because 'the spiritual one judges all things but that one is not judged by anyone'" (Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus* 7, 5, 5). Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16*, 146–47. "« Il ne s'endormira pas qu'il ne mange sa proie et ne boive le sang des blessés [Num 23:24] ». – Ici, à ces mots, quel est le défenseur opiniâtre du récit historique ou plutôt quel est le sauvage qui, en entendant la teneur littérale de ces mots, ne serait pas horrifié et ne se sentirait pas obligé de se réfugier dans la douceur de l'allégorie ? Car comment ce peuple si honorable, si généreux, pour lequel la parole de Dieu ne compte plus les éloges, en viendra-t-il à « boire le sang des blessés » ? On sait que l'interdiction divine de se nourrir de sang a été signifiée par des préceptes tellement contraignants que nous aussi, les appelés des nations, nous avons l'ordre strict de nous abstenir de sang, tout comme nous le faisons des viandes immolées. Mais il est dit que « nous buvons le sang du Christ », non pas seulement quand nous le recevons selon le rite des mystères, mais aussi quand nous recevons ses paroles où réside la vie, comme il dit lui-même : « Les paroles que j'ai dites sont esprit et vie ». Il est lui-même le « blessé », dont nous « buvons le sang », c'est-à-dire dont nous recevons la doctrine. Mais n'en sont pas moins aussi des blessés ceux qui nous ont prêché sa parole. Et quand nous lisons leurs écrits, c'est-à-dire ceux de ses Apôtres, et que nous suivons la vie qu'ils enseignent, c'est le sang des blessés que nous buvons" (Origen, *Hom Num* 16, 9, 1-2) Origen, *Homilélies sur les Nombres 2: Homélies 11 – 19* (vol. 442 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; Louis Doutreleau; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 261, 263. "En quatrième lieu, parmi les fêtes de Dieu, se place la solennité de la Pâque. En cette fête, on immole un agneau. Quant à toi, regarde l'Agneau véritable, « l'Agneau de Dieu, celui qui ôte le péché du monde [cf. John 1:26] », et dis : « Le Christ, notre Pâque, a été immolé [1 Cor 5:7] ». Les Juifs absorbent matériellement la chair de l'agneau ; mais nous, c'est la chair du Verbe de Dieu que nous devons manger, car il a dit lui-même : « Si vous ne mangez pas ma chair, vous n'aurez pas la vie en vous [John 6:52] ». Ces paroles que nous prononçons en ce moment sont la chair du Verbe de Dieu, à condition toutefois que nous ne les proposons pas comme des légumes pour les faibles [cf. Rom 14:2], ou comme du lait pour les enfants [cf. Heb 5:12]. Si nos paroles sont élevées, solides, vigoureuses [cf. Heb 5:14], ce sont les chairs du Verbe de Dieu que nous vous donnons à manger. Quand on parle de réalités mystiques, – quand on s'exprime dogmatiquement en un exposé solide, empli de foi trinitaire, – quand on déploie après avoir écarté « le voile de la lettre [cf. 2 Cor 3:16] » les mystères de la loi spirituelle dans le siècle à venir, – quand

surface rite is for the simple, the deeper meaning for the more advanced.⁵⁸ In his writings

on détache l'âme de ses espoirs terrestres et qu'on les projette dans les cieux en les plaçant en des biens que « l'œil n'a pas vus ni l'oreille entendus et qui ne sont pas montés au cœur de l'homme [cf. 1 Cor 2:9] », – en tout cela ce sont les chairs du Verbe de Dieu qui sont offertes à manger. Celui qui, avec une intelligence parfaite et un cœur purifié, peut s'en nourrir, celui-là immole véritablement le sacrifice festif de la Pâque et célèbre le jour de fête avec Dieu et ses anges” (Origen, *Hom Num 23*, 6) Origen, *Homilélies sur les Nombres 3: Homélies 20 – 28* (vol. 461 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Louis Doutreleau; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 131. “Give us this day our supersubstantial bread—or as Luke has it: Give us each day our supersubstantial bread. Since some understand from this that we are commanded to pray for material bread, it will be well to refute their error here, and to establish the truth about the supersubstantial bread. . . . For the bread that is given to our flesh is neither heavenly, for is the request for it a great request. . . . In the Gospel according to John He [Jesus] says to those who had come to Capharnaum seeking Him: *Amen, amen, I say to you, you seek <me>, not because you have seen miracles, but because you did eat of the loaves and were filled.* He who has eaten of the bread blessed by Jesus is filled with it, tries all the more to understand the Son of God more perfectly, and hastens to Him. . . . *This is the work of God, that you believe in Him whom He hath sent.* Now God hath sent His Word, and healed them—obviously the sick—as it is written in the Psalms. Those who believe in the Word do the works of God which are *meat that endureth unto life everlasting.* And my Father, He says, *giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven and giveth life to the world.* The ‘true bread’ is that which nourishes the true man, the *man created after the image of God*, and through which he who is nourished by it is made *to the image of Him that created him.* What is more nourishing for the soul than the Word? And what is more precious for the mind of him that understands it than the wisdom of God? And what is in better accord with rational nature than truth?” (Origen, *Prayer 27*, 1-2). Origen, *Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom* (vol. 19 of *Ancient Christian Writers*; trans. John J. O’Meara; Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1954), 92–93; “in the Gospel according to John also He sometimes speaks of bread as being something other than Himself [John 6:32], and sometimes as being Himself. . . . But to those who say to Him: *Give us always this bread,* He says regarding Himself: *I am the bread of life. He that cometh to me shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me shall never thirst;* [John 6:34-35] and shortly afterwards: *I am the <living> bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world.* [John 6:51-52] Further, since every form of nourishment is called ‘bread’ in the Scriptures, . . . and since the word that nourishes is manifold and varied, for not everyone can receive the solid and strong nourishment of God’s teachings: therefore, wishing to give an athlete’s nourishment suitable to the more perfect, He says: *The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* [John 6:52] And a little later: *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me.* [John 6:54-57] This is the *true meat*, the flesh of Christ, which, being Word became flesh according to what is written: *And the Word was made flesh.* When we, <eat and >drink Him, then He *dwells among us.* When He is distributed, then is the text fulfilled, *We saw His glory. This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your father did eat and are dead. He that eateth this bread shall live forever.* [John 6:59] Paul, speaking to the Corinthians as *unto little ones* and such as *walked according to man*, says: *I gave you milk to drink, not meat; for you were not able as yet. But neither indeed are you now able; for you are yet carnal.* [1 Cor 3: 1, 3, 2] And in the Epistle to the Hebrews: *And you are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For everyone that is a partaker of milk is unskilful in the word of justice; for he is a little child. But strong meat is for the perfect, for them who by custom have their senses exercised to the discerning of good and evil.* [Heb 5:12-14] It is my opinion that the words: *One believeth that he may eat*

Origen accepts the Eucharist as the sacrifice* which replaces the earlier propitiatory sacrifices of Israel.⁵⁹ Using typology*, Origen shows that Israel's shew-bread was a type of Christ and of the bread.⁶⁰ As with Clement of Alexandria, Origen uses John 6:53, 55 to show that believers receive the eucharistic elements both physically and spiritually and

all things, but he that is weak eats herbs, [Rom 14:2] are not primarily spoken of bodily nourishment, but rather of the words of God which nourish the soul. [Cf. Matt 4:4 (Deut 8:3)] The true believer and the truly perfect can eat everything, as shown in the passage, *One believeth that he may eat all things*. But he that is weak and imperfect contents himself with teachings that are simple and not strong enough to make him full of vigour. Paul has him in mind when he says, *But he that is weak eats herbs* (Origen, *Prayer* 27, 3-5). Origen, *Prayer*, 93-95.

⁵⁸“About Judas, did he eat the morsel? “Consequently, it might be said in relation to this passage, and not without persuasion, that just as he who eats the bread of the Lord or drinks his cup unworthily eats and drinks to judgment, the one supernatural power in the bread and in the cup producing what is better when the underlying disposition is better, but producing judgment when it is worse, so the morsel from Jesus was of the same kind with that which was also given the rest of the apostles with the statement, ‘Take, eat.’ To the others it was for salvation, but to Judas it was for judgment, because Satan entered him after the morsel. Let the simple understand the bread and the cup according to the more common interpretation concerning the Eucharist, but let those who have learned to hear in a deeper way understand them in accordance with the promise that is more excellent and concerns the nourishing word of truth. It is as if I had said, as an example, that the bread that is most nourishing in the physical sense will increase the underlying fever, but on the other hand, it restores one to health and vigor” (Origen, *John* 32, 309-310). Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John Books 13-32* (vol. 89 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Ronald E. Heine; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1993), 399-400.

⁵⁹ See (Origen, *John* 32, 309-310) and (Origen, *Contra Celsus* 8, 33), above; “Indeed, how the rite of atonement for men, which was done to God, should be celebrated was taught among the ancients. But you who came to Christ, the true high priest, who made atonement for you to God by his blood and reconciled you to the Father, do not hold fast to the blood of the flesh. Learn rather the blood of the Word and hear him saying to you, ‘This is my blood which will be poured out for you for the forgiveness of sins. [Matt 26:28]’ He who is inspired by the mysteries knows both the flesh and the blood of the Word of God. Therefore, let us not remain in these which are known to the wise and cannot be laid open to the ignorant” (Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus* 9, 10, 1). Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16*, 199.

⁶⁰“But if these things are referred to the greatness of the mystery, you will find this ‘remembrance’ to have the effect of a great propitiation. If you return to that ‘loaf which descends from heaven and gives life to this world, [John 6:33]’ that shew bread ‘who God set forth as a propitiation through faith in his blood [Rom 3:25]’ and if you turn your attention to that ‘remembrance’ about which the Lord says, ‘Do this in remembrance of me, [1 Cor 11:25]’ you will find that this is the only ‘remembrance’ which makes God gracious to men. Therefore, if you recall more intently the ecclesiastical mysteries, you will find the image of the future truth anticipated in these things which the Law writes. Every word of God is a loaf but there is a difference in loaves. For there is a certain word which can be delivered in the common hearing and which can teach the people about the works of mercy and of all kindness; and this is a loaf which will appear common. But there is another which contains secrets and speaks about the faith in God or the knowledge of things. That loaf is made from ‘fine wheat flour.’ . . . I will show you from Scriptures how among diverse persons a different loaf is served to each one according to his merit” (Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus* 13, 3, 3-4). Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16*, 237.

require pure intentions even towards other believers.⁶¹

Finally, according to Kelly, Cyprian of Carthage takes a similar position to that of Hippolytus and of Tertullian.⁶² He also believes that Christ is truly present* in the

⁶¹ See Origen, *Hom. Num* 16, 9, above. “No one understands in heart unless his heart is untrammelled, unless he be open-minded and totally intent. Unless one be watchful in heart he cannot understand in heart and offer gifts to God. But even if we have been neglectful thus far let us immediately, starting now, be more attentive and give attention carefully, that we can understand in mind. And again how shameful, how miserable it will be if the Lord, when he comes to inquire about the building of the tabernacle, should find no gift from you in it; if he should perceive nothing offered by you. Have you lived so irreligiously, so unfaithfully that you have desire to have no memorial of your own in God’s tabernacle? . . . You who are accustomed to take part in divine mysteries know, when you receive the body of the Lord, how you protect it with all caution and veneration lest any small part fall from it, lest anything of the consecrated gift be lost. For you believe, and correctly, that you are answerable if anything falls from there by neglect. But if you are so careful to preserve his body, and rightly so, how do you think that there is less guilt to have neglected God’s word than to have neglected his body?” (Origen, *Homilies on Exodus* 13, 3-4). Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (vol. 71 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Ronald E. Heine; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 379; “« Ceux donc qui me voulaient du mal ont tenu de vains propos, et tout le jour, ils méditaient une fourberie. » Vois celui qui tend des pièges au juste ! Car je l’appelle déjà « juste » celui qui se fait d’abord son propre accusateur, comme l’indique la parole de l’Écriture. En effet, l’Écriture nomme « sage » celui qui, lorsqu’il est repris, ne hait pas celui qui le reprend, mais, de plus, l’aime; de même aussi, est dit « juste » celui qui, après une faute, ne demeure pas dans ses fautes et n’attend pas que le diable se fasse son accusateur, ni qu’il étale devant tous ses péchés, mais s’accusera lui-même, se dénoncera lui-même et par son aveu, est délivré de la mort. En effet « ceux qui me voulaient du mal ont tenu de vains propos, et tout le jour, ils méditaient une fourberie. Mais moi, tel un sourd, je n’écoutais pas. » Rien ne se peut trouver de plus splendide, rien de plus excellent que cette force d’un homme qui, entendant ceux qui le maudissent et le calomnient dire du mal de lui, le déchirer, le dénigrer, le mettre en cause, détourne lui-même son oreille comme s’il n’entendait pas, écarte son regard comme s’il ne voyait pas, pour ne pas être exaspéré par l’emportement et ne pas courir à la vengeance, pour ne pas chercher à réclamer œil pour œil, parole pour parole, injure pour injure, mensonge pour mensonge, outrage pour outrage. Tel est donc le juste. Car déjà, comme je l’ai dit, j’appelle « juste » celui qui, par son aveu de ses péchés, vomira ses passions” (Origen *Sur les Psaumes* 37, 2, 2). Origen, *Homélie sur les Psaumes 36 à 38* (vol. 411 of *Sources Chrétiennes*; trans. Henri Crouzel and Luc Brésard; Paris: Cerf, 1995), 307. “« Car mon iniquité, je la déclare ». Nous avons parlé très souvent de la déclaration de l’iniquité, c’est-à-dire de la confession du péché. Vois donc ce que nous enseigne l’Écriture divine : il ne faut pas cacher un péché au-dedans de soi. Peut-être en est-il en effet comme de ceux qui ont, renfermée au-dedans d’eux-mêmes, une nourriture indigeste ou une stagnation d’humeur ou de glaire accablante et pénible sur l’estomac; s’ils vomissent, les voilà soulagés! Ainsi en est-il aussi de ceux qui ont péché : s’ils cachent et gardent en eux leur péché, ils sont opprimés au-dedans d’eux-mêmes et quasiment étouffés par la glaire ou l’humeur du péché. Mais si le pécheur lui-même se fait son propre accusateur, quand il s’accuse lui-même et avoue, en même temps il vomit aussi son méfait, et dissout toute cause de maladie” (Origen, *Sur les Psaumes* 37, 2, 6). Origen, *Homélie sur Psaume 37*, 317, 319.

⁶² As with Hippolytus and Tertullian, Cyprian believed that the taking of communion without doing penance was a sin against the Lord more grievous than the sins committed by their words of denial against Christ while lapsed. *De Laps.* 16. “But now I learn with the greatest sorrow of mind that, . . . in which you ask to have your desires examined and peace given to certain lapsed persons when, after persecution is over, we begin to assemble together and to be gathered with the clergy, there against the law of the Gospel, against your honorable petition also, before penance has been done, before the confession of a very serious and low crime has been made, before hands have been imposed by bishop and priest in

eucharistic species and seems to be approaching an understanding of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist.⁶³ This is evident most fully in Letter 63 which takes the Aquarians to task for their use of water rather than wine in the celebration of the Eucharist. He held that the celebration of the Eucharist should remain faithful to what Jesus said and did at the Last Supper.⁶⁴ His understanding of the real presence* of Christ in the eucharistic elements is evidenced in his later writings where he speaks of the dangers of profanation of the Eucharist.⁶⁵

penance, they dare to offer the Holy Sacrifice for them and to give them the Eucharist, that is, to profane the Holy Body of the Lord although it is written: ‘Who eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord [cf., 1 Cor 11:27]’ *Epistle 15*, 1. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)* (vol. 51 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Rose Bernard Donna; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 44.

⁶³ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 215.

⁶⁴ “[K]eep the order of evangelical truth and of the tradition of the Lord and do not depart by human and novel institution from that which Christ, the Master, both taught and did, yet since certain ones, either through ignorance or through simplicity, in consecrating the Chalice of the Lord and in ministering to the people, do not do what Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the Author and Teacher of this Sacrifice, did and taught” *Epistle 63*, 1. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 203. “But know that we have been warned in offering the Chalice that the tradition of the Lord must be observed and that nothing should be done otherwise by us than what the Lord first did for us, that the Chalice which is offered in His Commemoration should be offered mixed with wine. For when Christ says: ‘I am the true vine [John 15:1],’ the Blood of Christ is, indeed, not water, but wine. Nor can His Blood, by which we are redeemed and vivified, which is foretold by the testimony and pledge of all the Scriptures, be seen to be in the Chalice when wine, wherein the Blood of Christ is shown, is wanting to the Chalice” *Epistle 63*, 2. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 203. “For, because Christ, who bore our sins, also bore us all, we see that people are signified in the water, but in the wine the Blood of Christ is shown. . . . But thus, in consecrating of the Chalice of the Lord, water alone cannot be offered, nor can wine alone. For, if anyone offers wine alone, the Blood of Christ begins to be without us. If, in truth, the water is alone, the people begin to be without Christ. But when both are mixed and, in union, are joined to each other and mingled together, then the spiritual and heavenly Sacrament is completed. Thus, in truth, the Chalice of the Lord is not water alone, or wine alone, unless both are mixed together, just as flour alone or water alone cannot be the Body of the Lord unless both have been united and joined and made solid in the structure of one bread. By this Sacrament itself, our people are shown to be united; just as many grains collected in one and united and mixed form one bread, so in Christ, who is the heavenly Bread, we may know is one Body, to which our number is joined and united” *Epistle 63*, 13. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 211.

⁶⁵ In chapters 25 and 26 of his treatise *The Lapsed*, Cyprian recounts several instances of individuals who should not be receiving the Eucharist through their own sin or through events perpetrated upon them. In each case, the eucharistic species are “protected” from profanation. Cyprian ends one report: “The Eucharist could not remain in a body or a mouth that was defiled; the drink which had been sanctified by Our Lord’s blood returned from the polluted stomach. So great is the power of the Lord, so sacred His majesty; under His light the hidden corners of darkness were laid bare, even secret crimes did not escape the priest of God” *De Laps* 25. Cyprian, *St. Cyprian: The Lapsed and The Unity of the Catholic Church*

For Cyprian, due to the fact that Christ offered himself in the passion, Christ's passion* must remain a part of the eucharistic sacrificial offering. The priest re-presents the passion of Christ to the Father as Christ himself once did. And, the fact that Cyprian spoke of offering* it on behalf of those in need⁶⁶ and of the dead⁶⁷ shows that he

(vol. 25 of *Ancient Christian Writers*; trans. Maurice Bévenot; New York: Newman Press, 1956), 32–33. The reports continue in *De Laps* 26. Cyprian, *The Lapsed* and *The Unity*, 33–34. This understanding that Christ is truly present in the eucharistic species is also seen in his treatise *The Lord's Prayer*, “As the prayer proceeds, we ask and say: ‘Give us this day our daily bread.’ This can be understood both spiritually and simply, because either understanding is of profit in divine usefulness for salvation. For Christ is the bread of life and the bread here is of all, but is ours. And as we say ‘Our Father,’ because He is the Father of those who understand and believe, so too we say ‘our Bread,’ because Christ is the bread of those of us who attain to His body. Moreover, we ask that this bread be given daily, lest we, who are in Christ and receive the Eucharist daily as food of salvation, with the intervention of some more grievous sin, while we are shut off and as non-communicants are kept from the heavenly bread, be separated from the body of Christ as He Himself declares, saying: ‘I am the bread of life which came down from heaven. If any man eat of my bread he shall live forever. Moreover, the bread that I shall give is my flesh for the life of the world.’ [Cf. John 6:51, 52, 58] Since then He says that, if anyone eats of His bread, he lives forever, as it is manifest that they live how attain to His body and receive the Eucharist by right of communion, so on the other hand we must fear and pray lest anyone, while he is cut off and separated from the body of Christ, remain apart from salvation, as He Himself threatens, saying: ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you.’ [John 6:54] And so we petition that our bread, that is Christ be given us daily, so that we, who abide and live in Christ, may not withdraw from His sanctification and body” *De Orat. dom.* 18. Cyprian, *Saint Cyprian: Treatises* (translated and edited by Roy J. Deferrari; vol. 36 of *The Fathers of the Church*; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 142–43. Finally, the same is seen in *Epistle 57*, “But now, in truth, peace is necessary, not for the sick, but for the strong; nor is Communion to be given by us to the dying but to the living that we should not leave unarmed and naked those whom we stir up and exhort to the battle, but should fortify them with the protection of the Blood and of the Body of Christ. And, since the Eucharist is appointed for this that it may be a safeguard for those receiving, let us arm with the protection of Divine Food those whom we wish to be safe against the adversary. For how do we teach or incite them to shed their blood for the confession of His Name if we deny the Blood of Christ to those who are about to fight? Or how do we make them fit for the chalice of martyrdom if we do not first admit them to drink the Chalice of the Lord in the Church by the right of Communion” *Epistle 57*, 2. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 159.

⁶⁶ See (Cyprian, *Epistle*, 15, 1), above; “Yet I hear that some of the priests, not mindful of the Gospel, not considering what the martyrs have written to us, not reserving for the bishop the honour of his priesthood and of his see, have already begun to be in communion with the lapsed and to offer for them the Holy Sacrifice and to give them the Eucharist although they should attain to these things in order. For since in minor offenses which are not committed directly against God penance is done for a just time and confession is made when the life of the one who does penance has been investigated and since no one can come to Communion unless, first, hands have been imposed upon him by the bishop and the clergy, how much more in these exceedingly grievous and extreme sins ought all things to be observed cautiously and moderately according to the discipline of the Lord! . . . Priests and deacons, indeed, ought to have warned our people about this that they might protect the sheep entrusted to them and, with the divine teaching, instruct them in the way of obtaining salvation. I have known equally the calmness and the fear of our people; they would watch for the satisfaction and impetration of God if certain priests, attempting to oblige

understood the efficacy of the eucharistic sacrifice*.⁶⁸

them, had not deceived them” *Epistle 17*, 2. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 50.

⁶⁷ In *Epistle 1*, *Epistle 12*, and *Epistle 39*: “The bishops, our predecessors, conscientiously considering this and wisely providing, decreed that no dying brother should name a cleric for guardianship or for trusteeship and, if anyone had done this, prayers should not be offered for him and the Sacrifice should not be celebrated for the repose of his soul. For he who has wished bishops and priests to be distracted from the altar does not deserve to be named at the altar of God in the prayer of the bishops. . . . [The concern was that an example be set]. . . lest anyone call away to secular pursuits bishops and ministers of God devoted to His altar and Church” *Epistle 1*, 2. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 4. “And of these finally, take note of the days on which they die that we may be able to celebrate their commemoration among the memorials of the martyrs although Tertullus, our very faithful and very devoted brother, who does not fail in that matter regarding the care of bodies, among other things which, in his solicitude and care, he bestows upon the brethren in every duty of service, has written and is writing and indicating to me the days on which our blessed brethren in prison pass through the exit door of a glorious death to immortality. And for their commemorations, let there be celebrated here by us Oblations and Sacrifices which, with protection of the Lord, we shall celebrate soon with you. As I have already often written, let not your care and diligence, moreover, fail the poor, those particularly who, standing in faith and fighting valiantly with us, have not left the camp of Christ. We must now show greater love and care, indeed, to them because, neither dejected by poverty nor prostrated by the storm of persecution while they are serving the Lord faithfully, they have also offered an example of faith to the other poor” *Epistle 12*, 2. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 35–36. “Nor is this title of glories strange and new in our dearly beloved Celerinus. He is following the footprints of his kindred; he rivals his parents and relatives with a similar distinction of divine condescension. His grandmother, Celerina, was long ago crowned with martyrdom. His paternal and his maternal uncles, likewise, Laurentine and Egnatius, themselves also formerly fighting in the worldly camp, but true and spiritual soldiers of God, while they cast down the devil by the confession of Christ, deserved the palms and crowns of the Lord by their glorious passion. We offer Sacrifices for them always, as you remember, as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs with an annual commemoration. He, therefore, who thus the dignity and generous nobility of his family stirred up by domestic examples of courage and faith, could be neither inferior to his ancestors nor less great. Now if it is a mark of praise and esteem in a worldly family to be a patrician, of how much greater praise and honour is it to become eminent in heavenly praise? I do not know whom I should rather call more blessed, whether it should be those of so famous a posterity or him from a glorious origin. The divine condescension so equally recurs and comes among them that the dignity of the offspring embellishes their crown and the sublimity of his birth illumines his glory” *Epistle 39*, 3. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 100–101.

⁶⁸ “And since we make mention of His Passion in all Sacrifices, for the Passion of the Lord is, indeed, the Sacrifice which we offer, we ought to do nothing other than what He did. For Scripture says that, as often as we offer the Chalice in the commemoration of the lord and of his Passion [cf., 1 Cor 11:26], we should do that which it is certain the Lord did. And, dearly beloved Brother, let him look to it, if anyone of our predecessors either through ignorance or through simplicity did not observe this and did not keep that which the Lord taught us to do by His example and by His teaching. Pardon from the mercy of the Lord may be given to his simplicity. It cannot, in truth, be forgiven in us, who now are admonished and instructed by the Lord to offer the Chalice of the Lord mixed with wine, according to what the Lord offered, and to direct letters to our colleagues concerning this matter also, that everywhere the evangelical law and the tradition of the Lord should be kept and that there should be no departure from what Christ both taught and did” *Epistle 63*, 17. Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, 213–14.

The identification of the eucharistic bread and wine with Christ's body and blood* continued in the third century with differences between Eastern and Western thought on the eucharistic sacrifice*. In the West, represented by Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Cyprian, the consecrated elements are Jesus' body and blood in a sacramental way. As seen above, Hippolytus sees the church saved through Christ's body and blood; Tertullian refers to the bread as "the Lord's body"; and Cyprian was the first to express the idea of the eucharistic sacrifice.⁶⁹ In the East, represented by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, the realism of the eucharistic sacrifice drew attention to the spiritual world behind the physical one. As seen above, Clement of Alexandria equated the elements to Christ's body and blood, and Origen developed the thought that consuming the eucharistic elements is a way of apprehending the divine power. Origen sees both the material and the spiritual aspects of the sacrament with different levels of meaning intended for different levels of Christians. For him, the eucharistic elements also point to Christ's teaching.⁷⁰

As a summary of how these writers viewed the Eucharist as sacrifice: Tertullian echoes Clement's view of the Eucharist as a sacrifice προσφορά with Melchizedek's offering as its type; he says that offering the sacrifice is the priest's function and points out that the Eucharist is offered for the dead and as the new sacrifice which was foretold by Malachi. He also links it to a commemoration of the Last Supper and Christ's passion. Origen presupposes the sacrifice of first-fruits and prayers to the Creator replacing the propitiatory sacrifices of Israel with the shew-bread as a type of Christ and eucharistic bread; on a deeper level, sacrifice signifies the surrender of one's heart to God.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 211–16.

⁷⁰ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 213–14.

⁷¹ While Tertullian is the first to mention the offering of the Eucharist for the dead, he presents it as an already established tradition (*De cor.* 3; *de monog* 10; *de exhort. cast.* 11). That it is foretold by Malachi in *In Cant.* 3, 4; *in Dan.* 4, 35. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 214–15.

It is only in the fourth century that scholars begin to reveal their interest in the way the change* to the eucharistic elements takes place. The Fathers used various words to express what they believed was happening at the Eucharist and had different understandings of how the change takes place.⁷² We now turn to the work of Cyril of Jerusalem who, beginning with the thought of the earlier writers, continued the development of the church's understanding of the Eucharist.

2.4. Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386)

Cyril of Jerusalem's main work on the Eucharist is found in his *Five Mystagogical Catecheses*.⁷³ He held that the “invocation of the adorable Trinity” changed* the bread and wine into the body and blood* of Christ (*Mystagogic* 1, 7).⁷⁴ He reminds the neophytes of this reality again (*Mystagogic* 3, 3).⁷⁵

⁷² A number of words are used to indicate the change to the elements: “Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of a *metabole*, John Chrysostom prefers *metarruthmizo*, Gregory of Nyssa *metastoikeo* or again (with Chrysostom) *metaskeuazo*; Cyril of Alexandria suggests *methistemi*, and in the west, Ambrose proposes *convertere, mutare, fieri* or *transfigurare*.” Similarly, how the change happens is understood differently: for Cyril of Jerusalem, God acts through the Spirit; for Sarapion of Thmuis God acts through the Word; and for Gregory of Nyssa, it is in response to the prayer of the celebrant. Halliburton, “The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist,” 250.

⁷³ These *Mystagogical Catecheses* are the last five of Cyril's 24 *Catechetical Lectures*. Clark, *Catholicism and the Eucharist*, 231.

⁷⁴ “Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν εἰδωλίοις καὶ πανηγύρεσι κρεμνώμενα, ἔσθ' ὅτε κρέα, ἢ ἄρτοι, ἢ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα μιανθέντα τῇ τῶν παμμιάρων ἐπικλήσει δαιμόνων, ἐγκαταλεχθεῖν ἂν τῇ τοῦ διαβόλου πομπῇ. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός, ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα τῆς πομπῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει λιτὰ ὄντα, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῶν διαμόνων βέβηλα γίνεται.” “Mais encore ce qu'on suspend dans les temples d'idoles et dans les fêtes, par exemple, viandes, pains ou autres aliments de ce genre, souillés par l'invocation des démons infâmes, peut être inscrit dans la pompe du diable. De même, en effet, que le pain et le vin de l'Eucharistie, avant la sainte épiclese de l'adorable Trinité, étaient du pain et du vin ordinaires, mais qu'après l'épiclese le pain devient corps du Christ et le vin sang du Christ, de semblable manière les aliments de cette espèce qui constituent la pompe de Satan, de leur propre nature communs, par l'invocation des démons deviennent impurs” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 1, 7). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques* (vol. 126 bis of *Sources Chrétien*nes; 2d rev; trans. Auguste Piédégnel; Paris: Cerf, 2004), 94–95.

⁷⁵ “Ἄλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὑπονοήσης ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπικλήσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπικλήσεως, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον. Ὅπερ συμβολικῶς ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σου χρίεται αἰσθητηρίων. Καὶ τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ μύρῳ τὸ σῶμα χρίεται, τῷ δὲ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνέματι ἢ ψυχῇ ἀγιάζεται.” “Mais veille à ne pas

In *Mystagogic* 4, Cyril begins with 1 Cor 11:23-26, and then paraphrases by combining this text from Paul with Matt 26:26-27⁷⁶ in order to expound further on the reality of what has taken place. Pointing to the miracle at Cana where Jesus changed water into wine, Cyril demonstrates the believability of the wine of the Eucharist becoming Jesus' blood. Christ is truly present* in the eucharistic species.⁷⁷

In this same *Mystagogic* Catechesis, Cyril branches out to other Scripture passages: first he speaks of John 6:54 (*Mystagogic* 4, 4),⁷⁸ and then he makes a link to

t'imaginer qu'il y ait là simple parfum. De même en effet que le pain de l'Eucharistie, après l'épiclese de l'Esprit-Saint, n'est plus du simple pain, mais corps du Christ, de même aussi ce saint parfum n'est plus avec l'épiclese, un parfum pur et simple, ou pourrait-on dire commun, il est don du Christ, devenu par la présence de l'Esprit-Saint efficace de sa divinité. C'est ce parfum dont symboliquement on te chrisme le front et les autres sens. De ce parfum visible le corps est chrismé, mais du saint et vivifiant Esprit l'âme est sanctifiée" (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 3, 3). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 124–25.

⁷⁶ Jurgens, *Faith Volume 1*, 369, n. 95. See also, Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem* (vol. 2 of *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*; trans. Members of the English Church; Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1842), 270.

⁷⁷ After citing 1 Cor 11:23-25 and Matt 26:26 Cyril continues, "Αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποφνηαμένου καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου· « Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα », τίς τολμήσει ἀμφιβάλλειν λοιπόν; Καὶ αὐτοῦ διαβεβαιωσαμένου καὶ εἰρηκότος· « Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἶμα », τίς ἐνδοιάσει ποτὲ λέγων μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ αἶμα;" "Quand donc lui-même a déclaré et dit du pain : « Ceci est mon corps », qui osera hésiter désormais? Et quand lui-même affirme catégoriquement et dit : « Ceci est mon sang », qui doutera jamais et dira que ce n'est pas son sang?" (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 1) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 134–35. Given that Christ changed water into wine at Cana, could he not change wine into blood? (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 2) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 136–37. "Ὅστε μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνομεν Χριστοῦ. Ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου δίδοται σοὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοταί σοι τὸ αἶμα, ἵνα γένη, μεταλάβων σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος Χριστοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ χριστοφόροι γινόμεθα, τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναδιδομένου μέλη. Οὕτω κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θείας « κοινωνοὶ γινόμεθα φύσεως »." "C'est donc avec une assurance absolue que nous participons d'une certaine manière au corps et au sang du Christ. Car sous la figure du pain t'est donné le corps et sous la figure du vin t'est donné le sang, afin que tu deviennes, en ayant participé au corps et au sang du Christ, un seul corps et un seul sang avec le Christ. Ainsi devenons-nous des « porte-Christ », son corps et son sang se répandant en nos membres. De cette façon, selon le bienheureux Pierre, nous devenons « participants de la nature divine »." (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 3) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 136–37.

⁷⁸ Cyril cites John 6: 53, 60, 66: "Ποτὲ Χριστὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν· « Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητέ μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνητέ μου τὸ αἶμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. » Ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες ἀπήλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐπὶ σαρκαφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεσθαι." "Jadis le Christ, s'entretenant avec les Juifs, disait : « Si vous ne mangez ma chair et si vous ne buvez mon sang, vous n'avez pas la vie en vous. » Ceux-là n'entendirent pas spirituellement ses paroles et, scandalisés, ils se retirèrent, s'imaginant que le Sauveur les

Ps 78:24⁷⁹ and Ps 116:12⁸⁰ and the shew-bread (*Mystagogic* 4, 5).⁸¹ Before continuing (*Mystagogic* 4, 6)⁸² and reasserting the change, he quotes Ps 104:14-15 “You bring bread from the earth, and wine to gladden our hearts, oil to make our faces gleam, food to build up our strength” (*Mystagogic* 4, 9).⁸³

In his last *Mystagogic Catechesis*, Cyril reminds his hearers of the change* from mere bread and wine to the body and blood* of Christ (*Mystagogic* 5, 7)⁸⁴ and then

invitait à une manducation charnelle” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 4). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 138–39.

⁷⁹ “And he rained down upon them manna to eat, and gave them the grain of heaven” Ps 78:24.

⁸⁰ Although the side-bar notation mentions v. 12, the text St. Cyril quotes is v. 13 (in both the MT and in the LXX): “I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the LORD” PS 116:13.

⁸¹ In a reference to Lev 24:5-9 Cyril states, “ Ἦσαν καὶ ἐν παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ ἄρτοι προθέσεως· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι παλαιᾶς ὄντες διαθήκης τέλος εἰλήφασιν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἄρτος οὐράνιος καὶ ποτήριον σωτηρίου, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀγιάζοντα. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῷ σώματι κατάλληλος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Λόγος τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρμόδιος.” “Il y avait aussi dans l’Ancien Testament des pains de propitiation; mais ces pains, appartenant au testament ancien, ont pris fin. Dans le testament nouveau, il est un pain céleste et un calice de salut, qui sanctifient l’âme et le corps. Car comme le pain est fait pour le corps, ainsi le Logos s’accorde bien avec l’âme” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 5). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 138–39 and Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures of Cyril*, 271.

⁸² “Μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω. Μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γεύσεως κρίνης τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνενδοιάστως, σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιωθεῖς.” “Ne t’attache donc pas comme à des éléments naturels au pain et au vin, car ils sont, selon la déclaration du Maître, corps et sang. C’est, il est vrai, ce que te suggèrent les sens; mais que la foi te rassure. Ne juge pas en ce domaine d’après le goût, mais d’après la foi aie pleine assurance, toi qui as été jugé digne du corps et du sang du Christ” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 6). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 138–39.

⁸³ “Ταῦτα μαθὼν καὶ πληροφορηθεῖς, ὡς ὁ φαινόμενος ἄρτος οὐκ ἄρτος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτός ἐστι τῇ γεύσει, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος οἶνος οὐκ οἶνος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ ἡ γεῦσις τοῦτο βούλεται, ἀλλὰ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὅτι περὶ τούτου ἔλεγε ψάλλον πάλαι ὁ Δαβὶδ· « Καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει, τοῦ ἰλαρῦναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ· » στηρίζου τὴν καρδίαν, μεταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ ὡς πνευματικοῦ, καὶ ἰλάρυνου τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πρόσωπον.” “Tu as reçu l’enseignement et tu as pleine certitude : ce qui paraît du pain n’est pas du pain, bien qu’il soit tel pour le goût, mais le corps du Christ; et ce qui paraît vin n’est pas du vin, bien que le goût le veuille ainsi, mais le sang du Christ. Et tu sais aussi que David chantait à ce sujet jadis : « Et le pain fortifie le cœur de l’homme, pour que par l’huile sa face brille joyeusement. » Fortifie donc ton cœur, prenant ce pain comme un pain spirituel, et réjouis le visage de ton âme” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 4, 9). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 144–45.

⁸⁴ “Εἴτα ἀγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστείλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ· παντὸς γὰρ οὐδ’ ἂν ἐφάψῃται τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιασται καὶ μεταβέβηται.” “Puis une fois sanctifiés nous-mêmes par ces hymnes spirituels, nous

moves to a discussion of the efficacy of the sacrifice* of Christ rendered in a bloodless way on the altar of the churches (*Mystagogic* 5, 8).⁸⁵ He also tells the neophytes that their prayers for the dead are efficacious because of Christ's sacrifice* (*Mystagogic* 5, 10).⁸⁶

Finally, Cyril reminds his readers yet again that they need to exercise faith on reception of the bread and wine as they are receiving the *antitype** (*Mystagogic* 5, 20)⁸⁷

supplions le Dieu philanthrope d'envoyer l'Esprit-Saint sur les dons ici déposés, pour faire le pain corps du Christ, et le vin sang du Christ; car, tout ce que touche l'Esprit-Saint, cela devient sanctifié et transformé" (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 7). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 154–55.

⁸⁵ “Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀνάιμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ στρατοπέδων καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμενοι δὲ πάντες ἡμεῖς ταύτην προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν.” “Ensuite, après qu'a été accompli le sacrifice spirituel, le culte non-sanglant, sur cette victime de propitiation, nous invoquons Dieu pour la paix commune des Églises, pour le bon équilibre du monde, pour les empereurs, pour les armées et les alliés, pour les malades, pour les affligés et en un mot, pour tous ceux qui ont besoin de secours, nous prions tous nous aussi et offrons ce sacrifice” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 8). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 156–57.

⁸⁶ Cyril defends the offering of the sacrifice for others with an analogy of relatives beseeching the king on behalf of someone he has banished. “Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων αὐτῷ τὰς δεήσεις προσφέροντες, κἂν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὦσιν, οὐ στέφανον πλέκομεν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρομεν, ἐξιλεούμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεόν.” “De la même manière nous aussi, en présentant à Dieu nos supplications pour ceux qui se sont endormis, fussent-ils pécheurs, nous ne tressons pas de couronne, mais nous présentons le Christ immolé pour nos péchés, rendant propice pour eux et pour nous, le Dieu philanthrope” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 10). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 158–61.

⁸⁷ “Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μέλους θείου προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ λέγοντος: « Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. » Μὴ τῷ λάρυγγι τῷ σωματικῷ ἐπιτρέπητε τὸ κριτικόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνενδοιάστῳ πίστει· γεύομενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου γεύεσθε, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ.” “Après cela vous entendez le chantre qui vous invite sur une mélodie divine à la communion des saints mystères ; il dit : « Goûtez et voyez que le Seigneur est bon. » Ne confiez pas la sentence à votre gosier corporel, mais à la foi indubitable. Car en goûtant, ce n'est pas du pain et du vin que vous goûtez, mais le corps et le sang du Christ qu'ils signifient” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 20). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 168–71.

Jurgens explains the type/antitype terminology as follows: “Let the reader remember that an *antitype* is the thing itself which is prefigured by a *type*. For example, the bread and wine of Melchisedech is a *type* of the Eucharist, while in the same figure the Body and Blood of Christ is the *antitype*.” Jurgens, *Faith Volume 1*, 371, n. 142.

and that they should receive the Eucharist with reverence (*Mystagogic* 5, 21).⁸⁸ Leaving Cyril's contribution behind, we move to a writer of the late fourth century: Ambrose of Milan.

2.5. Ambrose of Milan (ca. 333–397)

The main eucharistic texts of Ambrose of Milan are *On the Mysteries* and *On the Sacraments*, both of which were written in 390–391.⁸⁹

In *On the Mysteries* Ambrose discusses the fact that the blessing has changed* the bread into the body* of Christ in order to assure people that they do receive the body of Christ.⁹⁰ In the same chapter he talks about the spiritual food* and drink with reference to

⁸⁸ “Προσιὼν οὖν μὴ τεταμένους τοῖς τῶν χειρῶν καρποῖς προσέρχου, μηδὲ διηρημένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν θρόνον ποιήσας τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὡς μελλούση Βασιλέα ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ κοιλάνας τὴν παλάμην δέχου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιλέγων « Ἀμήν ». Μετ’ ἀσφαλείας οὖν ἀγιάσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῇ ἐπαφῇ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μεταλάβανε, προσέχων μὴ παραπολέσης τι ἐκ τούτου· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀπολέσης, τοῦτο ὡς ἀπὸ οἰκείου ἐζημιώθης μέλους. Εἶπε γάρ μοι, εἴ τίς σοι ἔδωκε ψήγματα χρυσοῦ, οὐκ ἂν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐκράτεις, φυλαττόμενος μὴ τι αὐτῶν παραπολέσης καὶ ζημίαν ὑποστής; Οὐ πολλῶ οὖν μᾶλλον ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων τιμιωτέρον διασκοπήσεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψίχα ἐκπεσεῖν;” “Quand donc tu t’approches, ne t’avance pas les paumes des mains étendues, ni les doigts disjoints; mais fais de ta main gauche un trône pour ta main droite, puis-que celle-ci doit recevoir le Roi, et, dans le creux de ta main, reçois le corps du Christ, disant : « Amen ». Avec soin alors sanctifie tes yeux par le contact du saint corps, puis prend-le et veille à n’en rien perdre. Car ce que tu perdrais, c’est comme si tu étais privé de l’un de tes membres. Dis-moi en effet, si l’on t’avait donné des paillettes d’or, ne les retiendrais-tu pas avec le plus grand soin, prenant garde d’en rien perdre et d’en subir dommage? Ne veilleras-tu donc pas avec beaucoup plus le soin sur un objet plus précieux que l’or et que les pierres précieuses, afin de n’en pas perdre une miette?” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 21). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 170–73. “Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι σε τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων, καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ « Ἀμήν », ἀγιάζου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνων Χριστοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ τῆς νοτίδος ἐνούσης τοῖς χεῖλεσι χερσὶν ἐπαφώμενος καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μέτωπον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγίαζε αἰσθητήρια. Εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν, εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν τηλικούτων μυστηρίων.” “Ensuite, après avoir communiqué au corps du Christ, approche-toi aussi du calice de son sang. N’étends pas les mains, mais incliné, et dans un geste d’adoration et de vénération, disant « Amen », sanctifie-toi en prenant aussi du sang du Christ. Et tandis que tes lèvres sont encore humides, effleure-les de tes mains, et sanctifie tes yeux, ton front et tes autres sens. Puis, en attendant la prière, rends grâces à Dieu qui t’a jugé digne de si grands mystères” (Cyril of Jerusalem *Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 5, 22). Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, 172–73.

⁸⁹ Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 231. Dates are taken from Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*, 174–5.

⁹⁰ “Peut-être pourrais-tu dire : Je vois autre chose. Comment affirmes-tu que je reçois le corps du Christ ? C’est ce qui nous reste à prouver. Comme ils sont donc grands les exemples dont nous nous servons afin de prouver qu’il ne s’agit pas de ce que la nature a produit, mais de ce que la bénédiction a consacré, que la puissance de la bénédiction est plus grande que celle de la nature, puisque la bénédiction change la nature elle-même” (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 50). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères; Explication du*

1 Cor 10:2-4.⁹¹

In *On the Sacraments* Ambrose again mentions the change* brought about by the consecration of the elements⁹² and later states that bread changes to the body* of Christ as

symbole (vol. 25 bis of *Sources Chrétiennes*; 2d rev; trans. Bernard Botte; Paris: Cerf, 2007), 185. After citing OT examples of Moses's and Elisha's grace (benediction) changing nature Ambrose continues, "Nous constatons donc que la grâce a une plus grande puissance que la nature, et cependant nous mesurons encore la grâce de la bénédiction prophétique. Si la bénédiction d'un homme a eu une puissance assez grande pour changer la nature, que dirons-nous de la consécration faite par Dieu même, alors que ce sont les paroles mêmes du Sauveur qui agissent ? Car ce sacrement que tu reçois est produit par la parole du Christ. Si la parole d'Élie a eu tant de puissance qu'elle a fait descendre le feu du ciel, la parole du Christ n'aura-t-elle pas la puissance de changer la nature des éléments ? Tu as lu, à propos des œuvres de l'univers entier : « Il a dit et ce fut fait, il a ordonné et ce fut créé [Ps 32:9; 148:5]. » La parole du Christ, qui a pu faire de rien ce qui n'était pas, ne peut-elle donc pas changer les choses qui sont en ce qu'elles n'étaient pas ? Car il n'est pas moins difficile de donner aux choses une nouvelle nature que de changer cette nature" (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 52). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 187. Ambrose then uses the mystery of the Incarnation to further his argument. "Pourquoi cherches-tu ici l'ordre de la nature dans le corps du Christ, alors que le Seigneur Jésus lui-même a été enfanté par une Vierge en dehors du cours de la nature ? C'est la vraie chair du Christ qui a été crucifiée, qui a été ensevelie. C'est donc vraiment le sacrement de sa chair" (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 53). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 189. "Le Seigneur Jésus lui-même le proclame : « Ceci est mon corps. » Avant la bénédiction par les paroles célestes, on l'appelle d'un autre nom ; après la consécration, c'est le corps qui est désigné. Lui-même dit que c'est son sang. Avant la consécration, on l'appelle autrement ; après la consécration, on l'appelle le sang. Et tu dis : « Amen », c'est-à-dire : « C'est vrai. » Ce que prononce la bouche, que l'esprit le reconnaisse. Ce qu'exprime la parole, que le cœur le ressente" (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 54). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 189. "C'est donc par ces sacrements que Le Christ nourrit son Église, par eux sont affermiées les ressources de l'âme et c'est à bon droit que, voyant ses progrès constants dans la grâce, il lui dit : « Que tes seins sont beaux, ma sœur, mon épouse, qu'ils sont plus beaux que le vin, et comme l'odeur de tes vêtements dépasse celle de tous les parfums. Tes lèvres font couler le miel. Il y a du miel et du lait sous ta langue, et l'odeur de tes vêtements est comme l'odeur du Liban. Tu es un jardin clos, ma sœur, mon épouse, un jardin clos, une fontaine scellée [Cant 4:10-12]. » Il signifie par là que le mystère doit être scellé chez toi, qu'il ne soit pas violé par les œuvres d'une vie mauvaise, ni par la perte de la chasteté, qu'il ne soit pas divulgué à ceux à qui cela ne convient pas, qu'il ne soit pas répandu parmi les incroyants par un vain bavardage. Tu dois bien garder ta foi, afin que demeurent inviolés ta vie et ton silence" (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 55). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 189.

⁹¹ "Le Christ est dans ce sacrement, parce que c'est le corps du Christ. Ce n'est donc pas une nourriture corporelle, mais spirituelle. Aussi l'Apôtre a-t-il dit de son image : « Nos pères ont mangé une nourriture spirituelle, ils ont bu une boisson spirituelle [1 Cor 10:3]. » Car le corps de Dieu est un corps spirituel, le corps du Christ est le corps de l'Esprit divin, parce que le Christ est Esprit" (Ambrose *Des Mystères* 9, 58). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 191.

⁹² "Tu dis peut-être : C'est mon pain ordinaire. Mais ce pain est du pain avant les paroles sacramentelles ; dès que survient la consécration, le pain se change en la chair du Christ. Prouvons donc ceci. Comment ce qui est du pain peut-il être le corps du Christ ? Par quels mots se fait donc la consécration et de qui sont ces paroles ? Du Seigneur Jésus. En effet tout le reste qu'on dit avant est dit par le prêtre : on loue Dieu, on lui adresse la prière, on prie pour le peuple, pour les rois, pour tous les autres. Dès qu'on vient à produire le vénérable sacrement, le prêtre ne se sert plus de ses propres paroles, mais il se sert des paroles du Christ. C'est donc la parole du Christ qui produit se sacrement. Quelle est cette parole du

he reminds the reader of Christ's invitation to partake* (Luke 22:19). He also points out that the body and blood are redemptive*.⁹³

Ambrose also speaks of the Eucharist in other documents. Earlier, in *The Faith* (4, 10, 124), Ambrose uses John 6:56,⁹⁴ Luke 24:39,⁹⁵ and 1 Cor 11:26⁹⁶ to speak of the transformation* of the elements of the Eucharist into Christ's flesh and blood and to indicate that this transformation is a proclamation of his death*.⁹⁷ In his *Commentaries on Twelve of David's Psalms*, he speaks again of the sacrifice* of Christ which is offered

Christ ? Eh bien, c'est celle par laquelle tout a été fait. Le Seigneur a ordonné, le ciel a été fait. Le Seigneur a ordonné, la terre a été fait. . . . Tu vois donc comme elle est efficace la parole du Christ. Si donc il y a dans la parole du Seigneur Jésus une si grande force que ce qui n'était pas commençait à être, combien est-elle plus efficace pour faire que ce qui était existe et soit changé en autre chose. . . . Donc, pour te répondre, avant la consécration ce n'était pas le corps du Christ ; mais après la consécration je te dis que c'est désormais le corps du Christ. Il a dit et ce fut fait, il a ordonné et ce fut créé. Tu existais toi-même, mais tu étais une vieille créature ; après que tu as été consacré, tu as commencé à être une nouvelle créature. Tu veux savoir combien elle est nouvelle cette créature ? « Quiconque est dans le Christ, dit-on, est une nouvelle créature » (Ambrose *Des Sacrements* 4, 4, 14-16). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 109–11.

⁹³ “Et remarque chaque détail. La veille, dit-on, de sa passion, il prit du pain dans ses mains saintes. Avant qu'on le consacre, c'est du pain ; mais dès que surviennent les paroles du Christ, c'est le corps du Christ. Écoute-le dire alors : « Prenez et mangez tous de ceci, car ceci est mon corps. » Et avant les paroles du Christ, le calice est rempli de vin et d'eau ; mais dès que les paroles du Christ ont agi, cela devient le sang qui a racheté le peuple. Voyez donc de quelles manières la parole du Christ est capable de transformer tout. Puis, le Seigneur Jésus lui-même nous a affirmé que nous recevons son corps et son sang. Est-ce que nous devons douter de l'autorité de son témoignage ?” (Ambrose *Des Sacrements* 4, 5, 23). Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 115. “Chaque fois donc que tu le reçois, que te dit l'Apôtre ? « Chaque fois que nous le recevons, nous annonçons la mort du Seigneur [1 Cor 11:26]. » Si (nous annonçons) la mort du Seigneur, nous annonçons la rémission des péchés. Si, chaque fois que son sang est répandu, il est répandu pour la rémission des péchés, je dois toujours le recevoir, pour que toujours il remette mes péchés. Moi qui pêche toujours, je dois avoir toujours un remède” (Ambrose *Des Sacrements* 4, 6, 28) Ambrose, *Des sacrements; Des mystères*, 117–19.

⁹⁴ “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” John 6:56.

⁹⁵ “See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me, and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have” Luke 24:39.

⁹⁶ “For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes” 1 Cor 11:26.

⁹⁷ Written between 378-380. Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*, 151. “You hear Him speak of His flesh, you hear Him speak of His blood, you know the sacred signs of the Lord's death; and do you worry about His divinity? . . . As often as we receive the sacramental elements which through the mystery of the sacred prayer are transformed into the flesh and blood of the Lord, we proclaim the death of the Lord” as quoted in Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*, 153; see also John R. Willis, ed., *The Teachings of the Church Fathers* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002), 402.

for all.⁹⁸ Finally, in a letter which is undateable, Ambrose uses 1 Pet 1:18-19⁹⁹ as he reminds Constantius (a bishop) of the redemptive* qualities of Christ's blood*.¹⁰⁰

We now turn to a writer who picked up the work on the Eucharist through his own mystagogical catecheses in the fifth century: Theodore of Mopsuestia.

2.6. Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428)

Before looking at Theodore of Mopsuestia's words, it is important to keep in mind the development of Patristic thought on the Eucharist. Those after Clement and Origen assimilate the thought of these two Fathers and they "tend to speak of the Eucharist and the other sacraments largely in typological[*] terms, as a 'memorial' of the sacrifice[*] of Christ offered once on the cross and as a 'kind of image of the heavenly liturgy' which Christ continues to offer on our behalf in heaven."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Dated between 381-397. Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*, 149 "We saw the Prince of Priests coming to us, we saw and heard Him offering His blood for us. We follow, inasmuch as we are able, being priests; and we offer the sacrifice on behalf of the people. And even if we are of but little merit, still, in the sacrifice, we are honorable. For even if Christ is not now seen as the one who offers the sacrifice, nevertheless it is He Himself that is offered in sacrifice here on earth when the Body of Christ is offered. Indeed, to offer Himself He is made visible in us, He whose word makes holy the sacrifice that is offered" (Ambrose *Commentaries on Twelve of David's Psalms* 38, 25) as quoted in Jurgens, *Faith Volume 2*, 150.

⁹⁹ "You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot" 1 Pet 1:18-19.

¹⁰⁰ "If we were redeemed not with perishable things—with silver and gold—but with the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ [Cf. 1 Peter 1:18-19], surely the one who sold us had a right to our service in the coin of a now sinful race. And undoubtedly, to release from slavery those whom he held bound he demanded a price. The price of our freedom was the blood of the Lord Jesus, and it had to be paid necessarily to the one to whom we had been sold by our sins. Until this price was paid for all men by the shedding of the Lord's blood for the forgiveness of all, blood was required of each man who, by the Law and the customary rite, was following the holy precepts of religion. Since the price has been paid for all after Christ the Lord suffered, there is no longer need for the blood of each individual to be shed by circumcision, for in the blood of Christ the circumcision of all has been solemnized, and in His cross we have all been crucified with Him, and buried together in His tomb, and planted together in the likeness of His death that we may no longer be slaves of sin." (Ambrose *Letter to Constantius* 72) Ambrose, *Letters* (vol. 26 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Mary Melchoir Beyenka; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954), 93.

¹⁰¹ Brian Daley, "A Response to Robin Darling Young on The Eucharist According to Clement of Alexandria," in *Rediscovering the Eucharist: Ecumenical Conversations* (ed. Roch A. Kereszty; New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 96. "« Voilà ce qu'il faut savoir au premier chef : en absorbant cette nourriture c'est un sacrifice que nous accomplissons. » Il est certain que, par cette nourriture et cette boisson, nous faisons mémoire de la mort de notre Seigneur et nous croyons que ces éléments sont le souvenir de sa Passion, puisqu'il a dit : « Ceci est mon corps brisé pour vous ; et ceci est mon sang répandu pour vous. » Il est clair,

As stated in the introduction, Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote mystagogical homilies treating the Eucharist which are known as *Catecheses*. While these *Catecheses* are the most informative of his writings by which to understand his eucharistic interpretation, he also wrote commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and of John.¹⁰² According to Halliburton, Theodore of Mopsuestia believed that the communicant received a person not a thing and that this communion had both physical* and spiritual* fruits.¹⁰³

Theodore of Mopsuestia used both Matt 26:26 and John 6:51¹⁰⁴ to explain that the eucharistic elements are changed* into the body and blood of Christ.¹⁰⁵ He also holds that

par ailleurs, qu'en cette liturgie nous accomplissons un certain sacrifice. En effet, « l'œuvre du grand prêtre de la nouvelle Alliance consiste à offrir le sacrifice qui manifeste la nature de cette Alliance ». C'est donc un sacrifice que le pontife offre ; non pas un nouveau sacrifice, ni non plus son sacrifice à lui, mais un mémorial de la véritable immolation" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Homélie 15, 15). Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Les Homélie catéchétiques* (vol. 62–63 of *Les Pères dans la Foi*; trans. Muriel Debié, et al.; Paris: Migne, 1996), 250–51; and "Nous tous donc, en tout lieu, en tout temps et continuellement, nous célébrons le mémorial de ce même sacrifice : « Chaque fois que nous mangeons ce pain et que nous buvons cette coupe, c'est la mort du Seigneur que nous commémorons jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne » (1 Co 11, 26). La célébration de ce sacrifice redoutable est donc l'image des réalités célestes ; par le manger et le boire nous y prenons part et touchons ainsi aux biens à venir. Chaque fois que ce sacrifice s'accomplit, nous devons nous représenter intérieurement, par la pensée et l'imagination, que nous sommes au ciel. La foi nous permet de voir en notre intelligence les réalités célestes et de considérer que le Christ, mort pour nous, ressuscité et monté au ciel, est aujourd'hui encore immolé à travers ces symboles. Lors donc que nous considérons, de nos yeux, avec foi, ce mémorial qui est célébré maintenant, nous sommes amenés à voir encore que le Christ meurt, ressuscite et monte au ciel, comme il le fit jadis pour nous" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Homélie 15, 20). Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Les Homélie catéchétiques*, 254–55.

¹⁰² Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 231; Halliburton, "The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist," 250.

¹⁰³ Halliburton, "The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist," 250.

¹⁰⁴ "Now as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to the disciples and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body'" Matt 26:26. "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any one eats of this bread, he will live fore ever; and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" John 6:51.

¹⁰⁵ "Remarquons ce que le Seigneur dit sur le pain ; non pas : « Ceci est le symbole de mon corps », mais : « Ceci est mon corps. » Et sur le calice, il ne dit pas non plus : « Ceci est le symbole de mon sang », mais : « Ceci est mon sang. » Il voulait en effet que nous regardions ces éléments, une fois qu'ils ont reçu la grâce et que l'Esprit les a touchés, non comme des matières ordinaires, mais comme son corps et son sang. Il en est comme de son corps naturel : celui-ci n'a pas obtenu l'immortalité et le pouvoir de la donner aux autres en vertu de son être propre, mais par le don de l'Esprit Saint. De même, c'est par la résurrection d'entre les morts que notre Seigneur a reçu en sa nature humaine la participation à la gloire de la nature divine, qu'il est devenu immortel et principe d'immortalité pour les autres. . . . nous ne devons plus regarder

all of Christ is present even in the smallest portion.¹⁰⁶ For him the epiclesis marks the moment of change.¹⁰⁷ He also linked elements of the liturgy with people or with the events in the Passion narratives; for example, Christ's burial was represented by the bringing of the gifts to the altar.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on the Gospel of John does not treat vv. 51-59 of the Bread of Life Discourse. He does, however, in referring to vv. 49-50 and v. 63 speak of the life-giving nature of "this bread" in contrast to the manna in the desert and points out that the life which comes from "this bread" can come only from the "divine and incorporeal nature" from the only-begotten.¹⁰⁹

Having summarised the relevant work of Theodore of Mopsuestia's writings, we now turn to a scholar who was writing in the late fourth- or early fifth-century: Augustine

désormais ce pain et ce vin comme des substances ordinaires. Mais nous devons croire que par la venue du Saint-Esprit sur les éléments, nous avons là le corps et le sang du Christ. . . . Et pour montrer ce qu'est ce pain, il dit : « Le pain que, moi, je donnerai, c'est ma chair pour la vie du monde » (Jn 6, 51)" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Homélie 15, 10-11). Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Les Homélie catéchétiques*, 247–48.

¹⁰⁶ "At the end all the bread is broken, so that all of us who are present may be able to receive (communion). Each one of us takes a small portion, but we believe that we receive all of Him in that small portion. It would, indeed, be very strange if the woman, who had an issue of blood, received Divine gift by touching the border of His garment, which was not even part of His body but only of His garment, and we did not believe that we receive all of Him in a part of His body" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism and the Eucharist* 6). Theodore of Mopsuestia, "Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Eucharist" (trans. Alphonse Mingana; 1933), From http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/theodore_of_mopsuestia_lordsprayer_02_text.htm, accessed April 29, 2010.

¹⁰⁷ "At first it is laid upon the altar as a mere bread and wine mixed with water, but by the coming of the Holy Spirit it is transformed into body and blood, and thus it is changed into the power of a spiritual and immortal nourishment" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism and the Eucharist* 6). Theodore of Mopsuestia, "Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Eucharist".

¹⁰⁸ "This is the reason why those deacons who spread linens on the altar represent the figure of the linen clothes of the burial (of our Lord). Sometime after these have been spread, they stand up on both sides, and agitate all the air above the holy body with fans, thus keeping it from any defiling object. They make manifest by this ritual the greatness of the body which is lying there, as it is the habit, when the dead body of the high personages of this world is carried on a bier, that some men should fan the air above it. It is, therefore, with justice that the same thing is done here with the body which lies on the altar, and which is holy, awe-inspiring and remote from all corruption; a body which will very shortly rise to an immortal nature" (Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism and the Eucharist* 5). Theodore of Mopsuestia, "Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Eucharist".

¹⁰⁹ George Kalantzis, ed. and trans., *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on the Gospel of John* (vol. 7 of *Early Christian Studies*; Strathfield, Australia: St. Pauls Publications, 2004), 62.

of Hippo.

2.7. Augustine (354-430)

Augustine wrote many letters, treatises, biblical commentaries, catecheses, and homilies. Near the end of his life he wrote *Retractationes* in which he summed up his own writings.¹¹⁰ He must be acknowledged as among the most influential writers of the early church and his works among the most extensive. However, for this project, it suffices to state that his references to the eucharistic pericopes appear in his writing on other topics and so are too numerous to itemise.¹¹¹

Augustine's development of a theory of sacraments is similar to his interpretation of the New Testament which involved studying the details.¹¹² Augustine has presented a long and broad legacy which can be seen in the fact that medieval doctrines of the church developed within "Augustinian parameters" and in the "sheer frequency of references to Augustine by so many medieval theologians of such diverse orientations."¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Jurgens, *Faith Volume 3*, 1–178.

¹¹¹ Augustine was "the most influential Christian theologian after St. Paul, [and whose writings] mark the transition from the ancient world to the Latin Middle Ages, and set the Western theological tone for more than a thousand years." John Rist, "Augustine of Hippo," in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 3.

¹¹² "It was Augustine who first developed a theory of sacraments, in the context of his interpretation of the New Testament in light of Neoplatonic philosophical thought. He placed the *sacramentum* in the category of *signa*, visible signs that represent an invisible reality. A *sacramentum* is a *sacrum signum*, that is, a sign designated by God to point to a divine reality (*res divina*) and containing that reality within itself." Herbert Vorgrimler, *Sacramental Theology* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 45. Vorgrimler states that "the fundamental contribution to Eucharistic theology in the first centuries resulted from the comparison of the biblical statements about the Eucharist with Platonic thought. This did not involve simply 'incorporating' a whole philosophical system into Christianity; rather, forms of thought and methods of expression that we tend to think of as 'popular philosophy' were used to clarify what was already believed." Vorgrimler, *Sacramental Theology*, 153. Augustine "studied in the greatest detail the question of the presence of the archetypal divine reality in its sacramental image, with special reference to the Eucharist. In addition, he presented a combined version of sacramental and ecclesial theology of the body of Christ. In the Eucharist it is always the whole Christ who is present and contained, both the individual body of Jesus and the mystical-universal body that is the Church; it is the sacrament of the *totus Christus caput et corpus*; the Eucharist exists precisely in order that one, holy Church may be created; this Church is therefore the inner reality of grace intended by God in the Eucharist, it is the *res* of this sacrament." Vorgrimler, *Sacramental Theology*, 156.

¹¹³ Paul Rorem, "Augustine, the Medieval Theologians, and the Reformation," in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 365.

This project does not explore Augustine in great depth since his writings were not focussed specifically on the Eucharist although he referred to the Eucharist and its biblical origins extensively in his argumentation on many topics. We now turn to another writer of the early fifth-century: Cyril of Alexandria.

2.8. Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444)

The fifth century shows a general development towards a more specifically eucharistic interpretation of John 6:51-59 which is seen in Cyril's writings, particularly in his *Commentary on John*. Cyril wrote his *Commentary on John* for practical reasons: to maximise the impact of biblical teaching on the Christian life. He attempted "to reveal its doctrinal and theological purpose and refute those who express erroneous opinions about the nature of the second and third persons of the Trinity."¹¹⁴

Cyril views Scripture (for him this includes both Testaments) as a whole and appears to be using the reality of the Eucharist as a way to explain and defend Christian teaching on the two natures of Christ. In particular, he understands the pericope John 6:51-58 to be particularly eucharistic.¹¹⁵ We will begin our analysis of Cyril's work with this portion of his *Commentary on John* before looking at his other writings.

Cyril's *Commentary on John* was most likely written between 425 and 428.¹¹⁶ He holds to the historical accuracy of the Gospel and to the fact that John places this teaching at the synagogue at Capernaum (John 6:59). As Cyril notes, if John has made the point about the location of the teaching (which his audience would have remembered), he would also have reported accurately the teaching that took place there.¹¹⁷ Based on this

¹¹⁴ This is in contrast to Theodore's philological angle. Norman Russell, trans., *Cyril of Alexandria* (The Early Church Fathers; London: Routledge, 2000), 96–97.

¹¹⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel According to S. John (I)* (vol. 43 of *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*; trans. Members of the English Church; Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1874), 408–32.

¹¹⁶ Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 96.

¹¹⁷ See *Cyril of Alexandria, Library of the Fathers*, 547, 14–18; Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel*, 25.

criteria for reliability, Cyril's comments are worth examining verse by verse:

v. 51 Christ speaks openly; he no longer conceals anything. Cyril says he presents himself as “a type [*] and a shadow and an image.”¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he explains that the Eucharist is life-giving to all who partake of it because Christ was the “life-giving Word of God indwelt in the Flesh[*].”¹¹⁹

Looking at John 6:53-57, Cyril talks of the two natures united so that Christ's very flesh* is life-giving*. Not only is Christ able to give life through touch and his spoken word, as with the raising of Jairus's daughter in Luke 8:54 and of the son of the widow of Nain in Luke 7:14-15,¹²⁰ but more importantly he gives life through his own body* and blood in the Eucharist*.¹²¹

v. 53 Cyril supposes that the Lord's words in Matt 26:26-28 refer to “his body*” rather than to “his flesh*” in order that people's understanding will come from their faith.¹²²

v. 54 Cyril links Christ's use of “flesh*” to John 1:14 (“and the word was made flesh”) as he points out that it is in the nature of Christ to give life.¹²³

v. 55 Cyril then recalls John 6:49-50¹²⁴ as he contrasts Christ's flesh and blood* to the manna in the desert; Christ here calls his disciples “to receive Him, as Bread from Heaven, and the Giver of eternal life[*].”¹²⁵ Furthermore, the water from the rock which they drank in the desert is contrasted to Christ's blood* which, by its nature, gives life.

¹¹⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 408.

¹¹⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 410.

¹²⁰ “But taking her by the hand he called, saying, ‘Child, arise’” Luke 8:54. “And he came and touched the bier, and the bearers stood still. And he said, ‘Young man, I say to you, arise’” Luke 7:14-15.

¹²¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 418–9; Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Books Against Nestorius and That Christ is One* (vol. 47 of *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*; trans. Members of the English Church; Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1840–85), 148.

¹²² Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 417–8.

¹²³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 420–1.

¹²⁴ “Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which comes down from heaven, that a man may eat of it and not die” John 6:49-50

¹²⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 421–2.

v. 56 In discussing this verse, Cyril shows how Christ unfolds the meaning on several levels. Believers need insight to come to faith through repeated participation in the Eucharist; using an analogy of wax pieces that are joined together and then are indistinguishable, Cyril states that the recipient of the Eucharist experiences a commingling and immingling with Christ; eating* and drinking Christ amounts to our partaking in Christ. Cyril then speaks of Matthew's image of the three measures of leaven¹²⁶ and Paul's reminder that only a little leaven is required,¹²⁷ to reiterate the deep abiding in Christ which comes from receiving even the smallest portion of the Eucharist.¹²⁸

v. 57 In his explanation of this verse, Cyril concentrates on the Incarnation, and how the nature of Christ comes from the Father.¹²⁹

v. 58 In this verse, Cyril sees "clear proof" that the Eucharist comes from heaven and is for our eternal benefit unlike the manna which could benefit partakers only physically.¹³⁰

v. 59 Christ was speaking in the synagogue openly and to all (as did the prophet Isaiah¹³¹) which Cyril takes as proof that the Bread of Life discourse has been remembered and recounted accurately.¹³²

Cyril wrote many letters, dialogues, commentaries, homilies, scholia, memorials, and defences which covered a wide range of concerns. In true patristic fashion of using Scripture to explain Scripture, he quotes John 6:56 in his exegesis of John 15:1:

¹²⁶ "He told them another parable. 'The kingdom of heaven is like leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened'" Matt 13:33.

¹²⁷ "Your boasting is not good. Do you not know that a little leaven leavens the whole lump?" 1 Cor 5:6.

¹²⁸ Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 118; Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 422–3.

¹²⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 424–30.

¹³⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 430–1.

¹³¹ "I did not speak in secret, in a land of darkness; I did not say to the offspring of Jacob, 'Seek me in chaos.' I the LORD speak the truth, I declare what is right" Isa 45:19.

¹³² Cyril of Alexandria, *Library of the Fathers*, 431–2.

By this statement it is to be seen that Christ does not say He will be in us only after the fashion of some relation that is solely intellectual, but also through a participation truly according to nature. Just as if someone were to entwine two pieces of wax together and melt them with a fire, so that both are made one, so too through participation in the Body of Christ and in His Precious Blood, He is united in us and we too in Him. In no other way can that corruptible nature be vivified except by being united[*] bodily to the Body of Him who is, by His very nature, life: that is, the Only-begotten.¹³³

We will now look at how he used the proto-eucharistic pericopes in his various works. First, we will look at the Institution Narratives¹³⁴ and then the portion of the Bread of Life Discourse (John 6:51-59).

Cyril uses Paul's letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor 11:22-26, 29-30) to show that Christians must participate in the Eucharist worthily and often, and to remind them that the Eucharist was foreshadowed* by the bloody sacrifices of the old covenant. In this, the Eucharist surpasses them in mystery and in allowing participants to unite* themselves with Christ's life-giving sacrifice*. He sees Christ as the Good Shepherd, quoting both John's gospel and the prophet Ezekiel;¹³⁵ and uses the prophet Zechariah to remind his readers that Christ's sacrifice* was foreseen*.¹³⁶

In a letter to Pope Leo which is currently deemed spurious, Cyril uses Matt 26:26-28, Luke 22:19, and 1 Cor 11:25 to show the continuity between the manna and Jesus' self-offering* and the need to be mindful of his call to do this in memory* of him.¹³⁷

¹³³ Commentary on John 10, 2. Jurgens, *Faith Volume 3*, 223–4.

¹³⁴ Matt 26:26-30; Luke 22:14-23; and 1 Cor 11:23-26; Cyril does not use Mark 14:22-26.

¹³⁵ "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep" John 10:11 and "I will seek the lost, and I will bring back the strayed, and I will bind up the crippled, and I will strengthen the weak, and the fat and the strong I will watch over; I will feed them in justice" Ez 34:16. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 119; Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Books Against Nestorius and That Christ is One*, 146.

¹³⁶ "And I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem a spirit of compassion and supplication, so that, when they look on him whom they have pierced, they shall mourn for him, as one mourns for an only child, and weep bitterly over him, as one weeps over a first-born" Zech 12:10. Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Books Against Nestorius and That Christ is One*, 148–9.

¹³⁷ "However, our Lord Jesus Christ joined on one day the lamb of the Jews and the true Manna, when he blessed bread and wine saying, 'This is my body, and my blood,' [Cf. Matt 26:26-28] in the moon

As mentioned above, Cyril posits that the use of “body” rather than “flesh” reflects a desire for the participant to come to understanding through faith and without investigation. In this argument he uses Matt 26:26-28 while he also refers to John 6:53.¹³⁸ He reiterates that the references to “my body” and “my blood” are not to be seen as figures; they are to be taken as pointers to the true sacrifice* of Christ through which participants “receive the life-giving and sanctifying power of Christ.”¹³⁹

Cyril also brings in the Institution Narrative of Luke’s gospel to reiterate the reality of Christ’s sacrifice*.¹⁴⁰ As well, in Sermon 142, he shows the necessity to receive the Eucharist. Here he links Luke’s Institution Narrative and the Bread of Life Discourse of John’s gospel to remind his hearers that Jesus is the bread of life which they need to receive in the Eucharist*.¹⁴¹ For him, the bread and wine are given for believers in order that believers not be terrified by seeing the real flesh and blood on the altar. The Saviour cannot lie and he has stated: “This is my body,” and “This is my blood.”¹⁴²

As seen above, Cyril uses portions of the Bread of Life Discourse in various arguments. He uses John 6:51 to argue the reality of the change* to the eucharistic elements and that this change to Christ’s flesh makes the Eucharist* life-giving (That Christ is One: By Way of Dispute with Hermias).¹⁴³

of the first month at the beginning of the year. Therefore, let us commemorate and let us be mindful to offer what Jesus offered for us in the first month. For the Lord Jesus said, ‘As often as you will do these things, you shall do them in remembrance and memory of me’ [Cf. Luke 22:19 and 1 Cor 11:25]” (Letter 86, 5). Cyril of Alexandria, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters 51–110* (vol. 77 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. John I. McEnnerney; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1985), 119.

¹³⁸ Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 114–5, 117.

¹³⁹ Jurgens, *Faith Volume 3*, 220.

¹⁴⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Books Against Nestorius and That Christ is One*, 153–4.

¹⁴¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *A Commentary Upon the Gospel According to St. Luke* (trans. R. Pay Smith; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895), 664–5, 667–8.

¹⁴² Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Luke*, 668.

¹⁴³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Books Against Nestorius and That Christ is One*, 317–8.

Cyril regularly uses the Eucharist in his anti-Nestorian polemic.¹⁴⁴ He uses John 6: 53, 56 to argue against Nestorius stating that Christ's command to eat his flesh is not about cannibalism. Cyril also argues against the separation of the divinity and the humanity of Christ.¹⁴⁵ In other writings, he reiterates these arguments using the same two verses.¹⁴⁶

In a letter "To Anastasius, Alexander, Martinian, John, Paregorius, the priest; Maximus the deacon and other orthodox fathers of monks," Cyril uses John 6:54 to argue that Christ's suffering in his humanity while remaining impassible in his divinity conquers death and provides people a way to eternal life through the Eucharist.¹⁴⁷ From this, he held that receiving the eucharistic elements was life-giving*¹⁴⁸ and the change* to

¹⁴⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters* (translated and edited by Lionel R. Wickham; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), n. 14, p. 23.

¹⁴⁵ Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 169–73 “ζωὴ γὰρ ὧν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς θεός, ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν ἔν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα, ζωοποιὸν ἀπέφηνεν αὐτήν, ὥστε κἀν λέγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπου τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἑνὸς καὶ αὐτὴν εἶναι λογιούμεθα [πῶς γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρώπου σὰρξ ζωοποιὸς ἔσται κατὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτῆς;], ἀλλ’ ὡς ἰδίαν ἀληθῶς γενομένην τοῦ δι’ ἡμᾶς καὶ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος τε καὶ χρηματίσαντος.” “As God he is by nature Life and because he has become one with his own flesh he rendered it vitalizing; and so, though he tells us ‘*verily I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood*’, we must not suppose it belongs to one of us men (how could man’s flesh be vitalizing by its own nature?) but that it was made the truly personal possession of him who for us has become and was called ‘Son of Man’” (Third Letter to Nestorius, 7). Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 23.

¹⁴⁶ He uses John 6:53 in “From On the Creed (28)”: “ζωοποιὸν οὖν ἄρα τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ. σῶμα γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἔστιν οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς μετόχου ζωῆς, ἴδιον δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ζωῆς, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ μονογενοῦς.” “Surely then Christ’s holy body and blood are life-giving. For the body, as I said, does not belong to some human participant in Life but is personally owned by Life himself, that is the Only-begotten.” Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 128–29; and in his letter “To Rabbula of Edessa”: “Even the body[*] of the Son of God which he took from human nature, we hold to be life-giving, because it was mingled with the living God according to the word of our Lord which he spoke in the Gospel, ‘Unless you eat my body and drink my blood, you do not have eternal life’” (Letter 101, 8). Cyril of Alexandria, *Letters 51–110*, 162. In “An explanation of the Twelve Chapters,” he uses John 6:57. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 188.

¹⁴⁷ “We are baptized in the death of him who suffered in his humanity in his own flesh, but who has remained impassible in his divinity and lives forever. He is life from the life of God the Father. Thus death was conquered, which dared to assault the body of life, and thus corruption even in us is nullified and the strength of death itself is weakened, and accordingly Christ said, ‘Amen, amen, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you do not have life in you’” (Letter 55, 38). Cyril of Alexandria, *Letters 51–110*, 33.

¹⁴⁸ (Letter 55, 39). Cyril of Alexandria, *Letters 51–110*, 33.

the eucharistic elements was permanent.¹⁴⁹

After this detailed exploration of Cyril of Alexandria's work, we turn to Leo the Great to highlight two of his homilies in which he spoke of the eucharistic elements.

2.9. Leo the Great (Pope Leo I (papal reign 440-461))

We turn now to our last Father of the church: Pope Leo the Great. The fact that Leo had a classical education is discernible by the vocabulary and the style of his writings. His time as pope (440-461) was a time of upheaval and transition while the Roman Empire continued its disintegration in waves alternating between periods of relative calm and those of great horror. Leo was a “clear and logical thinker, the authoritative and courageous leader, as well as the humble and prayerful shepherd of Christ's flock.”¹⁵⁰ He counselled bishops through numerous letters; he sought unity in faith; he disciplined or encouraged as the situation warranted; and he courageously withstood the heretics of the day. His writings attest to his brilliance, clear thinking, and tenacious defence of church doctrines received from the Fathers. His sermons are replete with biblical quotations and allusions and reveal his compassion for his flock. While he wrote numerous letters to bishops, our interest lies in two of his sermons: *Sermon 63* and *Sermon 91*.¹⁵¹

Through the waters of Baptism, the person is reborn in a transformation brought about by God. This transformation involves the person's body becoming the flesh of the Crucified*. After this, the person:

receives food and drink from the Lord himself. This partaking in the body and blood of Christ[*] means nothing else than that we should pass over into what we have taken in.[*] Since we have died with him and are buried

¹⁴⁹ “I hear that they are saying that the mystical blessing does not avail unto sanctification, if some of [the Eucharistic species] be left over to another day. They are utterly mad who say these things; for Christ is not made different, nor is His holy body changed, but the power of the blessing and the life-giving grace is uninterrupted in Him” (From *Letter to Kalosyrius*) as quoted in Jurgens, *Faith Volume 3*, 235–6.

¹⁵⁰ Leo the Great, *Sermons* (vol. 93 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Jane Patricia Freeland and Agnes Josephine Conway; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 5.

¹⁵¹ Leo the Great, *Sermons*, 3–6.

with him and are risen with him, let us bear him through all things both in spirit[*] and in flesh[*], as the Apostle says: “You have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ your life appears, however, you too will appear with him in glory [cf. Col 1:13],” who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.¹⁵²

In other words, the participant in the Eucharist becomes what he consumes*.

In *Sermon 92*, Leo quotes John 6:53-54 when he says, “Since the Lord said, ‘If you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you will not have life in you,’ [John 6:53-54] you ought to participate in the holy table in such a way that you do not doubt henceforth of the truth of the body and blood of Christ[*]. Faith[*] believes in what the mouth is receiving. In vain do they respond ‘Amen’ who argue against what they receive.”¹⁵³

With these two examples, Leo reveals his belief that a transformation is necessary and that after this, the Christian receives the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist in order to remain transformed into the person who has been consumed.

2.10. The Fathers of the Church: Conclusion

The findings above are summarised in three appendices: Appendix II: Themes Apparent in Relevant Texts (as mentioned above), Appendix III: Scripture References / Allusions in Relevant Texts, and Appendix IV: Use of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes in Relevant Texts. From the table in Appendix II, it is evident that the first two themes¹⁵⁴ are seen in the vast majority of the documents reviewed. The next most-used theme is the fourth one: ecclesial aspect; union with Christ. The three remaining themes are seen less consistently but their presence reveals development in the church’s understanding of the complexities of the Eucharist. From the table in Appendix III, the depth of the writers’ knowledge of Scripture is evident in the vast number of citations noted in these

¹⁵² Leo the Great *Sermon 63*, 7. Leo the Great, *Sermons*, 277.

¹⁵³ Leo the Great *Sermon 91*, 3. Leo the Great, *Sermons*, 384–85.

¹⁵⁴ Theme 1: body and blood; elements change; food and spiritual nourishment. Theme 2: sacrificial aspect.

documents. It is evident that the writers used Scripture as a whole in their writings about the Eucharist. Appendix IV presents a summary of the use of the proto-eucharistic pericopes by these writers. This table reveals that the pericopes most commonly referenced in these early writings were John 6:51-59 and 1 Cor 11:23-26.

Having demonstrated the development of specific themes and the wide array of Scripture passages used when speaking of the Eucharist, we now turn to medieval scholars.

3. MEDIEVAL SCHOLARS

The eucharistic controversies of the medieval period centred on the understanding of the Sacraments and on the meaning of the “real presence” of Christ in the Eucharist. Before exploring specific scholars, we look at an overview of these controversies. According to Aidan Nichols, there were two fundamental issues: 1) the mode of Christ’s presence* in the Eucharist¹⁵⁵ and 2) the “salvific rationale of the Eucharist. As the Cappadocians had already realised, the real presence cannot be left as a bare metaphysical fact. It must possess its own ‘finality’, its own intrinsic purpose within the economy of salvation.”¹⁵⁶ In this latter controversy, two views existed, the first of which focussed on the mystical aspect of the spiritual union* between the recipient and Christ and the second which focussed on the ecclesial* dimension wherein Christ’s presence is to bring about unity through charity. Later, Thomas Aquinas shows that these two are the “vertical” and the “horizontal” dimensions which are not in competition but are complementary understandings.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ “Here we shall find maximalists and minimalists, or, if you will, literalists and symbolists, in debate sometimes enlightening, sometimes merely, alas, acrimonious, until, with the emergence of the concept of transubstantiation, a satisfactory resolution is achieved.” Aidan Nichols, *The Holy Eucharist: From the New Testament to Pope John Paul II* (Oscott Series; Dublin: Veritas, 1991), 58.

¹⁵⁶ Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 58.

¹⁵⁷ Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 58.

We will begin with Paschasius Radbertus,¹⁵⁸ then we will look at Berengar, Lanfranc (who wrote *On the Body and Blood of Christ* in the 1060s), William of St. Thierry (who wrote *On the Sacrament of the Altar*), Peter Lombard, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas.

3.1. Radbertus (790–865) and Ratramnus (d. ca. 868)

In what was the first major eucharistic controversy,¹⁵⁹ these two theologians debated the meaning of the real presence* of Christ in the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. Their arguments respected the words of Christ found in the Institution Narratives and in John’s Bread of Life discourse, employing only brief quotes before concentrating on Patristic writers.¹⁶⁰ Their treatises were written in direct opposition to each other and while they agreed on the “real presence*” of Christ in the consecrated elements, they disagreed on what the phrase meant.¹⁶¹ Paschasius Radbertus wrote a comprehensive exposition on the Eucharist for his Benedictine monks. In it, using patristic sources in a meditative and spiritual way rather than in what would be considered today a scholarly way, he concluded that Christ’s bodily* presence in the

¹⁵⁸ Radbertus wrote *De corpore et sanguine Domini* ca. 830 and Ratramnus wrote using the same title shortly afterwards. Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 59; Willemien Otten, “Carolingian Theology,” in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 73–76.

¹⁵⁹ P. Gnaninathan, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence in the “De Corpore et Sanguina Domini” of St Paschasius Radbert* (Kumbakonam, India: St Joseph’s Press, 1942), 35.

¹⁶⁰ Radbertus explains his method clearly in his Prologue: “He does not pretend to offer his readers anything new on the subject. On the contrary he is proud to confirm his doctrine by the teaching that the Fathers and the other Ecclesiastical writers, worthy of the name, had handed down to the succeeding ages. The extracts he has taken from ancient Fathers serve him to strengthen his propositions.” He uses texts from Cyprian, Ambrose, Hillary, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory, Isidore, and Bede. Gnaninathan, *Doctrine of Real Presence*, 29, 39, 49; Henri Peltier, *Pascale Radbert: Abbé de Corbie: Contribution à l’étude de la vie monastique et de la pensée chrétienne aux temps carolingiens* (Amiens: Duthoit, 1938), 254. For him, Augustine represents le “magister sententiarum” with Jesus, himself the “benignissimus Magister sententiarum.” He reviews texts with a “keen eye” employing variants in Greek and Hebrew and preferring a literal explanation over an allegorical one. He demonstrates a preference for the word “flesh” over the word “body” when speaking of the real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements. His writing has a realism which modern readers would find shocking. Peltier, *Pascale Radbert*, 123, 126, 128, 259.

¹⁶¹ John Francis Fahey, *The Eucharistic Teaching of Ratramn of Corbie* (Mundelein, Ill.: St Mary of the Lake Seminary, 1951), 165.

Eucharist was identical to his historical, biological bodily presence.¹⁶² He argued this by focussing on the problems which arise from taking the contrary position: “Had Christ waited until after the Resurrection to give himself in the Eucharist in bodily form ‘the heretics would have said that Christ is now incorruptible and located in heaven and that therefore his flesh[*] cannot be eaten on earth by the faithful.’”¹⁶³

The debate about the Eucharist took place within the framework of the interrelation between Christology and ecclesiology and in a political climate, with King Charles the Bald favouring Ratramnus over Radbertus, as the former had supported him for the throne. In early 843 the king asked Ratramnus “whether the body and blood of Christ[*], which the faithful at church receive in their mouth, are present there in mystery or in truth” resulting in Ratramnus writing *De corpore et sanguine Domini* which caused Radbertus to revise his own book to send to King Charles.¹⁶⁴

Ratramnus wrote with particular attention to separating his interpretations from his scriptural and patristic sources. He recognised the ultimate source of inspiration in his use of patristic writings as the Bible and, most especially the Gospels.¹⁶⁵ His reply to King Charles centred on two questions: 1) do communicants receive the body and blood of Christ* in a mystery or in truth? and 2) is this body the one borne by Mary? Using this contrast, Ratramnus concluded that the Eucharist is a mystery which he defined as “an action which exhibits one thing outwardly to the human senses and proclaims another thing inwardly to the minds of the faithful.”¹⁶⁶ In summary: “he believed the Eucharist to be in the order of practical reality what a metaphor is in the order of language — the

¹⁶² Otten, “Carolingian Theology,” 74.

¹⁶³ Radbertus *De corpore et sanguine domini* 18. Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 59.

¹⁶⁴ Otten, “Carolingian Theology,” 73.

¹⁶⁵ Otten, “Carolingian Theology,” 75 Ratramnus used Scripture, Patristic writings, liturgy, and reason in his argumentation. His most used Father was Augustine; he also used Ambrose, Jerome, Fulgentius, and Isidore. Gnaninathan, *Doctrine of Real Presence*, 35; Fahey, *Eucharistic Teaching of Ratramn*, 54, 55.

¹⁶⁶ Ratramnus *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 5, 9, 10. Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 60.

expression of one reality by reference to another reality quite distinct from it.”¹⁶⁷ So, there is some relationship (through the spiritual reality of the glorified Christ) between the consecrated elements and the historical body of Jesus which allows the elements to be referred to as the body and blood of Christ*. All the while, there is a distinct autonomy of the two realities concerned and, for Ratramnus, the consecrated elements should be understood to be an enacted metaphor. He stated that no change takes place with the eucharistic consecration but he may have been pointing out that the change* was one that could not be perceived by our senses.¹⁶⁸

The debate between these two theologians may be characterised by the differences between Ambrose’s realistic understanding of the eucharistic change* (used by Radbertus) versus Augustine’s spiritual* understanding (used by Ratramnus).¹⁶⁹

Having seen the debate between Radbertus and Ratramnus who picked up the thoughts of earlier scholars, we now turn to Berengar who continued their debate.

3.2. Berengar (999–1088), Lanfranc (ca. 1005–1089), William of St. Thierry (ca. 1075–1148), and Peter Lombard (ca. 1100–1160)

Berengar sides with Ratramnus in focussing on the spiritual* interpretation of the real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements. Again, it is evident that he used patristic sources and biblical texts although he did not quote them to modern standards. Scholars maintain he denied the “dogma” of transubstantiation but are divided as to his denial of the real presence of Christ, partially due to the fact that much of Berengar’s work was destroyed.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 60–1.

¹⁶⁸ Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 61.

¹⁶⁹ Teresa Whalen, *The Authentic Doctrine of the Eucharist* (Kansas City, Mo.: Sheed & Ward, 1993), 2.

¹⁷⁰ Whalen, *Authentic Doctrine*, 2–5.

Lanfranc followed in Berengar's footsteps. He was more concerned about *what* one received rather than *how* one received the Eucharist. He insisted on maintaining the mystery and objected to the "grossly physical terms" such as the bread "ground by the teeth" in the oath he was forced to sign in 1079.¹⁷¹

On a broad note, William of St. Thierry's main contribution was his exacting work of compiling patristic work on various themes in a way which honoured their diverse views while allowing theology to advance in order to deal more effectively with the issues of his day.¹⁷² As one modern theologian puts it, William of St. Thierry did not place patristic writing on the same level as Scripture and he was not afraid of the apparent contradictions in their eucharistic writings.¹⁷³ He maintained that the "doctrine on the sacrament of the altar" had not been disputed, that the Fathers had not had to defend what nobody had denied and that their writings could not give clear answers to current objections. His work represents the first patristic study and criticism.¹⁷⁴ His main contribution to the eucharistic debates of his day took the form of a tract *On the Sacrament of the Altar* in which he used John 6 and 1 Corinthians 11 in discussing the ideas of Christ's presence in heaven and in the elements of the Eucharist at the same time, as well as the two-fold eating of these elements (spiritual and physical) by the participants.¹⁷⁵ In his other writings he encouraged meditation on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist using the feeding miracle pericopes, 1 Cor 11:25, Luke 22:19, and John 6:33 as his scriptural references.¹⁷⁶ His approach to patristic texts influenced Peter

¹⁷¹ Whalen, *Authentic Doctrine*, 9.

¹⁷² Jean Marie Déchanet, *William of St. Thierry: The Man and His Work* (vol. 10 of *Cistercian Studies Series*; trans. Richard Strachan; Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications, 1972), 139–40.

¹⁷³ Déchanet, *William of St. Thierry*, 146.

¹⁷⁴ Déchanet, *William of St. Thierry*, 34–35.

¹⁷⁵ Déchanet, *William of St. Thierry*, 34.

¹⁷⁶ Meditations 8:5, 10:9, 12:8, 13:7. William of St. Thierry, *The Works of William of St. Thierry: Volume One: Contemplating God. Prayer. Meditations* (vol. 3 of *Cistercian Fathers Series*; trans. Sister Penelope; Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 142, 154–55, 171, 189. Golden Epistle I:115, 116, 118. William of St. Thierry, *The Works of William of St. Thierry: Volume Four: The Golden Epistle: A*

Lombard.

The eucharistic debates in Peter Lombard's day centred on the real presence* of Christ in the Eucharist. First he unequivocally answered the question as to "which body – the resurrected body or His historical body – did Christ give His disciples at the Last Supper": that it is Christ's historical body*. He then explained "the how" of the change using Aristotelian language of substance and accidents. In his *Sentences Book 4*, Peter Lombard quoted Matt 26:26, 28 and John 6:56, 58 in speaking about the institution of the Eucharist. He held that Christ gave the sacrament at the Last Supper. He saw the *res* of the Eucharist as containing and signifying the flesh* Christ received from Mary and the blood* he shed on the cross*. The Eucharist also signified but could not contain "the unity[*] of the Church in those who are predestined, called, justified and glorified."¹⁷⁷ For Lombard, the sacrament alone was the bread and the wine which sustain the physical body of the participant*; the sacrament and the *res* was the flesh and blood of Christ which sustain the spirit of the participant*; the *res* and not the sacrament is the mystical body, the church. The unity of the body* is signified in the bread which is made of many grains of wheat and in the wine which is made of many grapes. The Eucharist makes the church a unity of the many participants.¹⁷⁸ Peter believed that unbelievers receive the Eucharist to their own condemnation. In this way, they cannot profit from the Eucharist. At the same time, however, he held that recipients cannot change the Eucharist's objective content for, if they could, they "would be able to frustrate God's gracious ordinance with respect to the sacrament."¹⁷⁹

Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu (vol. 12 of *Cistercian Fathers Series*; trans. Theodore Berkeley; Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 50–51.

¹⁷⁷ *Sentences Book 4* Distinctions 8, 7. Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick, N.Y.: Richwood, 1976), 122.

¹⁷⁸ *Sentences Book 4* Distinctions 8, 7. Rogers, *Sacramental System*, 123.

¹⁷⁹ Marcia L. Colish, "Peter Lombard," in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden,

3.3. Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274)

Once the celebration of the Eucharist was standardised, scholarly attention shifted to doctrinal matters with debate centring on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist: at what point, how, and for how long did this presence occur? Another point of discussion was the idea of sacrifice in the Mass.¹⁸⁰ The Scholastic period (13th and 14th centuries) marked the high point of the definition and clarification of these doctrines. Thomas Aquinas dealt with the questions of consecrated wine or bread being consumed by flies or mice and stated that “whenever the species are found to be entire, they must be reverently kept or consumed, because so long as they be entire the body of Christ is there [*Summa Theologiae*. III, 83,6].”¹⁸¹ He speaks first of the Eucharist “as food[*] (q. 73) and then as *memoriale Dominicae passionis*[*] (q. 74).”¹⁸² He recognises the myriad of theories about how Christ’s body and blood* come to be in place of the bread and wine (qq. 75, 76) holding that the accidents remain after the consecration (q. 77).¹⁸³

Thomas Aquinas holds that Christ instituted the Eucharist at the Last Supper (*ST*, 3a, 73, 5, reply)¹⁸⁴ as a memorial for us once he had accomplished his Passion* (*ST*, 3a, 73, 5, 2). Jesus “left it to the end” so “that it might be more deeply impressed in their hearts” (*ST*, 3a, 83, 2, 3) as the final words of friends and loved ones long remain in hearers’ thoughts (*ST*, 3a, 73, 5, reply). The only valid substance is grape wine as Jesus

Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 179.

¹⁸⁰ Whalen, *Authentic Doctrine*, viii.

¹⁸¹ Whalen, *Authentic Doctrine*, ix.

¹⁸² Fergus Kerr, “Thomas Aquinas,” in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 219.

¹⁸³ “Most of the remaining questions deal with issues that are more practical or in the realm of canon law, while the discussion concludes with a skimpy treatment of the eucharistic *rite* – which indicates how differently a modern theologian might approach the whole subject.” Kerr, “Thomas Aquinas,” 219.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *3a 73–78* (vol. 58 of *Summa Theologica: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*; trans. William Barden; London: Blackfriars in conjunction with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), 19. Hereafter references are parenthetical (*ST*, part, question, article, reply)

told His disciples he would drink of the “fruit of the vine” (Luke 22:18) (*ST*, 3a, 74, 5, reply) and its consecration requires “the due form of words of consecration” (*ST*, 3a, 83, 2, 2; *ST*, 3a, 83, 4, 1). For Thomas, “the reality of this sacrament which demands that the very body* of Christ exist in it” (*ST*, 3a, 75, 2, reply) contains the whole of Christ present in each of the elements (*ST*, 3a, 76, 2, reply; *ST*, 3a, 76, 1, 2). While Christ accomplished our salvation* through His one-time action, the believer is to celebrate the Sacrament daily to receive its fruits (*ST*, 3a, 83, 2, 2).¹⁸⁵ And, for Thomas, “the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity for the entire Church[*]” (*ST*, 3a, 83, 4, 3).

Thomas Aquinas asks whether Christ’s body is in the sacrament “really and truly*” or only “in a figurative way”? He chooses the former because, for him, the ideas of Christian perfection and the new covenant make this “real presence” more appropriate (*ST* IIIa., q.75. a.1.). He points to the ritual sacrifices of the Old Testament and states that Christ instituted something more, that is, Christ himself in reality not in token. Furthermore, this reality continues the reality of the Incarnation wherein Christ took on a human body for our sake. And, finally, Thomas Aquinas saw that the believer’s faith rests on Christ’s divinity (the Word) and his humanity.¹⁸⁶

We now turn to the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* by Thomas Aquinas for a look at his understanding of John 6:51-59. He dealt with John 6 in eight lectures; the section which has been identified as the Johannine proto-eucharistic pericope is dealt with in Lectures 6 and 7. Throughout his argumentation he uses many Scripture citations, as noted in the following discussion.

¹⁸⁵ Thomas Aquinas, 3a 79–83 (vol. 59 of *Summa Theologica: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*; trans. Thomas Gilby; London: Blackfriars in conjunction with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1975), 139. Hereafter references are parenthetical (*ST*, part, question, article, reply)

¹⁸⁶ Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 68.

For Thomas, the statement by Jesus, “I am the living bread” indicates that the material bread has been changed; the bread does not have life in itself and therefore cannot give life. He makes a link to John 3:13¹⁸⁷ which he had discussed earlier in his Commentary. The Word came down meaning that Christ was not a mere man. Rather he has the power to give eternal life to the one who eats this bread spiritually. The one who eats spiritually knows through faith and believes; that one will not die (John 11:26).¹⁸⁸

Thomas Aquinas makes no differentiation between body and flesh when he says that Jesus speaks of his body in these words: “The bread which I will give is my flesh” (John 6:51). For Thomas, Jesus’ flesh is life-giving* because it is the instrument of his divinity. Given that the instrument (his body) acts by virtue of the agent (his divinity), Jesus’ flesh gives life due to its unity with the Word. Verse 51 began with Jesus saying, “I am the living bread,” in reference to his divinity as the Word, and then refers to the sharing of his body (flesh) through the sacrament of the Eucharist.¹⁸⁹

Thomas Aquinas continues by considering four things about the Eucharist: its species, the authority of the one who instituted it, its truth*, and its usefulness. The species is bread as noted in v. 50, “This is the bread” which echoes Prov 9:5. For Thomas, the Eucharist is the sacrament of the body of Christ, which is also the church formed by believers in unity*. As Paul says in Romans “We are one body” (Rom 12:15). For Thomas, bread is a fitting species for the Eucharist because just as bread is made from many grains, so too, the church is made of many people.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ “No one has gone up to heaven except the one who has come down from heaven, the Son of Man” John 3:13.

¹⁸⁸ “Jesus said to her, ‘I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live, and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die. Do you believe this?’” John 11:25-26 (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 957-958). Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint John: Part I* (trans. James A. Weisheipl; ed. Fabian R. Larcher; Aquinas Scripture Series 4; Albany, N.Y.: Magi Books, 1980), 380.

¹⁸⁹ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 959) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 380–81.

¹⁹⁰ “Come and eat my bread” Prov 9:5. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 960) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 381.

The sacrament was instituted by Christ and the priest consecrates the bread in the person of Christ using the words of Christ. Christ, by his own will, gave his body to death and now, by his own will, he gives himself as food* in the Eucharist. Thomas quotes Matt 26:26 then continues, stating that John 6:51: “the bread which I will give” is in the future tense because he had not yet instituted the Eucharist.¹⁹¹

Using Job 31:31, Thomas Aquinas goes on to point out that the flesh is truly given. Jesus did not say, “This signifies my flesh”; he said “is my flesh.” Although the statement indicates the bread “is my flesh,” the sacrament contains the whole Christ. His body is present through the conversion while his soul and divinity are present by virtue of the fact that Christ’s divinity and his body cannot be separated. For Thomas, because the Eucharist is a commemoration of Christ’s passion as Paul tells the Corinthians (1 Cor 11:26) and his passion depended upon his weakness (2 Cor 13:4), Christ now says “is my flesh” to remind his hearers that he died through weakness.¹⁹²

Thomas Aquinas viewed the sacrament as greatly useful universally. Its greatness comes from its ability to produce spiritual life* in the present, and the eternal life* in the future. As the sacrament of the Lord’s passion*, it contains the Christ who suffered which means it also has the same effect as did his passion. Because Christ could not continue to be present to believers, he gave his sacramental presence. That his death conquered death and his resurrection restored life means that the Eucharist, as sacrament, conquers death and restores life for those who receive.¹⁹³

Its universal usefulness stems from the fact it gives not just life to one person but also life to the entire world. Christ’s death was fully sufficient: “He is offering for our

¹⁹¹ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 961) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 381.

¹⁹² “Who will give us his flesh so that we may be satisfied?” Job 31:31; “For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you announce the death of the Lord until he comes” 1 Cor 11:26; “He was crucified through weakness” (2 Cor 13:4). (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 962) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 381–82.

¹⁹³ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 963) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 382.

sins; and not for ours only, but also for those of the entire world” (1 John 2:2). The Eucharist differs from other sacraments in that it transcends individual effects.¹⁹⁴

Just as Jesus earlier stopped the grumbling about the origin of this food, he now (in vv. 53-59) stops their grumbling about eating it. Thomas uses Augustine, Isa 58:4, and 1 Cor 3:3 to demonstrate that the evangelist speaks of the dispute to highlight the fact that this food is for unity*. The argument of the Jews centres on their interpretation that he is expecting them to eat his flesh as material food* and, like their fathers in Num 21:5, they object. In order to refute the argument, Jesus first talks of the power which comes from this food by speaking of the necessity of eating it, its usefulness, and its truth* (vv. 54-55).¹⁹⁵

The eating is necessary in order for the believer to have spiritual life. Thomas Aquinas points out that just as material eating is necessary for physical life, so too is spiritual* eating necessary for the spiritual life, using Lam 1:11, Ps 104:15, and Deut 8:3.¹⁹⁶

Verse 54 may be understood either spiritually or sacramentally. Eating spiritually is accomplished through charity which allows the person to share in the unity of the church. Otherwise, one is outside the church, living without love.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ “But in the immolation of this sacrament, the effect is universal: because it affects not just the priest, but also those for whom he prays, as well as the entire Church, of the living and of the dead. The reason for this is that it contains the universal cause of all the sacraments, Christ. Nevertheless, when a lay person receives this sacrament it does not benefit others *ex opere operato* [by its own power] considered as a receiving. However, due to the intention of the person who is acting and receiving, it can be communicated to all those to whom he directs his intention.” (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 964) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 382.

¹⁹⁵ “Behold, you fast only to quarrel and to fight and to hit with wicked fist” Is 58:4; “For while there is jealousy and strife among you, are you not of the flesh, and behaving like ordinary men?” 1 Cor 3:3; “We loathe this worthless food” Num 21:5. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 965-967) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 383–84.

¹⁹⁶ “They trade their treasures for food to revive their strength” Lam 1:11; “bread to strengthen man’s heart” Ps 104:15; “Man does not live by bread alone, but that man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the LORD” Deut 8:3. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 968) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 384.

¹⁹⁷ “He who does not love, remains in death” 1 John 3:14. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 969) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 384.

For Thomas Aquinas, a difficulty arises when this eating is viewed sacramentally. He points to John 3:5 which is framed in the same form as v. 53: “Unless you” In this earlier unless statement, Baptism is presented as a necessary sacrament; here the Eucharist is given the same necessity. While the Eastern Church (he called them the “Greeks”) gave newly baptised infants the Eucharist because it was equally necessary, Thomas believed that reception of the Eucharist required a disposition of reverence which infants (and the insane) cannot have. So, for him, the Eucharist was a necessary sacrament for adults only.¹⁹⁸

Because some churches restricted the reception of the blood (out of fear of spillage) to the priest alone, Thomas Aquinas raises the issue of reception of communion under only one kind. This practice does not go against Jesus’ command because the person receiving only the bread receives both body and blood. Thomas’s focus is on the necessity of receiving spiritual food.¹⁹⁹

As to the usefulness of this spiritual food, Thomas Aquinas sees it first for the spirit or soul and secondarily for body which will be raised up on the last day. This food gives eternal life, as Jesus states in v. 54: “The one who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life and I will raise him up on the last day.” Thomas points out the parallel requirement of physical food for physical life and spiritual food for spiritual life. Spiritual food, unlike material food, gives the one who eats and drinks a share in eternal life; here he uses Prov 3:18, Sir 15:3, and 1 John 5:20²⁰⁰ to support his point. For him

¹⁹⁸ “Unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God” John 3:5. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 969) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 384–85.

¹⁹⁹ “Whoever receives Christ’s body receives his blood also, since the entire Christ is present under each species, even his body and blood. But under the species of bread, Christ’s body is present in virtue of the conversion, and his blood is present by natural concomitance; while under the species of wine, his blood is present in virtue of the conversion, and his body by natural concomitance.” (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 970) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 385.

²⁰⁰ “She is a tree of life to those who lay hold of her” Prov 3:18; “She will feed him with the bread of understanding” Sir 15:3; “And we know that the Son of God has come and has given us understanding, to know him who is true; and we are in him who is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and

sacramental and spiritual eating and drinking are required. By sacramental, he means simply receiving the sacrament while understanding its reality. The reality of the sacrament has two aspects: first, the whole Christ is contained in the bread and in the wine; and secondly, the signified, but not contained, reality of the mystical body of Christ. Receiving the sacrament spiritually means being united* with Christ, in both the contained and the signified sense. Such reception transforms and divinizes the receiver as Augustine noted: “I am the food of the robust. Grow and you will eat me. Yet you will not change me into yourself, but you will be transformed into me.” If one shares in the unity of the church*, one joins the mystical body* of Christ and has eternal life as seen in Eph 4:4; 1:14. So, not only does the bread give eternal life to the soul but it also gives eternal life to the body.²⁰¹

Using Rom 8:11, Thomas Aquinas points out that the spiritual eating gains one a share in the Holy Spirit, which unites one to Christ in faith and love resulting in membership* in the church. That this sacrament raises one up to glory and not to condemnation is fitting: Thomas quotes Augustine in reminding his hearers that “it is the Word who raises up souls, and it is the Word made flesh who gives life to bodies. Now in this sacrament, the Word is present not only in his divinity, but also in the reality of his flesh; and so is the cause of the resurrection not just of souls, but of bodies as well” and he also quotes 1 Cor 15:21.²⁰²

eternal life” 1 John 5:20.

²⁰¹ “One body, one Spirit . . . the guarantee of our inheritance” Eph 4:4; 1:14. “The mystical body of Christ, which is in the predestined, the called, and the justified.” (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 971-972) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 385–86.

²⁰² “He who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit who dwells in you” Rom 8:11; “For as by a man came death, so the resurrection of the dead has come through a man” 1 Cor 15:21. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 973) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 386–87.

Thomas Aquinas reiterates that Matt 26:26 was neither an enigma nor a parable. In John 6:55 Jesus states that his flesh and blood are truly food and drink* and Thomas quotes John Chrysostom, Ps 23:2, Augustine, and Rev 7:16 as he restates that this food and drink, the flesh and blood of Christ, are most especially for the soul which will be led by him to share glory where there is neither hunger nor thirst.²⁰³

For Thomas Aquinas, Jesus proves that this spiritual food gives eternal life. The logic is as follows: first, the major premise: eating Jesus' flesh and drinking his blood unites* the person to Christ; secondly, the minor premise: those united to Christ have eternal life* which he proves using John 6:57; and finally, his conclusion: the one who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of Christ has eternal life.²⁰⁴

If the major premise is interpreted in a mystical way, there is no difficulty. The incorporation into the mystical body comes through union of faith and love. As seen in 1 John 4:16 and 1 John 4:13, God is in man and man is in God. Viewing them as referring to a sacramental reception, anyone who eats his flesh and drinks his blood abides in God. Thomas Aquinas again references Augustine to point out that the eating is not just sacramental but is also real eating. Furthermore, one who approaches the sacrament without the sincerity due it, does not become united with Christ and therefore does not abide in him.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Thomas quotes Matt 26:26 with the word "new": "This is my body . . . this is my blood of the new covenant." "Food and drink are taken for man's refreshment. Now there are two parts in man: the chief part is the soul, and the second is the body. It is the soul which makes man to be man, and not the body; and so that truly is the food of man which is the food of the soul" John Chrysostom; "He leads me beside still waters; he restores my soul" Ps 23:2; "A thing is truly said to be such and such a thing if it produces the effect of that thing. Now the effect of food is to fill or satisfy. Therefore, that which truly produces fullness is truly food and drink. But this is produced by the flesh and blood of Christ, who leads us to the state of glory, where there is neither hunger nor thirst" Augustine; "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more" Rev 7:16. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 974) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 387.

²⁰⁴ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 975) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 388.

²⁰⁵ "So we know and believe the love God has for us. God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him" 1 Jn 4:16; "By this we know that we abide in him and he in us, because he has given us of his own Spirit" 1 Jn 4:13. "That person eats in a spiritual way, in reference to what is signified only, who is incorporated into the mystical body through a union of faith and love.

Expanding further on his minor premise, Thomas Aquinas states that one who is united to Christ has life which is received from him just as Christ receives life from the Father through being united to the Father (see John 6:57). These words apply to Christ's human nature and to his divine nature. Just as the Father sent Christ, so too he will grant life to those who eat his flesh and drink his blood. Thomas quotes Gal 4:4 to highlight the fact that this similarity does not create equality between the one who receives and Christ because Christ as man is fully united to the Word through the Incarnation.²⁰⁶

Finally, Thomas Aquinas presents the two conclusions apparent in John 6:58 as follows: first, the origin of this spiritual food and secondly, its power to give eternal life to the one who receives it. He finishes the argument by addressing the two issues raised in the beginning. For the first conclusion, he reminds his hearers that the objections of the Jews began with Jesus' statement that he is the living bread* which came down from heaven (v. 51) and concludes that the Son has his origin in heaven and lives because of the Father and therefore Christ is the one who has come down from heaven. He is the bread come down in relation to his divinity in becoming man and in relation to his body because the Holy Spirit, in heaven, formed it. Thus anyone who eats this bread will not die as did the ones who ate the manna in the desert. The manna*, after all, was neither from heaven nor living.²⁰⁷

His second conclusion, apparent in v. 58, centres on the power of this flesh and blood to give eternal life. For Thomas Aquinas, this follows from Jesus' statement: "The

Through love, God is in man, and man is in God." (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 976) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 388.

²⁰⁶ "But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law" Gal 4:4. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 977) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 388–89.

²⁰⁷ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 979-980) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 389–90.

one who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (v. 56). Given that Jesus is eternal life, the one who eats will also have eternal life.²⁰⁸

Thomas Aquinas concludes Lecture 7 by quoting Ps 39:10 in his assertion that Jesus taught in the temple and in the synagogues (this discourse took place in the synagogue at Capernaum) in order that many might hear and at least some might benefit from hearing.²⁰⁹

As well, Thomas Aquinas, in his *Catena aurea* compiled patristic sources to explain each verse of the Gospels.²¹⁰ Having discussed representative patristic works earlier in this chapter, and having seen Thomas Aquinas’s writing about the Eucharist in his *Summa*, as well as taking a detailed look at the relevant portion of his *Commentary on John*, we now turn to Bonaventure who used the Fathers’ and Thomas Aquinas’s writings in his work.

3.4. Bonaventure (1221–1274)

In the 13th century, Bonaventure’s writings include the *Breviloquium* (in which he discusses principal questions of theology), the tractate titled *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam* (in which he highlights the important role of the friars in promoting eucharistic piety), and a Commentary on the Gospel of Luke. Throughout his writings Bonaventure weaves biblical quotations, images, and allusions; he believed that theology had to begin with the study of the letter and the spirit of Scripture before looking to the general councils and writings of the Fathers of the church and those of Thomas Aquinas.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 981) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 390.

²⁰⁹ “I have not concealed thy steadfast love and thy faithfulness from the great congregation” Ps 39:10. (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 981) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 390.

²¹⁰ Kerr, “Thomas Aquinas,” 205 The format of his *Catena aurea* is a translation of a Gospel with side-bar notations to Patristic works which referenced (or alluded to) those verses. There is no need to investigate these references here as the significant works are discussed earlier in this chapter.

²¹¹ Michael Robson, “Saint Bonaventure,” in *The Medieval Theologians* (ed. G. R. Evans; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 187–89.

First, in the *Breviloquium* Bonaventure uses the words of consecration to assert that one sacrament, consisting of Christ's true body and blood*, is contained under the two species of bread and wine. For him, the words of the priest change the species, not sensibly*, but sacramentally*. It is important for the recipient to approach the sacrament worthily.²¹² In his opinion, the Eucharist as sacrament was given as a sacrificial* offering to nourish and strengthen Christians on their journey through life. As the victim offered in the sacrifice needed to be pure, the only possible victim was the true body and blood of Christ actually present in the sacrament.²¹³

The realism of the presence of Christ is not a crude realism of tearing the flesh of Christ by the communicants' teeth; the body and blood of Christ are veiled in the bread and the wine which are, for Bonaventure, the most fitting symbol.²¹⁴ Christ is present

²¹² “Dans ce sacrement, le vrai corps et le vrai sang du Christ ne sont pas seulement signifiés, mais aussi contenus vraiment sous les deux espèces, à savoir celles du pain et du vin, comme sous un seul et non sous un double sacrement. Il en est ainsi après la consécration sacerdotale qui se fait en prononçant la formule vocale instituée par le Seigneur sur le pain : ceci est mon corps ; sur le vin : ceci est le calice de mon sang. Par ces paroles, prononcées par le prêtre avec l'intention de confectionner le sacrement, chaque élément est changé, selon la substance, au corps et au sang de Jésus-Christ. Les espèces sensibles demeurent et dans chacune d'elles est contenu tout le Christ, totalement, non de façon circonscriptive mais sacramentellement. Sous ces espèces, le Christ nous est encore proposé en nourriture. Celui qui la reçoit dignement, par une manducation non seulement sacramentelle, mais encore spirituelle, faite de foi et de charité, est incorporé davantage au Corps Mystique du Christ, il se restaure et se purifie. Au contraire, celui qui s'approche indignement, mange et boit sa propre condamnation, agissant sans discernement à l'égard du très saint corps du Christ” (Bonaventure *Breviloquium* 6, 9, 1). Bonaventure, *Les Remèdes sacramentels* (vol. 6 of *Breviloquium*; trans. Luc Mathieu; Paris: Editions franciscaines, 1968), 97–99.

²¹³ “Une oblation pure, agréable et plénière ; et nulle autre n'est telle sinon celle qui fut offerte sur la croix, à savoir le corps et le sang du Christ, de là vient qu'il faut nécessairement qu'en ce sacrement soit contenu, non pas seulement de façon figurative, mais aussi en vérité, le corps du Christ en tant qu'oblation adaptée à ce temps” (Bonaventure *Breviloquium* 6, 9, 3). Bonaventure, *Remèdes sacramentels*, 101. “Que le vrai corps du Christ lui-même, il y a nécessité pour ce corps d'être contenu vraiment dans ce sacrement, comme l'exige la perfection du sacrifice propitiatoire, du sacrement unitif et du viatique de réfection, conformément à ce qui doit être au temps du Nouveau Testament, de la grâce révélée et de la vérité du Christ” (Bonaventure *Breviloquium* 6, 9, 4). Bonaventure, *Remèdes sacramentels*, 103.

²¹⁴ Christ's body and blood are, “Livrés sous les voiles de symboles très saints et de similitudes adaptées et expressives. Et comme aucune nourriture et aucun breuvage ne sont plus aptes à la réfection que le pain et le vin, rien n'est plus capable non plus de signifier l'unité du corps du Christ, réel et mystique, que le pain, fait de grains sans tache, et le vin, exprimé des grains de raisins très purs réunis ensemble. Il fallait donc que ce fût sous ces espèces plutôt que sous d'autres que le sacrement fût présenté. Et comme le Christ devait se trouver ces espèces, non selon un changement qui l'affectât lui-même, mais plutôt les espèces, c'est pourquoi, au moment où sont proférées les deux formules rapportées plus haut, qui insinuent la présence du Christ sous ces espèces, s'opère la conversion de chaque substance au corps et au sang, ne

completely in any portion of each species because he is present sacramentally. It does not refer to space and time and physical containment. Yet, the species retain their natural properties and provide physical nourishment*. Approaching this sacrament worthily involves partaking spiritually: to acknowledge with faith and receive with love; to allow Christ to transform* the recipient into the mystical body.²¹⁵

In summary, Bonaventure expounds in the *Breviloquium* his vision of the Eucharist as aiding the believer in maintaining love of God, neighbour, and self. His *De Praeparatione ad missam* expanded upon these fruits of the Eucharist to help priests appreciate the importance of their celebration of the Eucharist for themselves and for the faithful.²¹⁶

Secondly, in his *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, Bonaventure gives both the remote and the immediate preparation for the celebration of Mass required by the priest. The first chapter of the treatise deals with the details of the remote preparation which involves four steps: 1) a four-fold examination of self; 2) a check on personal intentions and dispositions on approaching the altar; 3) a check on the depth of one's love and fervour on approaching the altar; and 4) a check on one's motive for approaching the altar. Each point in these steps is intended to highlight the importance of the Mass and of the interior disposition of the priest celebrant.

For the first step, the four-fold examination of self, Bonaventure outlines several processes. First, the priest should check the depth of his faith concerning the Eucharist. In four sub-points he demonstrates the truth and essence of the presence of Christ in both the

demeurant que les seuls accidents comme signes qui contiennent le corps lui-même et aussi qui l'expriment" (Bonaventure *Breviloquium* 6, 9, 4). Bonaventure, *Remèdes sacramentels*, 103–5.

²¹⁵ "Spirituellement, pour ainsi le mâcher par la réflexion de foi et se l'assimiler par la ferveur de l'amour. Par là, il ne transforme pas le Christ en soi, mais c'est lui-même plutôt qui est comme projeté dans son Corps Mystique" (Bonaventure *Breviloquium* 6, 9,5-6). Bonaventure, *Remèdes sacramentels*, 105–7.

²¹⁶ Robson, "Saint Bonaventure," 193.

bread and the wine.²¹⁷ Bonaventure considers bread and wine* as the most fitting objects to contain Christ, not only for the individual participant, but also for the church as a whole*.²¹⁸

Bonaventure continues, exhorting the celebrant to exercise faith in God rather than being of doubtful mind because the Eucharist was given by Christ and passed through the generations. Furthermore, the Eucharist and the church are inextricably united* even as Christ is given under a veil (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 3).²¹⁹

The second step in the remote preparation is a check on the priest's intentions and dispositions. Not only must the priest's body and mind be pure and clean, but also the

²¹⁷ “At the very instant when the bread ceases to be, the following truly exists beneath the accidents, in a wondrous and ineffable way: –First, the most pure flesh of Christ and His sacred Body, formed of the Holy Spirit, born from the glorious Virgin, suspended upon the cross, laid in the tomb, and glorified in heaven. –Second, since flesh does not live without blood, there is present here by necessity that precious Blood which fruitfully flowed on the cross for the salvation of the world. –Third, since man must have a rational soul, there is present here that glorious Soul of Christ, exceeding in grace and splendor all virtue, glory, and power, in which *are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge* [Col 2:3]. – Fourth, since Christ is true Man and true God, it follows that God also is present here in all the glory of His majesty. All these four, together and severally, are simultaneously and perfectly contained under the species of bread and wine, not any the less in the Chalice; nor again is either one a complement of the other, but the whole is found in each one by that great mystery of which *we have much to say* [Heb 5:11]. It is, however, sufficient to accept that under both species is contained the true God and Man whom the angels assist in great number, and the saints attend” (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 1). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series* (vol. 3 of *The Works of Bonaventure*; trans. José de Vinck; Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1966), 219–20.

²¹⁸ “Consider how fitting it is that only these two species should hold Christ.—First, bread and wine are the best nourishment for the whole man: bread sustains the flesh or body, and wine is absorbed in the blood, which is the seat of the soul. —Second, bread and wine are the principal, most common, cleanest, and simplest kinds of food and drink; hence, they best signify the purity of spiritual reflection. —Third, bread and wine best signify the Body and Blood of Christ, for bread is a symbol of this Body, ground, kneaded, and pounded during the passion, baked and parched by the fire of divine love on the hearth and altar of the cross; and wine is a symbol of this Blood, extruded from the grapes, that is, Christ's body, by the Jews who trampled Him in the winepress of the cross. —Fourth, the species beautifully signify the Mystical Body of Christ, the Church, made of a number of faithful predestined for life, like so many grains and grapes” (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 2). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 220.

²¹⁹ “For what merit of faith would you have, were Christ to appear before you as He is? You would adore Him, certainly and necessarily. And how could the eyes of your body sustain such great glory? What insanity to say that we could eat and drink raw flesh and human blood in their natural form!” (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 3–4). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 220–21.

altar linens and holy vessels.²²⁰

In the third step, a check on the depth of love and fervour with which the priest approaches the altar, Bonaventure quotes Luke's proto-eucharistic pericope.²²¹

The Eucharist gives nourishment in a manner fitting to people in the form of actual bread and wine which highlights the fact that people need both spiritual and physical nourishment*. In the Eucharist, one receives both.²²²

The fourth step is a check on personal motives for approaching the altar. Among the sacred mysteries to which the priest is called to accede is a recognition that there is no more effective supplication* for both the living and the dead.²²³

Finally, in Bonaventure's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* in the section on Luke 22:14-23 entitled "the Consecration of the Sacrament of the Altar," he demonstrates very clearly his mastery of the interconnectedness of Scripture as he weaves quotes, images, and allusions throughout his writing. He begins by quoting v. 14 ("And when the hour had come"), links it to the previous section of preparation for the meal, and

²²⁰ Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 5-7. Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 222-24.

²²¹ "Everything done in the Mass, therefore, and all the ornaments and ceremonies represent nothing but Christ's passion; and the most important point in the Mass is the remembrance of Christ, as He Himself explains: '*Do this in remembrance of Me*'; and as the Apostle writes: *For as often as you shall eat this Bread and drink the Cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until He comes* [Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:26], meaning for the judgment" (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 8-10). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 224-27.

²²² "Because of the fitting relation between Bread and bread, and between spiritual and physical sustainment. As Wisdom nourishes the angels, living spirits, with the uncreated Word, so also He deigns to feed mortal men with the Incarnate Word received in the Sacrament. Therefore, it is said: *The Bread of the mighty was eaten by men* [Ps 77:25]; and also: *I am the living Bread that has come down from heaven* [John 6:51]." Not only is the individual sustained through the Eucharist, so also is the Mystical Body, the Church. "As the body cannot live without suitable food, so also there can be no spiritual life for the rational soul unless it consume and absorb a suitable spiritual aliment. Hence, Christ says: *He who eats Me, he also shall live because of Me* [John 6:58]." Bonaventure acknowledges the difference between natural and spiritual food: natural food is absorbed into the substance of the one who consumes it; however, "when Christ is consumed, the consumer is incorporated with Him and passes into the union and love of Christ's spirit" (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 12-13). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 229-30.

²²³ "For no supplication is more effective for the salvation of the living and the repose of the dead than the Blood of Jesus Christ which is shed for the remission of sins[Cf. Matt 26:28]" (Bonaventure *Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam*, 1, 14-15). Bonaventure, *Opuscula Second Series*, 231-32.

identifies three distinct parts in this pericope: 1) vv. 14-18, the observance of the Passover; 2) vv. 19-20, the institution of the Eucharist; and 3) vv. 21-23, the censure of Judas for his ingratitude. For Bonaventure, the sections remind readers of the fulfilment of the Law in the Eucharist and the need for gratitude* in order to receive fruitfully the Sacrament.²²⁴

Bonaventure makes three points in the first section (Luke 22:14-18): first, the fact that the disciples and Jesus recline together reveals Christ's intimacy with his disciples. Bonaventure links this posture to Sir 32:1.²²⁵ Not only is this a preparation for teaching*, but it is also a posture of love, evoking John 13:34 and John 15:12.²²⁶ In Luke 22:15, the fact that Jesus desires to eat the Passover with his disciples indicates his desire for unity*, for their incorporation into one body of love, thereby linking to Luke 12:49-50.²²⁷ In this, Bonaventure points out that the evangelist is saying that the figure* must be set aside as the true reality has come. He looks to John Chrysostom to link this idea to Sir 24:26, Ps 145:7, and Ps 80:11.²²⁸

Secondly, in saying the lamb is the type*, Bonaventure quotes Luke 22:16 and then speaks of Exod 12:14 as a reference to the signified rather than to the sign.²²⁹ He

²²⁴ “*And when the hour had come, etc.* After he [the Evangelist] has depicted the preparation of the paschal food, he here describes *the consecration of the Sacrament of the Altar*. And since this Sacrament fulfills the Law and is unfruitful to the ungrateful, this part has three sections” (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 19). Bonaventure, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke: Volume 8 Part 3*, in *Works of St. Bonaventure* (trans. Robert J. Karris; Saint Bonaventure, N. Y.: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2004), 2043.

²²⁵ “Have they made you ruler? Be not lifted up. Be among them as one of them” Sir 32:1.

²²⁶ “A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another” John 13:34; “This is my commandment that you love one another” John 15:12.

²²⁷ “I have come to cast fire on the earth, and what will I but that it be kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how distressed I am until it is accomplished” Luke 12:49-50.

²²⁸ “Pass over to me, all you who desire me” Sir 24:26 [sic; actually Sir 24:19]; “He gives food to the hungry” Ps 145:7; and “Open your mouth wide, and I will fill it” Ps 80:11 (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 20-21). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2043-45.

²²⁹ “You shall celebrate this day in your generations with an everlasting observance” Exod 12:14. “For a figure is fulfilled when what it was prefiguring arrives. And then, when the reality arrives, it ceases, just as the shadow ceases when the light appears” (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 22). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2045.

also discusses links to 1 Cor 13:10, Hebrews 10:1, 11-12, 14, and Matt 3:15.²³⁰

Thirdly, the drink is a figure* which has been terminated (Luke 22:17-18); the cup belongs to the old Passover for which Jesus giving thanks* and in this, Bonaventure makes a link to Lev 26:10.²³¹ By citing various scripture passages, Bonaventure interprets the kingdom of God in Luke 22:18 as justice,²³² the understanding of the truth*,²³³ eternal life,²³⁴ or grace.²³⁵ For him, the passion* of Christ brings about the fulfilment of justice and the destruction of iniquity.²³⁶ As well, through the passion*, minds* are opened (as with the disciples on the road to Emmaus).²³⁷ In other words, the veil that covers the minds of unbelievers has been torn. Grace, as in John 1:17, has been given and the door to glory opened.²³⁸ The kingdom of God comes immediately after this food and drink is consumed and thus Jesus will not drink until the kingdom of God comes. This teaching highlights the shift from the concrete to the spiritual in the sacraments.²³⁹

In the second section (Luke 22:19-20) Bonaventure looks at the institution of the Eucharist and again sees three points: first, the consecration of the Lord's body. Not only is the Lord's body consecrated but the form of consecrating is given in the words, "This is

²³⁰ "When that which is perfect has come, that which is imperfect will be done away with" 1 Cor 13:10; "The Law, having a shadow of the good things to come, and not the exact image of the objects, is never able . . . to perfect those who draw near . . . And every priest indeed stands daily ministering, and often offering the same sacrifices, which can not take away sins. But he, having offered one sacrifice for sins, sits forever at the right hand of God. . . . For by one offering he has perfected forever those who have been consecrated" Heb 10:1, 11-12, 14; "I have come not to abolish the Law, but to fulfill it" Matt 3:15 [sic; actually Matt 5:17]. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 22). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2045-46.

²³¹ "When the new things arrive, you shall cast away the old" Lev 26:10.

²³² "The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but justice and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" Rom 14:17.

²³³ "Every scribe instructed in the kingdom of the heavens" Matt 13:52.

²³⁴ "Remember me, Lord, when you come in your kingdom" Luke 23:42.

²³⁵ "The kingdom of God is within you" Luke 17:21.

²³⁶ "So that transgression may be finished, and sin may have an end, and iniquity may be abolished, and everlasting justice may be brought forth" Dan 9:24.

²³⁷ "He opened their minds, so that they might understand the scriptures" Luke 24:45.

²³⁸ "Grace and truth were effected through Jesus Christ" John 1:17; "Today you will be with me in paradise" Luke 23:47 [sic; quotation is actually Luke 23:43].

²³⁹ (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 23-24). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2046-48.

my body.” Bonaventure reports four opinions about this confection: 1) by God’s power without any words, 2) that Jesus said the words secretly and then publicly, 3) that Jesus spoke the words once before breaking the bread but after the confection, and 4) that Jesus spoke the words once which coincided with the confecting and the institution, before he broke the bread. This marks the change* of the sacrament from that of the lamb into that of the more common bread. For Bonaventure, the ordinariness of bread expresses its nutritive* value as well as its power to connect* the participant with the mystical body of Christ. He then quotes several scripture passages to make his point, and identifies the manna as prefiguring* the bread of the Eucharist, with its worthiness to be so used prefigured* by Melchizedek: Gen 14:18-19; 49:20; Ps 77:25; 103:15; Wis 16:20; and John 6:51.²⁴⁰ Bonaventure concludes that, like Melchizedek, Christ blessed, but because he is the eternal priest, Christ is confected by his spoken word alone.²⁴¹

In further discussion on the statement: “This is my body,” Bonaventure quotes Ambrose to show that the word spoken is an efficacious word: what is said comes to pass. Then the rest of the verse “he took bread, gave thanks, broke, and gave,” is analysed: the taking of the bread signifies the assumption of flesh;²⁴² the thanksgiving* highlights the way graces flow from the head to the entire church*;²⁴³ the breaking anticipates the suffering to come in Christ’s passion*;²⁴⁴ and the giving refers to the generous sharing* of the sacrament.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ “Melchizedek, . . . brought out bread and wine . . . blessed Abram” Gen 14:18-19; “Aser’s produce is rich, and he shall furnish dainties for kings” Gen 49:20; “Men and women ate the bread of angels” Ps 77:25; “Bread strengthens the human heart” Ps 103:15; “And you gave them ready made bread from heaven” Wis 16:20; and “I am the living bread, which has come down from heaven” John 6:51.

²⁴¹ (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke* 22, 25). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2048–49.

²⁴² “My flesh is real food” John 6:56 [sic; source cites v. 56 but quotes John 6:55] and “The Word became flesh” John 1:14.

²⁴³ “Of his fullness we have all received, grace upon grace” John 1:16.

²⁴⁴ “They have dug my hands and my feet. They have numbered all my bones” Ps 21:17-18.

²⁴⁵ “The bread, which I will give, is my flesh” John 6:52 [sic; source cites v. 52 but quotes John 6:51] and “Freely you have received, freely give” Matt 10:8. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke* 22, 25). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2050–51.

Secondly, the conferral of authority* is also revealed in v. 19 with the words: “Do this in remembrance of me.” Christ has given the Apostles the authority to do what he has done; he has made them priests. Again, Bonaventure cites other scripture passages to highlight this conferral and the reasons for it.²⁴⁶ The disciples are reminded of Christ’s power²⁴⁷ and his love.²⁴⁸ For Bonaventure, the remembrance is not just about something in the past but about the sign of something from the past made present; the statement: “This is my body” is both the signified and the sanctifying,²⁴⁹ as well as the viaticum which strengthens²⁵⁰ and the sacrifice which is acceptable to the Father.²⁵¹ It is necessary that the sacrifice is the true body of Christ for it to be the acceptable sacrifice.²⁵²

Thirdly, the consecration of the Lord’s blood follows in Luke 22:20. Bonaventure notes the differences between the Institution Narratives²⁵³ and points out that the church uses yet another formula: “This is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlasting covenant, the mystery of faith, which is being shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins.” For Bonaventure, the accounts are not contradictory. Rather than

²⁴⁶ “I have given you an example, so that, just as I have done, so you also should do” John 13:15; “As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until he comes” 1 Cor 11:26; “The memory of Josiah is like the composition of a sweet smell made by the art of a perfumer” Sir 49:1; “Remember my poverty and transgression, the wormwood and the gall. I will be mindful and remember, and my soul will languish within me” Lam 3:19-20.

²⁴⁷ “He has made a remembrance of his wonderful works, being a merciful and gracious God” Ps 110:4; “Your name, O Lord, is forever. Your remembrance, O Lord, unto all generations” Ps 134:13; “It will be a sign in your hand and as a thing hung before your eyes, for a remembrance, because the Lord has brought us forth out of Egypt by a strong hand” Exod 13:16.

²⁴⁸ “O Lord, your name and your remembrance are the desire of the soul” Isa 26:8; “Put me as a seal upon your heart, as seal upon your arm” Song 8:6.

²⁴⁹ “And obviously great is the sacrament of holiness, which was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the Spirit” 1 Tim 3:16.

²⁵⁰ “The person who eats me, that person, too, will live because of me. This is the bread that has come down from heaven, not as your fathers ate the manna and died. The person who eats this bread will live forever” John 6:58-59 [sic; source cites vv. 58-59 but quotes John 6:57-58].

²⁵¹ “A holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ” 1 Pet 2:5

²⁵² (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 27). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2051–52.

²⁵³ “This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is being shed for you” Luke 22:20; “This is my blood of the new covenant, which is being shed for many” Matt 26:28 and Mark 14:24; and “This cup is the new covenant in my blood” 1 Cor 11:25.

attempting to give a precise account of the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper, the evangelists are composing history, and the church is engaged in the preservation of the form for confecting the Eucharist by combining the words used by all of the evangelists. Again, Bonaventure looks to other Scripture passages to delve deeper into this verse: the cup is the same cup of which Christ asks the disciples: “Can you drink of the cup of which I am to drink?” (Matt 20:22). While none of the evangelists comment on the addition of water to the wine, for Bonaventure there is no question as to this mixing. The wine of the day was strong and it was customary to add water; Christ was temperate; and the addition of the water to the wine evokes the mystery of the people uniting* to Christ. As John points out, from the side of Christ flowed blood and water (John 19:34); the church offers the true blood of Christ in the mixture of wine and water confected into his blood.²⁵⁴ This blood confirms a new covenant* as Bonaventure attests, citing Heb 9:18 and Exod 24:8.²⁵⁵ In the new covenant*, the blood is no longer the blood of animals;²⁵⁶ the old, temporary covenant has been replaced by the new covenant which was inaugurated with Christ’s blood*²⁵⁷ making him the mediator of that covenant (v. 15). The redemption of the human race has come through Christ’s blood.²⁵⁸ The sacrifice* of his blood is the Sacrament of refreshment.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ “The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ” 1 Cor 10:16. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22, 28*). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2052–53.

²⁵⁵ “Not even the first covenant was inaugurated without blood” Heb 9:18; “He took the blood and sprinkled it upon the people saying: This is the blood of the covenant which God has commanded for you” Exod 24:8.

²⁵⁶ “For it is impossible that sins be taken away by the blood of bulls and goats” Heb 10:4.

²⁵⁷ “When Christ appeared as high priest of the good things to come, he entered once for all through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made by hands . . . nor by virtue of the blood of goats and calves, but by virtue of his own blood, into the Holy of Holies” Heb 9:11-12.

²⁵⁸ “Without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins” Heb 9:23 [actually v. 22]; “You have redeemed us for God through your blood” Rev 5:9; “He loved us and washed us from our sins through his blood” Rev 1:5.

²⁵⁹ “The eagle’s young suck up blood” Job 39:30; “Drink and become inebriated, dearly beloved” Song 5:1; “They showed the elephants the blood of grapes and mulberries to provoke them to fight” 1 Macc 6:34; “They overcame him through the blood of the Lamb” Rev 12:11; “In the struggle against sin you have not yet resisted unto blood” Heb 12:4. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22, 29*). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2053–55.

Bonaventure continues with the third section of this pericope: Luke 22:21-23, the censure of Judas for his ingratitude. Again, he sees the verses in light of three points: first, the ungrateful betrayer is perverse. The adversarial tone of Luke 22:21 stems from the fact that the Judas's ingratitude directly attacks the grace of the Eucharist which has just been consecrated. However, the verse also highlights the graciousness* of Christ who allowed his betrayer to be present and to have his feet washed along with the others, and who welcomed his betrayer to share from the same dish.²⁶⁰ From this example comes the ideal of loving your enemies and of tolerating evil people. At the same time, Christ does not name Judas²⁶¹ which serves to intensify the ingratitude of the betrayer.²⁶² Similarly, anyone who approaches the eucharistic altar with impure heart betrays Christ as did Judas. And those who receive the Eucharist and later sin are also betraying Christ.²⁶³

Secondly, God's judgments are profound. In Luke 22:22: "Indeed, the Son of Man goes his way, as it has been determined," according to God's plan as seen in Isa 53:6, 10; Acts 3:18; Isa 53:7; Lam 4:20; Dan 9:26; and Zech 13:6.²⁶⁴ Bonaventure saw Christ's passion as determined by, and acceptable to, God while the betrayer was displeasing to God as noted in Luke 22:22, which continues, "Yet woe to that person by whom he will

²⁶⁰ "He who dips his hand into the dish with me will betray me" Matt 26:23.

²⁶¹ "You are clean, but not all. For he knew who it was who would betray him" John 13:10-11.

²⁶² "The man with whom I was at peace, whom I trusted, who ate my food, has greatly supplanted me" Ps 40:10; "If my enemy had cursed me, I would have truly borne it. . . . But you, a man of one mind with me, my guide and my bosom friend, who did take choice foods with me" Ps 54:13-15.

²⁶³ Like "a dog to its vomit" cf. Prov 26:11 ("As the dog returns to his vomit, so the fool repeats his folly") and 2 Pet 2:22 ("What is expressed in the true proverb has happened to them, 'The dog returns to its own vomit,' and 'A bathed sow returns to wallowing in the mire.'"); "If we sin wilfully after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there remains no longer a sacrifice for sin" Heb 10:26; "And they repaid me evil for good, and hatred for my love" Ps 108:5. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 30). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2055-57.

²⁶⁴ "All of us like sheep have gone astray. Each one has turned aside into his own way, and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all, . . . And the Lord was pleased to bruise him in infirmity" Isa 53:6, 10; "In this way God fulfilled what he had announced beforehand by the mouth of all the prophets, that is, that his Christ should suffer" Acts 3:18; "Like a lamb he was led to the slaughter" Isa 53:7; "The breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord, was captured by our sins" Lam 4:20; "After sixty-two weeks the Christ will be slain" Dan 9:26; "What are these wounds in the middle of your hands? And he will say, With these I was wounded in the house of those who loved me" Zech 13:6. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke 22*, 31). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2057.

be betrayed.” The underlying will of each stands in great contrast: God willed out of love;²⁶⁵ Christ was obedient;²⁶⁶ the Jews willed his suffering out of cruelty;²⁶⁷ and Judas willed it out of greed.²⁶⁸ Through his betrayal, Judas lost everything.²⁶⁹

Thirdly, Christ’s apostles are pure as shown in Luke 22:23 with the disciples questioning among themselves who the betrayer might be; they are saddened by the prediction.²⁷⁰ Simon Peter presses the Beloved to inquire as to the identity of the betrayer.²⁷¹ Bonaventure perceives that, in maintaining his silence, Jesus encourages people to keep others’ hidden sins hidden²⁷² but Jesus does tell Peter when he reveals to the Beloved Disciple: “It is he for whom I will dip the bread and give it to him,” (John 13:26). Bonaventure concludes: “For that, which is revealed out of charity to safeguard a prelate and to avoid danger, is not considered public.”²⁷³

As this commentary on the proto-eucharistic pericope in Luke reveals, Bonaventure knows Scripture well. In fact, in his *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* he quotes 70 of the 72 books in the Vulgate (missing only two small books: Philemon and 2 John). An analysis of his citations reveals that he makes extensive use of Wisdom

²⁶⁵ “But God, who is rich in mercy, by reason of the very great love” Eph 2:4; “But God commends his love towards us, because when we were still sinners, Christ died for us” Rom 5:8.

²⁶⁶ “He humbled himself, having become obedient until death” Phil 2:8.

²⁶⁷ “Let us examine him by abuse and torture. . . .Let us condemn him to a most shameful death” Wis 2:19-20.

²⁶⁸ “May your money go with you to perdition” Acts 8:20; “Those who want to become rich fall into temptation and the snare of the devil” 1 Tim 6:9; “There is not a more wicked thing than to love money. For this person puts his own soul up for sale, because, while alive, he has cast away his innermost being” Sir 10:10.

²⁶⁹ “When he is judged, may he go out condemned” Ps 108:7; “It were better for him, if he had not been born” Matt 26:24. (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke* 22, 32). Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2057–58.

²⁷⁰ “And being very much saddened, each began to ask: Is it I, Lord?” Matt 26:22; “The disciples looked at one another, uncertain of whom he was speaking” John 13:22.

²⁷¹ “Simon Peter beckoned to that disciple, who Jesus loved, and said to him: Who is it, of whom he speaks?” John 13:24.

²⁷² “Have you heard a word against your neighbour? Let it die within you, trusting that it will not burst you” Sir 19:10.

²⁷³ (Bonaventure *Commentary on Luke* 22, 27) Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2058–59.

Literature and the Christological passages of the New Testament (John 1:1-14 and Phil 2:6-11, for example).²⁷⁴

3.5. Medieval Scholars: Conclusion

The findings for the medieval scholars are summarised in the same three appendices mentioned in the Fathers of the Church: Conclusion, above. Appendix II: Themes Apparent in Relevant Texts reveals that, while all themes are present, the only theme found in all writers' texts is the first theme (body and blood; elements change; food and spiritual nourishment). All six themes are found in the last two of our writers, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. Their wide-ranging works reveal the ongoing development of the church's understanding of the Eucharist.

Appendix III reveals the depth of knowledge of Scripture. The medieval writers continued the Patristic style of writing in their wide-ranging use of Scripture. Appendix IV reveals that John's proto-eucharistic pericope (John 6:51-59) is referenced by all the writers in their discussions of the Eucharist. Luke's and Paul's accounts follow in a number of writers using the texts in their discussions of the Eucharist.

We turn now to modern writers to investigate their writings on the Eucharist.

4. MODERN SCHOLARS

Having discovered above that there was no consensus on which Scripture passages would best reveal the early church's thought on the Eucharist, we turn to modern scholars. This section begins with a brief discussion of three major eucharistic works in order to outline the scriptural passages and approach each scholar used in his work. Two of these three writers (Joachim Jeremias and Xavier Léon-Dufour) were chosen because they are cited as authoritative sources on the Eucharist by other modern

²⁷⁴ Bonaventure, *Commentary on Luke*, 2251.

scholars. The third (Stephen B. Clark) was chosen as the most recent scriptural introduction to the Eucharist.

Following this discussion of the three major works, we will comment on other modern works which touch on the Eucharist from an exegetical standpoint but have a focus on one or another text in particular.

The purpose of this analysis is to highlight the fact that this project explores the Eucharist in a way which respects existing scholarship and adds to the discussion. Further details of the works discussed in this section will be presented in Chapter 4: Historical-critical Analysis of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes.

4.1. Joachim Jeremias

The work of Joachim Jeremias, originally written in German, has been translated into both English and French and is widely cited by other scholars.²⁷⁵ In this work, Jeremias explores many elements which lie beyond the scope of this project²⁷⁶ but also covers many aspects which shed light on a canonical approach to the Eucharist.²⁷⁷ He studies the Eucharist by looking at the Last Supper accounts (Matt 26:17-30; Mark 14:12-26; Luke 22:7-39; and John 13:1-30) and he takes a detailed look at Jesus' words of institution (Matt 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20; 1 Cor 11:23-25).²⁷⁸ He understands the passion account as an early story²⁷⁹ and he compares the Last Supper accounts in Mark, Luke, and John, concluding that the extant accounts reveal a

²⁷⁵ Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (trans. Arnold Ehrhardt; New York: Macmillan, 1955).

²⁷⁶ For example: attempts to harmonise the Synoptic accounts with that of John's gospel, the debate over the Last Supper as a Passover meal, and the search for the earliest text of Jesus' words of institution.

²⁷⁷ Such as: reasons for the lack of an Institution Narrative in John's gospel, and the study of the text of Luke's gospel.

²⁷⁸ Interestingly, in this discussion Jeremias looks at only John 13:1-30, up to the point where Judas leaves the table. The Scripture references are given at Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 68, 106.

²⁷⁹ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 61-62.

development of the tradition by the early communities.²⁸⁰ In his opinion, Mark's account of the words of institution are the earliest, Luke's longer text (including vv. 19b-20) is original, and John 6:51c-58 is not integral to the Bread of Life discourse but originated in a pre-Johannine eucharistic homily.²⁸¹

Joachim Jeremias uses four of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes in his oft-quoted work on the Eucharist (ending Matthew, Mark, and Paul's pericopes one verse early, beginning Luke's one verse later and ending it two verses earlier; he barely touches on the Johannine pericope, perhaps because he views it as a "pre-Johannine eucharistic homily."²⁸² However, he has concerned himself with issues which do not enter into a canonical approach, for example: searching for the earliest text and minimising the discussion on texts deemed to be later additions.

4.2. Xavier Léon-Dufour

Writing in French, Xavier Léon-Dufour first identifies the two traditions of the Last Supper: the cultic (in two strands: one at Matt 26:20-28 and Mark 14:17-24, and the other at Luke 22:14-20 and 1 Cor 11:23-26) and the testamentary (at Luke 22:14-20 and John 6:26-65).²⁸³ He then explores the differences in these two traditions.²⁸⁴ His pericopes are defined as Matt 26:20-29; Mark 14:17-25; Luke 22:14-20; John 6:51-58; and 1 Cor 11:23-26. He views the Bread of Life Discourse as eucharistic.²⁸⁵ In the passages listed, only his Pauline account matches the proto-eucharistic pericope boundaries chosen for this project.²⁸⁶ As well as these pericopes, he included other

²⁸⁰ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 71.

²⁸¹ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 73, 127–32.

²⁸² Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 73.

²⁸³ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Sharing the Eucharistic Bread: The Witness of the New Testament* (trans. Matthew J. O'Connell; New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 82–179.

²⁸⁴ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Sharing the Eucharistic Bread*, 183–277.

²⁸⁵ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Sharing the Eucharistic Bread*, 260.

²⁸⁶ Léon-Dufour's Matthean pericope begins six verses earlier and ends one verse earlier; his Marcan pericope begins five verses earlier and ends one verse earlier; his Lucan pericope begins at the same verse but ends three verses earlier; his Johannine pericope begins at the same verse but ends one verse

eucharistic texts such as John 2:1-11; 4:31-34; 5:53-54; 15:1-5; 19:34; and 21:9-13.

Not only does he not hold the texts together in the way which the canonical approach would, he also includes many pericopes which this project does not include (see section on categorising pericopes in the next chapter).

4.3. Stephen B. Clark

Stephen B. Clark's *Catholics and the Eucharist: A Scriptural Introduction* explores the Old Testament cultural roots of the Last Supper. He acknowledges the ecumenical dialogue which has taken place in recent years but his primary intention in this work is to help Catholics better understand and participate in the liturgy. Accepting the eucharistic liturgy as the source and summit for Christians, he expounds the scriptural basis for this understanding.²⁸⁷ He points to Matt 26:20-30; Mark 14:17-26; Luke 22:14-23; 1 Cor 11:23-26; and possibly John 6:51b as the most direct references to the Eucharist, all of which need to be interpreted in the light of the Last Supper. In his opinion, John 6:51-59 (more broadly, vv. 25-71); 1 Cor 10:14-22, 1 Cor 11:17-34, and possibly Heb 13:9-16 contain instructions for the Eucharist. He interprets Acts 2:42, 46-47; 20:7-12 and Luke 24:13-43 as evidence that the Breaking of the Bread was a eucharistic ceremony. In his opinion, further understanding of the Eucharist is found at Luke 24:13-43; John 6:25-71 (especially vv. 51-59); 1 Cor 10:14-22; 1 Cor 11:17-34; Heb 13:9-16; Acts 2:42, 46-47; 20:7-12; 27:35.²⁸⁸

In summary, Clark presents a vast array of contexts for his study of the Eucharist: in the New Testament he identifies verses which are the most direct references to the Eucharist, those which provide instructions, and those which provide further

earlier.

²⁸⁷ Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 8–11.

²⁸⁸ Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 229.

understanding; he then includes many other New Testament and many Old Testament references to form the backdrop for his presentation. Clark has included the proto-eucharistic pericopes but has not kept to a strictly systematic approach for identifying the texts to be studied. Furthermore, he has not used the canonical approach which this project will employ.²⁸⁹

4.4. Other Modern Studies

As well as these works which study the Eucharist at depth, single-pericope-focussed studies are helpful because they reveal the divergent and even contradictory elements of the early church's practice. For example, Pauline scholarship has focussed on 1 Cor 11:23-26 and, while acknowledging the other eucharistic pericopes, does not treat them together as would the canonical approach.²⁹⁰ Similarly, each of the Gospel texts has been analysed in a stand-alone fashion.²⁹¹

The canonical approach acknowledges these contradictions, holding them in proper tension while seeking the mutual enlightening of the divergent strands of the tradition found in the pericopes. The resultant picture allows an understanding of the whole that is greater than the sum of the parts. The studies by Xavier Léon-Dufour and

²⁸⁹ Clark, *Catholics and the Eucharist*, 227–31.

²⁹⁰ William A. Beardslee, *First Corinthians: A Commentary for Today* (St. Louis, Mo.: Chalice Press, 1994); Collins, *First Corinthians*; Bruce W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

²⁹¹ For Matthew, see: Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (vol. 1 of *Sacra Pagina*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991). For Mark: Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001); John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (vol. 2 of *Sacra Pagina*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002); Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002); Morna Dorothy Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Black's New Testament Commentaries 2; London: A&C Black, 1997); James R. Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark* (The Pillar New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). For Luke: Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53* (vol. 2 of *Luke*; Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996). For John: Peder Borgen, "John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 95–127; Gary M. Burge, *John* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000); Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, in *The Anchor Bible Reference Library* (Edited, updated, introduced, and concluded by Francis J. Moloney; ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 2003).

Joachim Jeremias, while informative, do not present a synthesised theology of the Eucharist based on exegesis of the texts considered relevant to this project (see below). Each author has chosen his own set of texts to analyse and, as evident in the above lists, the three authors do not agree on which texts bear detailed analysis.

4.5. Modern Scholars: Conclusion

We saw above that each of the three main modern authors has chosen biblical texts for his exploration of the Eucharist with a particular focus in mind. Jeremias attempts to identify the nature of the Last Supper meal, to link it to the Passion accounts, to find the earliest text of the words of Institution of the Eucharist, and to understand the meaning of those words of Jesus. Léon-Dufour explores what he calls the “witness” of the New Testament to the Eucharist; he looks at the eucharistic practice of the early Christians, the variety in those traditions, and the way each biblical author has presented the Eucharist. Clark presents a scriptural introduction to the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist from a Catholic perspective. He uses themes found in the liturgy to weave a tapestry which reveals the Scripture behind the praxis. Rather than lowering the number of pericopes that may be considered essential to a biblical study of the Eucharist, these three authors, along with the authors of more narrowly focussed works, have added a vast number of texts to the list for consideration. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, their work will be utilised in Chapter 4: Historical-critical Analysis of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes.

As is evidenced by the myriad of pericopes chosen by scholars in their studies of the Eucharist, one difficulty in the identification of texts for detailed analysis stems from the fact that many pericopes in the New Testament are allusive of the Eucharist. The importance of table fellowship to the Jewish culture of New Testament times is reflected in Jesus’ ministry; that importance along with the many feeding miracle stories and the meals reported in Acts and in Paul’s correspondence highlight the need for developing criteria by which pericopes may be selected for this study.

5. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS: CONCLUSION

We began this chapter with a look at early church writers and documents (from Ignatius of Antioch (c. ca. 110) to Leo the Great (Pope 440-461). Their Scripture citations are vast in number and include, not only the five proto-eucharistic pericopes, but also many biblical books. While there are too many Scriptures to use in a systematic study, the data did reveal six themes which could be used as a framework for further study.

The next major grouping of writers began with Radbertus and Ratramnus in the early ninth century and ended with Bonaventure in the late 13th century. Again, their Scripture citations and allusions are quite comprehensive and all six themes are present. Interestingly, all of the medieval writers cite the Johannine proto-eucharistic pericope; only Radbertus and Ratramnus fail to cite the Lucan and the Pauline proto-eucharistic pericopes; and the Matthean and the Marcan proto-eucharistic pericopes are cited by Bonaventure alone. The last section of the chapter reviewed three modern authors (Joachim Jeremias, Xavier Léon-Durour, and Stephen B. Clark), each of whom cites at least some portion of each of the proto-eucharistic pericopes.

This lengthy review of biblical exegetical work was undertaken in order to identify a foundation upon which to build as well as to ensure that this study will add to the existing scholarship. Rather than providing an obvious small set of pericopes to analyse using the lenses of the canonical approach, the data reveals the extensive way in which the eucharistic texts have been used by various authors and the vast number of scriptural texts which they used in their work. The six themes which came to light in the chronological presentation of this data provide a framework by which to organise this study under the lenses of the canonical approach.

A project such as this must choose between an in-depth look at a few biblical texts or a brief overview of many texts. The decision was made to choose an in-depth study of a small number of biblical texts which would be representative of at least one early

church community beyond those represented by the Institution Narratives. The rationale used in identifying the five proto-eucharistic pericopes will be explained in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes

1. INTRODUCTION

Having seen in Chapter 1 the wide-ranging discussions on the Eucharist in the early church (wide-ranging both in terms of the Scripture passages used to discuss the Eucharist and in the way the five proto-eucharistic pericopes were used in defence of many arguments), we now need to explain the criteria by which the five proto-eucharistic pericopes were identified. As demonstrated above, these early church discussions were neither systematic nor tightly focussed on a few key biblical texts; most of the writings on the Eucharist are found in texts written for other purposes and the writers used a vast array of Scripture passages to make their points.

A doctoral thesis seeking to uncover the New Testament understanding of the Eucharist requires a more systematic approach than has been found in the literature to date. This systematic approach needs to utilise a reasonable number of pericopes which together represent the communities of the early church and their collections of scriptural revelations concerning key elements of their faith. This chapter will discuss the various aspects involved in choosing the five proto-eucharistic pericopes in this project. It will begin by presenting a way of systematically categorising the many eucharistic pericopes in the New Testament. After identifying the five proto-eucharistic pericopes through this categorisation, the language and anthropological issues of σάρξ, σῶμα, and αἶμα will be explored. After reviewing the use of these terms, scholarship about the eucharistic or not-eucharistic nature of John 6:51-59 will be investigated. Finally, the particular boundaries chosen for each of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes will be explained.

2. CATEGORISING THE EUCHARISTIC PERICOPES

In order to select the most pertinent pericopes for this present study in uncovering the biblical understanding of the Eucharist, it is important to develop a way to classify the many references to meals in the New Testament. The importance of table fellowship in Jesus' ministry along with the fact that, while many meals are reported in the New Testament, the Last Supper takes on a unique role must be acknowledged. An investigation into how the Last Supper accounts differ from other meal accounts reveals several criteria: the Institution Narratives are the only meal accounts which report what food and drink was consumed; the words spoken and actions described point to cultic expression; there are testamentary elements in one of the Institution Narratives; and the words evoke remembrance of Old Testament sacrifices. Having identified these key elements of the texts most intimately related to the Eucharist, other meal accounts may be categorised into concentric circles as explained below and presented in chart and diagram form in Appendix V: Categorising the Eucharistic Pericopes of the New Testament.

Circle One: The outermost circle contains the most general table-fellowship pericopes which show the importance of meals and communion for the community. As well, at this level are located the feeding miracle pericopes, and the meals shared by the disciples with the earthly as well as with the risen Jesus. These pericopes, with their lack of cultic, testamentary, or sacrificial language, confirm the importance of the meal in the culture as well as highlighting the special nature of the Last Supper. Scholars today recognise that the feeding-miracle stories, in particular, are re-readings of the Last Supper account because their use of vocabulary is similar to that of the Institution Narratives.¹

¹ There are two feeding miracle stories presented in the Gospels: the feeding of the 5,000 (found in Matt 14:13-21; Mark 6:32-44; Luke 9:10-17; and John 6:1-13) and the feeding of the 4,000 (found in Matt 15:32-39 and Mark 8:1-10). Raymond Brown points out the Mark's readers would have understood the feeding miracle as a foreshadowing of the Last Supper. Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 136. Luke Timothy Johnson states: "Like the other evangelists, Luke has the feeding miracle point forward to the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples." Luke Timothy

The evangelists were using the taking, blessing, breaking, and giving “formula” in order to bring to their audiences’ minds the crucial events of the Last Supper.

Circle Two: Moving inwards, the next circle contains John’s Last Supper account which represents a testamentary tradition without the cultic nature found in the Institution Narratives and lacks sacrificial language. No other New Testament pericope has these same characteristics with the result that John’s Last Supper account stands in a circle of its own.

Circle Three: While John’s Last Supper does not contain an Institution Narrative, earlier in John’s gospel, within the Bread of Life discourse, there is sacrificial language (σάρξ and αἷμα) linked with bread (John 6:51-59). This pairing of sacrificial language and bread means that this pericope is closer to the Institution Narrative pericopes than is John’s Last Supper account and therefore belongs in a circle of its own closer to the Institution Narratives.

Circle Four: Finally, the inner-most circle contains the Institution Narratives (Matt 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22:14-23; and 1 Cor 11:23-26) with their direct links to the events of the Last Supper. They contain sacrificial language (σῶμα and αἷμα), references to both bread and wine, and cultic aspects in the form of descriptions of words and actions along with an expectation that the ritual be repeated.

“Problem” Pericopes: There are two pericopes, Paul’s address to the Corinthian community on liturgical abuses (1 Cor 10:14-17) and Luke’s account of the disciples’ encounter with the Risen Jesus on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:30-31), which do not fit easily into these four circles. These two pericopes contain cultic language, “take, bless, break, and give,” which places them closer to the Institution Narratives than the first

circle mentioned above. However, because in both cases the cultic words are reported by the author rather than being spoken by Jesus, these two pericopes belong to a circle between the two Johannine circles.

In conclusion, for this project, the two inner-most circles suffice: first, the pericopes located in these circles are the only meals reported in the New Testament with details of the food and drink consumed; and secondly, each contains strong sacrificial language (either $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ or $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ along with $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$) linked to bread or to bread and wine spoken by Jesus himself. Put succinctly, these pericopes contain cultic, testamentary, or sacrificial language placed on the lips of Jesus. The remaining circles provide a backdrop or a context within which to ground the analysis and therefore do not need to be a part of the detailed study of this project.

The inclusion of John raises two issues which need investigation: first, the silence of John's gospel regarding an Institution Narrative. Rather than focussing on John's Last Supper account, John 6:51-59 will be accepted as a part of the structural unit known as the Bread of Life discourse and will be analysed to reveal its clear eucharistic overtones with connections to the Prologue of John's gospel and to Old Testament sacrifices. Another issue, which we will investigate first, involves the difference in language between the Institution Narratives and John's gospel, namely the use of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in the Institution Narratives and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ in John.

3. LANGUAGE AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ISSUES

Having identified the five proto-eucharistic pericopes to be used in this project, in this section we will explore the Old Testament roots of the words and then the way $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$, and $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ are used in the New Testament, particularly in the eucharistic texts. This exploration is necessary because of the fact that, while all accounts use $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$, only John's gospel pericope uses $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ rather than $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in speaking of the elements. These pairings appear to be indicative of a sacrificial nature in the accounts. In considering these terms,

it must be kept in mind that none of the authors was writing an anthropological text. As Robert Jewett says, in a particular reference to Paul’s use of anthropological terms (including σῶμα, σὰρξ, and αἶμα), it is to be understood that Paul uses the terms to support his arguments while respecting the particular usages of these words by his dialogue partners.² While much could be said on this topic, the main purpose of this exploration is to justify the use of the Johannine proto-eucharistic text (which uses σὰρξ and αἶμα) in conjunction with the Institution Narratives (which use σῶμα and αἶμα). For each word, we will begin with the lexical definition before exploring its use in the Septuagint (LXX) and then in Paul, the Synoptic Gospels, and John.

3.1. Σῶμα

We begin with the word σῶμα because it is the word used in each of the four Institution Narratives. According to Walter Bauer’s *A Greek-English Lexicon*, the word has five general meanings: 1) “body of a human being or animal, *body*”; 2) in the plural, “slaves”; 3) “plant and seed structure, *body*”; 4) “substantive reality, *the thing itself, the reality*”; and 5) “a unified group of people, *body*.”³ Eduard Schweizer, in his entry σῶμα in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*,⁴ explores the many nuanced meanings of the word as it is used in the Old and New Testaments as well as in extra-biblical texts. These meanings will be examined in the sections below which look at various texts within the Bible.

² Robert Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 24–25.

³ Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: Based on Walter Bauer’s* (3d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 983–84 Hereafter BDAG.

⁴ Eduard Schweizer, “σῶμα,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 7 (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; ed. Gerhard Friedrich and Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 1024–94.

3.1.1. *Σῶμα in the Septuagint (LXX)*

In the LXX, the Greek word *σῶμα* is used to translate several Hebrew words and concepts. The hebraic world-view is holistic, with no concept of a physical body as a discrete entity; rather, the person is viewed as “an animated body rather than an incarnated soul.”⁵ In the LXX, *σῶμα* is used for 13 Hebrew words and cognates:⁶ *בְּשָׂר*, *נֶפֶשׁ*, *גִּוּף*, *גִּוּיָה*, *גִּוּיָה*, *גִּוּיָה*, *גִּוּיָה*, and *פֶּגֶר* are among them.⁷ In the Old Testament, the body and the soul are not used in contrast to one another; rather, body is soul in its outward appearance (in other words, a person *is* a body; a person does not *have* a body). The flesh and soul each refer to the whole person with the terms belonging together but distinct. The soul interpenetrates the body and its members so that the terms “animated body” and “incarnated soul” do not oppose each other. The LXX uses these terms for parts referring to the whole (synecdoche use) as well as presenting a complementary relationship between body and heart rather than identity.⁸ There is a clear anthropological duality in Jewish intertestamentary literature expressed in contrasting pairs of words: *sarx/pneuma*; *soma/psyche*; body/soul.⁹ However, although they are using Greek concepts, they do not take on the full dualism of Hellenism. In intertestamentary Jewish literature, evil is in the body and after death the body returns to earth while the soul returns to God who lent the soul to the body.¹⁰ According to Josephus, the Essenes held that the whole person is body and soul; according to the Pharisees, the soul is immortal (and if good, it goes to another body after death); Sadducees, thought that souls perish with the body; while Philo,

⁵ Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* 29 (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 29; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 119.

⁶ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 117.

⁷ For example, in Gen 47:18; Dan 4:30; Isa 38:17; Job 20:25; Deut 21:23. Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 1044–5 Note: the *גִּוּיָה*, in Schweizer should read *גִּוּיָה*.

⁸ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 16–23, 117–34.

⁹ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 87–109.

¹⁰ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 87.

maintained a body/soul duality, to the extent that the soul fills the body during the day but refreshes itself in heaven while the body sleeps.¹¹ In summary, the dualism is simple: body and soul are needed for normal life; a person is body plus soul/spirit, united but divisible; the body is not corrupt per se; the body and soul share in the evil and in the glory of the person; and body and soul are reunited at the resurrection.¹²

3.1.2. *Σῶμα in Paul*

In this section, we look in particular at Paul's two canonical letters to the Corinthians. The Institution Narrative appears in 1 Corinthians which is among Paul's earlier letters. Of Paul's 74 uses of σῶμα, 56 appear in the Corinthian letters.¹³ Robert Jewett maintains that differences in Paul's usage of σῶμα arose from the development of Paul's thought and his respectful consideration of the different levels of theological understanding in his addressees.¹⁴

In his earlier correspondence, including 1 Corinthians, Paul is countering the Corinthians' rejection of moral discipline and their belief in future bodily resurrection. Paul asserts the importance of the subjugation of the physical body of the individual in view of the coming eschatological judgment in order to refute the gnostic image of the body as enemy. For Paul, participation in the sacrament involves exclusive participation in the body and blood of Christ. He uses σῶμα as a technical term: as the concrete observable body of Christ in the sacramental bread, and also as the unity between the person and Christ established by cultic participation. So, σῶμα encompasses the whole person in corporeal relationship with others and with God. Our bodies are the basis of corporeal relationships, the chosen seat of the divine spirit, and as such are not irrelevant

¹¹ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 90–91.

¹² Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 87–109.

¹³ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 254.

¹⁴ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 24–25.

to our salvation.¹⁵

For Paul, disorderly innovations are guarded against by Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament. Paul shows that Christ establishes a sphere of judgment and grace encompassing the celebration of the Lord's Supper stating: "I received from the Lord" (1 Cor 11:23) and then referring to the time of Christ's return (1 Cor 11:26).¹⁶

Citing other authors, Robert Gundry points out that the way Paul uses σῶμα is a key to his anthropology. He uses σῶμα to characterise the whole person and as the first person personal pronoun, not just as the more narrow physical aspect of the person; thus he uses it to represent the whole or as a figurative term for the person. R. Bultmann points out that a person does not have a σῶμα but is a σῶμα. For W. D. Stacey, σῶμα more completely identifies the personality than does σάρξ, πνεῦμα, or ψυχή. It may be used as a personal pronoun, but has only limited use as reference to the whole person. In Stacey's opinion, ψυχή and σάρξ are linked to one's bondage to sin and to one's service to Christ, but not to one's share in the resurrection; πνεῦμα is linked to one's service to Christ and in the resurrection; but one is σῶμα in all these areas. M. E. Dahl asserts that σῶμα is the totality of the person, while πνεῦμα is the person divinely alive, σάρξ refers to one's subjection to weakness, and ψυχή is a person alive but subject to demonic powers. For X. Léon-Dufour, σῶμα does not mean the collection of physical organs which make up the person. L. Cerfaux states that σῶμα can be either spirit or flesh, while A. M. Hunter writes: "the body *has* rather than *is* a material means of expression, and in the resurrection the body will be *given* a mode of 'self-expression and power to communicate with others.'"¹⁷

¹⁵ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 279–87.

¹⁶ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 254–78.

¹⁷ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 3–8.

Pauline anthropology is distinctly un-Hellenistic; he picks up the Hebrew concept of the person as a unity, resisting any body/soul opposition. His terms include: σῶμα, σάρξ, πνεῦμα, ψυχή, καρδία, νοῦς, διάνοια, φρήν, ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος.¹⁸ Paul tends to use σάρξ when referring to evil but this does not reflect a physical substance. For him, σῶμα is never evil; rather it refers to the organisation of physical substance. For Paul, both the corporeal and non-corporeal are essential with neither one superior to the other. While he is uninterested in anthropology per se, a duality is evident in his thought.

For Paul, the flesh is identified with evil and the dichotomy has to do with the unregenerated person. In his thought, God does not save half a person (i.e., the mind with no physical expression); nor does Paul consider the human spirit as distinct from the body. While he consistently uses σῶμα for the physical body and σάρξ for the person's tendency to sin, σῶμα takes on theological importance only in the context of the discussion. He does not use the words in a carefully analytical way; he is summarising and using the terminology of the communities with which he is corresponding. For him, the whole person is the unity of his parts.¹⁹

Paul's references to the body as a whole rather than the body as an individual, according to Jewish thought, points to Greek influence.²⁰ The use of σῶμα in Paul's writings encompasses many concepts: the body of Christ (the body given for believers, the figurative use for the community, and the special use in the eucharistic passages), the body which is separate from the spiritual realm, a body which will be resurrected, and the body given for believers.²¹ Before leaving Paul's use of σῶμα it is necessary to state once again that Paul continued to develop his use of the word in later writings²² but this

¹⁸ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 83–7.

¹⁹ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 135–56.

²⁰ Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 1058.

²¹ Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 1060–81.

²² As just one example, Paul uses σῶμα in place of σάρξ in Rom 8:13 "For if you live according to the flesh, you will die, but if by the spirit you put to death the deeds of the body, you will live." Jeremias,

development need not concern this project because the Pauline proto-Eucharistic pericope appears in the First Letter to the Corinthians which belongs to his earlier writing.

3.1.3. *Σῶμα in the Synoptics and Books outside Paul and John*

In other New Testament writings, σῶμα refers to the whole person while retaining a physical orientation.²³ Σῶμα is used in the “normal” sense of corpse and is used for the body of Jesus (Mark 15:43 and parallels) with a sense that the dead σῶμα can be raised (Mark 14:18 and parallels).²⁴ There is a duality of flesh and spirit and a metaphor for corporeal and incorporeal states evident in these references which often refer to a partitive rather than a monaditic unity.²⁵ In death, the body and the soul/spirit separate and the body undergoes dissolution. There is much evidence for such dichotomous wording in the Synoptic Gospels, Hebrews, and 1 Peter, but not in 1&2 John or Jude.²⁶ In particular, σῶμα is used in Heb 10:5,10; 13:11 as well as in 1 Peter 2:24 to refer to the death and resurrection of Jesus with an emphasis on his conscious offering of his body as a sacrifice.²⁷

3.1.4. *Σῶμα in John*

Given that the proto-eucharistic pericope in John uses σᾶρξ and that this section of the thesis seeks to justify its inclusion with the Institution Narratives (which use

Eucharistic Words, 141.

²³ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 25–28.

²⁴ Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 1057.

²⁵ For example, in the statement: “But what comes out of the mouth proceeds from the heart, and this defiles a man” (Matt 15:18; par. Mark 7:20-23) the mouth refers to the physical body and the heart to the inner person. A similar duality is seen in “our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water” Heb 10:22; and in the quote from Isa 29:13 found in Matt 15:8 (and Mark 7:6): “This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.” In the letter of James, the physical body is partitively referred to as “hands” while the inner person is “heart” or “mind”: “Cleanse your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts, you men of double mind” (James 4:8). Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 111–12.

²⁶ Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 110–6.

²⁷ Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 1058.

σῶμα), we must now consider how John uses σῶμα. As mentioned above, σῶμα can be used with the sense of a body which can be raised again, and five of John’s six uses of the word have this meaning.²⁸ The one other use is found at John 2:21 where, after Jesus predicts that the temple will be raised again in three days, the narrator explains that Jesus “was speaking of the temple of his body.”²⁹ This reference to the resurrection links it to the Institution Narratives where Jesus refers to coming back again.

3.1.5. Σῶμα: Conclusion

Having seen that the word σῶμα has many uses in the New Testament, but that its use in the proto-eucharistic pericopes appears to anticipate Christ’s coming passion as a sacrifice, we now turn to a similar exploration of the word σάρξ.

3.2. Σάρξ

A survey of uses of the word σάρξ will help to clarify the use of this term in John’s Bread of Life discourse in place of the Institution Narratives’ σῶμα. According to BDAG, the word has five general meanings: 1) “the material that covers the bones of a human or animal body, *flesh*”; 2) “the physical body as a functioning entity, *body, physical body*”; 3) “one who is or becomes a physical being, *living being with flesh*”; 4) “human/ancestral connection, *human/mortal nature, earthly descent*”; and 5) “the outward side of life.”³⁰ According to the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* the word σάρξ has many meanings which will be explored within the sections below.

3.2.1. Σάρξ in the Septuagint (LXX)

As with σῶμα, σάρξ is used to translate more than one word in the Hebrew Scripture. Among them are בָּשָׂר and שָׂרָף both of which are also translated using σῶμα.

²⁸ Jesus’ body after the crucifixion is called σῶμα in John 19:31, 38(twice), 40; and 20:12.

²⁹ Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 1058.

³⁰ Danker, *BDAG*, 914–16.

With the Greek language comes the distinction between a body (σάρξ) and the whole (for which σῶμα suffices).³¹

3.2.2. Σάρξ in Paul

Paul uses the word σάρξ in several ways: as the muscular part of the body denoting the whole of a person's physical existence; as a contrast between the earthly and the heavenly spheres; and as the subject of sin.³²

3.2.3. Σάρξ in Synoptics and Acts

Used sparingly in the Synoptic Gospels, σάρξ denotes the limitations of the person as compared to God while maintaining the Old Testament concept of the person as a whole and contrasting the corporeal and non-corporeal worlds.³³ In Acts 2 the word is used in three verses: vv.17 and 26 which are contained within quotations of Joel 3:1-5 and Ps 16:8-11 respectively; and in v. 31, referring to Ps 16:10, and indicating the incorruptibility of Jesus' body.³⁴

3.2.4. Σάρξ in John

John, in contrast to Paul, uses σάρξ relatively rarely in the Gospel. Of the 13 usages, six are in the proto-eucharistic pericope section (6:51-59) while the remainder appear in five other passages. John uses it to speak of the blindness of those who, knowing Jesus' origins, fail to recognise him as the Messiah. For John, σάρξ refers to the

³¹ בָּשָׂר is translated σάρξ 145 times, κρέας 79 times, σῶμα 23 times, and γράς 14 times; and נֶפֶשׁ is translated οἰκεῖος 7 times, σάρξ 5 times, and σῶμα 4 times. Eduard Schweizer, "σάρξ," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 7 (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; ed. Gerhard Friedrich and Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 108

³² A few examples of Paul's usage: Rom 1:3; 8:13; 1 Cor 7:1, 28; 10:18; 15:39; 2 Cor 4:11; 12:7; Gal 4:23; 5:18; Phil 3:3. Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 125–35.

³³ Mark 10:8 and Luke 3:6 (and their parallels) contain Old Testament quotes using σάρξ; in Mark 13:20 the word refers to a person; and in Matt 16:17, Mark 14:38, and Luke 24:39 the use of σὰρξ refers to the weakness of the person. Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 124.

³⁴ "he foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of the Messiah, that neither was he abandoned to the netherworld nor did his flesh see corruption" Ac 2:31. Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 124.

earthly sphere in contrast to the *πνεῦμα*. In the Johannine epistles, the Son of God comes in the flesh.³⁵

3.2.5. Σάρξ: Conclusion

We have explored the use of *σάρξ* and demonstrated that *σάρξ* and *σῶμα* are to some extent interchangeable. However, these two terms are also used in conjunction with *αἷμα* and so we must look at one more word (*αἷμα*) and then investigate the pairing of these terms.

3.3. Αἷμα Used in Conjunction with Σῶμα or Σάρξ

Finally, we look at the word *αἷμα*. According to BDAG, the word has three general meanings: 1) “blood as a basic component of an organism, *blood*”; 2) blood as constituting the life of an individual, *life-blood, blood*”; and 3) “the (apocalyptic) red color, whose appearance in heaven indicates disaster, *blood*.”³⁶ In addition to these three meanings, Johannes Behm, in his article in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, gives two other meanings: 1) the violently-ended life and 2) the theologically significant sacrificial death of Jesus.³⁷ In this thesis the word *αἷμα* is important only in its use in conjunction with either *σῶμα* or *σάρξ*, and so we will not explore these uses of the word on its own.

Having explored the use of the individual terms *σῶμα*, *σάρξ*, and *αἷμα*, we now look at the terms in pairs: *σῶμα* with *αἷμα* and *σάρξ* with *αἷμα*. In Old Testament texts not found in the Hebrew canon, a new concept appears: that of a person as flesh (*σάρξ*) and blood.³⁸ A similar pairing, but of *σῶμα* rather than *σάρξ* with *αἷμα*, is without parallel

³⁵ Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 138–41.

³⁶ Danker, *BDAG*, 26–27.

³⁷ Johannes Behm, “αἷμα,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1 (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; ed. Gerhard Kittel and Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 172–76.

³⁸ For example in Sir 14:18; 17:31; 23:17; and Wis 12:5. Schweizer, “TDNT Vol. 7,” 109.

outside the Institution Narratives. In this case, even an Aramaic equivalent to either of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ or $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ would not normally be used with the sacrificial overtone of blood.

The $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ - $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ reference originally would have been to the person of Jesus: at the Lord's Supper, Jesus is giving his body ($\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$) to the community by going to his death (spilling his $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$). The body and the blood sayings were later assimilated by the community; "originally $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, like $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$, denoted the whole person of Jesus, $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ as the I in its totality, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ as the I in the act of dying."³⁹

For Eduard Schweizer, it is likely that the developing eucharistic theology which places $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in parallel with $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ reveals the growing understanding that Jesus offers his body on the cross for believers.⁴⁰ In the eucharistic texts, where the interpretation $\tau\acute{o}$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ is added to $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, the emphasis becomes the act of Jesus' offering rather than on the substance of his body.⁴¹

In the "words of institution" $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ is taken to mean more than the physical body. Jesus' words: "This is my $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, this is my $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ " add up to "my flesh and blood" as reference to whole person. For Joachim Jeremias, body/flesh and blood refer to the two component parts of the body which are separated when sacrificed; therefore, there is an emphasis on Jesus' coming violent death.⁴² The sacrificial aspect also comes from the presence of blood which Israelites were not allowed to consume as it was thought to carry life (Deut 12:23).

When Paul pairs it as $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ καὶ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$, he means the person "who can pass on theological insight, religious experience, or ecclesiastical tradition."⁴³ There are two other

³⁹ Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 1059.

⁴⁰ Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 1067.

⁴¹ Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 1067.

⁴² Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 25–28.

⁴³ These are found at: "I tell you this, brethren: flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable" 1 Cor 15:50; "I did not confer with flesh and blood" Gal 1:16; and "For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the

New Testament occurrences of this phrase (Matt 16:17 and Heb 2:14) which point to the extremes of humanity.⁴⁴ While John does not use the phrase *σάρξ καὶ αἷμα*, he does connect the ideas of eating flesh and drinking blood within the proto-eucharistic pericope. These uses will be investigated in the section on John 6:51-58 as a eucharistic text.

3.4. Anthropological and Language Issues: Conclusion

We have seen in the above sections that there was considerable fluidity in the use of these anthropological terms. Paul's use of these terms in the first letter to the Corinthians stands at the early stages of his understanding of these issues, and is determined by his correspondents: he was addressing his unease about the way the community was celebrating the Lord's Supper.

In the wider biblical tradition, other writers also use the terms *σῶμα* and *σάρξ* as synonyms.⁴⁵ As well, John uses *σάρξ* only rarely outside the section of the Bread of Life discourse whose inclusion with the Institution Narratives is debated but which is being upheld in this thesis.

We have explored the use of the three Greek words, *σῶμα*, *σάρξ*, and *αἷμα*, along with their pairings: *σῶμα* with *αἷμα* and *σάρξ* with *αἷμα*, and demonstrated that John's use of *σάρξ* rather than the Institution Narratives' *σῶμα* does not constitute a significant reason to object to the inclusion of John 6:51-58 with the four Institution Narratives in this project. However, before continuing, we must turn to a closer look at other aspects of these verses in order to justify their inclusion along with the four Institution Narratives.

heavenly places" Eph 6:12. Schweizer, "TDNT Vol. 7," 128.

⁴⁴ John R. Kohlenberger, et al., *The Greek English Concordance to the New Testament with the New International Version* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 680.

⁴⁵ "βέλη γὰρ κυρίου ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ἐστίν, ὧν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ἐκπίνει μου τὸ αἷμα· ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν, κεντοῦσί με" "For the arrows of the Almighty pierce me, and my spirit drinks in their poison; the terrors of God are arrayed against me" Job 6:4 LXX; and "The bodies of the animals whose blood the high priest brings into the sanctuary as a sin offering are burned outside the camp" Heb 13:11. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 141.

4. THE USE OF JOHN 6 AS A EUCHARISTIC TEXT

The choice of the Institution Narratives for this project has dictated the inclusion of the traditions of the Matthean, Marcan, Lucan, and Pauline communities. In spite of the absence of an Institution Narrative in John's Last Supper account, the Johannine community should be represented. John 6 presents, not only John's Feeding Miracle pericope (vv. 1-15), but also the Bread of Life discourse (vv. 22-59); together, these pericopes reveal the Johannine community's eucharistic experience. The Feeding Miracle (as seen above in section 2 of this chapter) fits into a circle far removed from that of the Institution Narratives because it lacks the specific characteristics of the innermost circles. However, another portion of John 6 may offer a way to include the Johannine eucharistic experience in this project.

The intent of this section is to investigate the relationship between John 6 and the Eucharist in order to justify its use in this project as a proto-eucharistic pericope. John 6 is a complex chapter which is literarily synchronic and rhetorically diachronic.⁴⁶ This combination of synchronic and diachronic features is echoed in the canonical approach being used in this project as will be seen below in Chapter 3: Methodology. John 6, in its structure and theology, invites a response to Jesus as the revelation of God's saving initiative. This response may involve a letting go of preconceived conclusions as one searches for the meaning beyond the text.⁴⁷ John 6 is based on a Synoptic-like tradition and initial research for this project revealed that, rather than using the whole of chapter 6 or the whole of the Bread of Life discourse (vv. 22-59), the focus needed to be on the so

⁴⁶ The phrase "Literarily synchronic and rhetorically diachronic" highlights the complexities of John 6. Its synchronic features are revealed literarily by looking to its unity by which chapter 6 preserves an oral tradition in which Jesus addresses the misunderstandings of his varying audiences in order to answer the issues of concern to the Johannine community of the time. However, these explanations are also intended for future generations thus revealing its diachronic nature. Paul N. Anderson, "The Sitz im Leben of the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse and Its Evolving Context," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 58.

⁴⁷ Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 58-59.

called eucharistic interpolation⁴⁸ (vv. 51c-58) of the discourse. These verses are addressed to the Jews in the synagogue at Capernaum and have a theme of rejection. The remarks on the bread are found in vv. 35-59 with a parallel in Mark 8:14-21.⁴⁹

We will proceed with an investigation of the nine arguments or aspects about the nature of John 6.⁵⁰ Each has been used by scholars on both sides of the not-eucharistic / eucharistic debate. Each aspect will be presented in the same manner: a brief statement of the argument itself, the not-eucharistic use of it, the eucharistic use of it including refutations of the not-eucharistic positions presented, and a brief summary of the material presented.

4.1. John 6:51-58 not a Late Addition

This argument is very succinct: scholars determine the nature (not-eucharistic / eucharistic) of this section through the assertion that they are original to John's gospel. With this definition in mind, we proceed with an investigation of those who uphold the not-eucharistic nature based on the verses not being a late addition.

According to James Dunn, vv. 51c-59 must be examined for originality prior to investigating the possibility of their eucharistic nature. He held that most scholars attribute eucharistic content to these verses based on the assumption of their late addition to the Gospel of John. For him, a metaphorical interpretation demonstrates the consistency of the verses with the rest of the chapter and he posits that the verses do not in fact contain enough language differences to warrant an attribution to a later

⁴⁸ Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 5.

⁴⁹ John Painter, "Jesus and the Quest for Eternal Life," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 61–63.

⁵⁰ The nine arguments or aspects are: 1) John 6:51-58 is not a late addition; 2) John 6:51-58 is a late addition; 3) its midrashic style; 4) various language clues including the consistency of the language and the commonalities with the Institution Narratives; 5) the timing and the context; 6) the contrast between it and the Lord's Supper; 7) the lack of an Institution Narrative in John's gospel; 8) its interpretation literally or metaphorically; and 9) the *Didache* and Patristic interpretation.

ecclesiastical redactor. Therefore, in his opinion, because the verses are not a late addition, the passage cannot be eucharistic.⁵¹

Paul Anderson agrees with James Dunn's position that a eucharistic interpretation for vv. 51c-58 would require the verses to be an interpolation. He sees John 6 as a unit with testing as a motif, concluding that vv. 51c-58 are neither eucharistic nor an interpolation. He views v. 51c as a concluding clause for the blunt reference to the cross; eating and drinking Jesus' flesh and blood involved understanding and accepting his willingness to go to the cross for the life of the world.⁵² John's concern is not sacramental; like Ignatius, he strives to hold the community together in the face of persecution.⁵³

Other scholars, by contrast, maintain that by the very fact that these verses are not a late addition to John's gospel, the section is eucharistic. Johannes Beutler, Rudolf Schnackenburg, and Peder Borgen posit that vv. 52-58 are not a late addition to the Bread of Life discourse. Citing the well-formed chiasmic structure of chapter 6 with the Bread of Life discourse at the centre (see Appendix VI: Structure of John 6 and of the Bread of Life Discourse) and given that the discourse has no central portion, its first and last sections present the key to its understanding. The strong linguistic connection between v. 27 and vv. 51-58 allows a eucharistic interpretation of the feeding miracle; the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of the Son of Man is the outward, visible form by which the members of the community practice their faith in Jesus.⁵⁴ The view that vv. 51-58 are

⁵¹ James D. G. Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," *New Testament Studies* 17 (1971): 328.

⁵² Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 3-6.

⁵³ John accomplishes this through the community, Ignatius through the ministry of one bishop. Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 7.

⁵⁴ Furthermore, the dialogue with the disciples (vv. 1-16, 16-21 and vv. 60-65, 66-71), reveals evidence of John's "pragmatic interest" in encouraging the disciples to move from a faith based on seeing concrete signs to one based on Jesus' words. Johannes Beutler, "The Structure of John 6," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 122, 124, 126-7.

integral to the discourse means that they may have been planned as eucharistic. This also may reveal development on two levels at once (personal and sacramental) or it may reveal a progression from a christological metaphor to a particular eucharistic use.⁵⁵ Linguistic clues indicate that vv. 31-58 are a unified whole.⁵⁶

In 1996, R. Alan Culpepper held that vv. 51c-58 may be either original or the product of the redactor.⁵⁷ However, in 1997, with his editorial comments in *Critical Readings of John 6*, he concluded that the verses are original:

One of the chief contributions of this collection of essays, therefore, is to reverse the long-held view that John 6:51c-58 is a later redactional insertion that jarringly introduces a eucharistic interpretation of the bread of life theme. The continuities of theme and language are much stronger than was previously assumed, meaning that these verses should now be read as an integral part of the discourse.⁵⁸

His conclusion seems sound; the verses are integral to the chapter and can no longer be seen as an addition by the ecclesiastical redactor.

As seen above, some scholars have used the assertion that the verses are integral to the chapter in order to conclude that they cannot be eucharistic. Their logic appears to proceed as follows: first, scholars have attributed these verses to the ecclesiastical redactor; and second, the intent of the addition was to introduce a eucharistic sense to John 6; however, these verses were not added by the ecclesiastical redactor; therefore, they are not eucharistic. This logic is faulty as it ignores the many clues to the eucharistic nature of the whole chapter and the consistency of these verses to the rest of the chapter.

⁵⁵ Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St John: Commentary on Chapters 5–12* (ed. Francis McDonagh, et al.; vol. 2 of *Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament*; trans. Cecily Hastings; New York: Crossroad, 1982), 58.

⁵⁶ For Borgen, the explanation of v. 31b demonstrates that Jesus is the bread that came down from heaven, he is the manna-miracle, he is the Son of Man. Borgen, "John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition," 109, 114.

⁵⁷ R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black, *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 212.

⁵⁸ R. Alan Culpepper, "John 6: Current Research in Retrospect," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 253.

4.2. John 6:51-58 a Late Addition

Intriguingly, scholars use the exact opposite of the first argument to come to their decision as to the nature of the pericope. In this view, the very fact that the verses are a late addition leads to the scholar's determination of the not-eucharistic/eucharistic nature of the pericope.

The pericope is deemed not eucharistic simply because it is a late addition. According to Diana Swancutt, Bultmann maintains that the use of τρώγω (an intensive verb “to consume” or “to munch”), indicates an addition by the redactor.⁵⁹ For Maarten Menken, imposing a eucharistic interpretation on vv. 51c-58 ignores the connecting function of v. 51c and the structure of the whole Bread of Life discourse. He maintains that v. 51c (with its καὶ . . . δὲ) marks vv. 51c-58 as an addition. Citing the dialogues with Nicodemus (3:1-21) and with the Samaritan woman (4:1-42), as well as the Good Shepherd pericope (10:1-18), and in fact, the Gospel as a whole, he maintains that the discourse follows a very typical Johannine progression.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the pericope is deemed eucharistic by virtue of the fact that, if vv. 51b-58 are viewed as the work of the redactor, Jesus' reply (v. 53) necessarily refers to the Lord's Supper because of the addition of drinking blood to eating flesh.⁶¹ The Lord's Supper provides the φάρμακον ἀθανασίας as is clearly shown in v. 54.⁶² The

⁵⁹ Found only in John 6:54, 56, 57, 58, and 13:18. Diana M. Swancutt, *Hungers Assuaged by the Bread from Heaven: 'Eating Jesus' as Isaian Call to Belief: The Confluence of Isaiah 55 and Psalm 78(77) in John 6:22-71*, in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (JSNT Supplement Series 148; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 220.

⁶⁰ Maarten Menken sees an intensification of the message of the salvific nature of Jesus' death in the Bread of Life Discourse which he also notes in the dialogue with Nicodemus (3:1-21), the Samaritan woman (4:1-42), the Good Shepherd (10:1-18), and even within the whole Gospel. Maarten J. J. Menken, “John 6:51c-58: Eucharist or Christology,” in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 192.

⁶¹ Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray; Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1971), 235.

⁶² While this expression is not found in the New Testament, Ignatius uses it to express the efficacy of the Eucharist. See “The Fathers of the Church: Early Writers and Documents” section above (*Eph.* 20, 2). Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, 235.

structure of v. 56 (“he in me and I in him”) is the Johannine formula which describes the relation of faith.⁶³

Ernst Haenchen posits that οἶτος (v. 58) refers to the bread of the Last Supper and to Jesus; this bread gives eternal life which makes the Eucharist φάρμακον ἀθανασίας. Having accepted the verses as the work of the redactor, Haenchen points out that the redactor’s conclusion in v. 58 matches that of John in v. 51a.⁶⁴ Rudolf Bultmann suggests that the redactor has placed vv. 51b-58 as an explanation to vv. 60-65, with its σκληρὸς λόγος and σκάνδαλον. The σκάνδαλον is the unintelligible link Jesus makes to his flesh and blood as necessary food and drink. John’s audience would have known that Jesus was referring to the Lord’s Supper.⁶⁵

As mentioned above, vv. 51-58 can no longer be viewed as a late addition by the ecclesiastical redactor. Therefore, argumentation for a not-eucharistic interpretation which depends upon this premise is not tenable. That these verses are part of the canonical text of the Gospel as well as the presence of a sacramental element in the rest of chapter 6 means a eucharistic interpretation of these verses is reasonable.

4.3. Midrashic Style

Scholars look to the midrashic structure of these verses to discern their nature as not-eucharistic or eucharistic. First, with a view that their midrashic style means that they are not eucharistic, several scholars maintain that vv. 31-58 form an exegetical work on the Old Testament quote in v. 31.⁶⁶ Peder Borgen identifies this quote as Exodus 16; while Diana Swancutt posits Psalm 77, using the eschatological lens of Isaiah 55.⁶⁷ For

⁶³ Also found in John 15:5 “I am the vine, you are the branches. Whoever remains in me and I in him will bear much fruit, because without me you can do nothing.” Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, 236.

⁶⁴ Ernst Haenchen, *John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (trans. Robert W. Funk; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 296.

⁶⁵ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, 237.

⁶⁶ Verse 31 references Exod 16:4-5; Num 11:7-9; Ps 78:24. Donald Senior and John J. Collins, eds., *The Catholic Study Bible (NAB)* (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 158.

⁶⁷ Swancutt, *Hungers Assuaged*, 221.

Swancutt, the repetitions of τρώγων (vv. 54, 56, 57, 58) reveal a rhetorical intensification of the challenge which is typical of John. John's call to eat and drink is a call to believe and heed divine instruction, and the σκάνδαλον, Jesus' coming self-sacrifice, results in the objections of his disciples (v. 60). This use of Isaiah 55 unifies vv. 21-71 in several ways: through the wilderness setting (vv. 22-24), the eating of the bread from heaven (vv. 51-58), and the range of responses from the people (vv. 60-71). Finally, as a *proem midrash*,⁶⁸ it does not require a sacramental interpretation. Paul Anderson sees the link to Ps 78:24.⁶⁹ In vv. 51-66, John shifts from the Jews to the disciples with a focus on the bread being offered on a "plate" which has the shape of Jesus' cross.⁷⁰

James Dunn and Gerald Borchert acknowledge the relevance of the midrashic exegesis: first, it is further evidence for the unity of John 6 with v. 58 marking the culmination of the intensification;⁷¹ second, it is substantiated by Jesus' claims in vv. 41-42 to be the fulfilment of what was foreshadowed with the bread and Moses.⁷²

However, seeing the same midrashic structure, Francis Moloney, Rudolf Schnackenburg, John Perry, and Peder Borgen each posit a eucharistic interpretation to John 6, in particular to vv. 51c-58.⁷³ While C. K. Barrett maintains the Bread of Life

⁶⁸ Proem midrash: "the classical proem at the beginning of a complete Midrash or of a chapter, which served fundamentally as the introduction to a homily delivered in public. The classical proem is a prelude to a homily on a certain verse by citing a verse from another source (in most cases from another book, or even from a different section of the Bible, usually the Hagiographa) and connecting it with the chief verse of the homily, the proem concluding with the verse with which the homily itself begins." From http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0014_0_13846.html, accessed April 28, 2010. Swancutt, *Hungers Assuaged*, 243-48.

⁶⁹ Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 20.

⁷⁰ Anderson, "Sitz im Leben," 41.

⁷¹ Similar treatments are seen in 2 Cor 3:7-18; Gal 4:24f. Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 330.

⁷² Gerald L. Borchert, *John 1-11* (vol. 25A of *The New American Commentary*; Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 267.

⁷³ Midrash on "to eat." Francis J. Moloney, "The Function of Prolepsis in the Interpretation of John 6," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 132. Christian interpretation of the manna and the Christian Passover (v. 31 quotes Exod 16:4). Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5-12*, 10, 24, 31. It gave the Jewish Johannine Christians a familiarly structured teaching blending eucharistic and baptismal themes using the Exodus

discourse is not a Synagogue sermon, Peder Borgen identifies the structure following the Old Testament quote in v. 31 as the typical midrashic question, answer, and exegetical-problem solving. Here, v. 51 interprets the quote in a way that the disciples find objectionable (v. 52) leading to Jesus' explanation (vv. 53-58).⁷⁴

The fact that John chose to use a familiar exegetical style to communicate a new message to his community does not mean that he had no intention to speak of the Eucharist. The use of a Jewish *proem midrash*, while it may not *require* a sacramental interpretation, cannot definitively rule out such an interpretation. After all, the Old Testament antecedents include the manna in the desert which Christian authors have cited as foreshadowing the Eucharist.

4.4. Language Clues

In addition to literary considerations, scholars point to language clues to demonstrate that John 6 cannot be referring to the Eucharist. First of all, according to James Dunn, Bornkamm states that the καταβάνω of the Son of Man is the “hard saying” referred to in v. 60 (i.e., the hard saying is not about eating and drinking); furthermore, the pair πνεῦμα-σάρξ (v. 63) refers to divine Spirit and human flesh rather than the σάρξ-αἷμα of the Son of Man.⁷⁵ Secondly, the language of v. 51b, with Jesus' assertion that he will give (δώσω) his flesh for the life of the world and that they also have to drink his blood, reveals an influence from the eucharistic practice of the community. The eating and drinking (v. 35) refer to coming to and believing in Jesus, first with the gift of his life for the world (v. 51) and then in the efficacy of his death

event. John M. Perry, “The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist,” *New Testament Studies* 39 (January 1993): 24–5.

⁷⁴ Borgen, “John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition,” 100, 109.

⁷⁵ Dunn, “John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse,” 329, 331.

(v. 53).⁷⁶

Scholars look at these same language clues and note that Scripture, with its polyvalent nature, allows more than one interpretation for words and phrases. The disciples' use of "hard saying" in v. 60 is one such phrase: it may refer to the καταβάνω (v. 51) as some maintain. However, it is more likely that it refers to the verses more closely connected to it: the eating and drinking mentioned in vv. 56-58. In conclusion, there is nothing in these language clues which rules out a eucharistic interpretation.

4.4.1. Consistency of Language

James Dunn maintains that one must compare more than one verse in order to determine the consistency of the language and he holds that the contrast seen by Bultmann and Lohse in the language before and after v. 51c is overstated. The changes simply involve the use of σάρξ rather than σῶμα, the addition of αἶμα (v. 53), and the use of τρώω rather than ἐσθίω (v. 54). For him, the language is clearly both consistent and Johannine.⁷⁷

For many scholars, v. 51 marks a split in the chapter but there are disputes as to its function: some scholars (e.g., Beasley-Murray) link it to the previous text, others (e.g., Brown) with the following text, and still others (e.g., Carson) see no break in the text. Gerald Borchert, in considering these options, sees v. 51 as a summary of vv. 41-50 and an introduction to vv. 52-59, in similar vein to other Johannine texts which either saddle or link portions together.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the use of σάρξ in v. 51 links the verse to John 1:14 ("the Word became flesh") indicating that John's concern was liturgical. However, that liturgical concern is based on the Passover context and the use of ὑπὲρ points to

⁷⁶ Painter, "Jesus and the Quest," 87-88.

⁷⁷ A position also held by E. Ruckstuhl, J. Jeremias, and E. Schweizer. Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 329.

⁷⁸ Borchert, *John 1-11*, 269.

sacrifice. There are linguistic links between the two portions of chapter 6: for example, the dispute in v. 52 sounds much like the grumbling in v. 41.⁷⁹

Given the consistency of v. 51c with the following verses, Maarten Menken maintains that attributing a eucharistic interpretation to vv. 51c-58 is not tenable. He investigates the language: first, up to v. 51b, Jesus is the bread that came down from heaven but in v. 51b, Jesus' flesh and blood are the bread from heaven; second, in v. 32 the Father gives bread from heaven, but in v. 51c Jesus will give the bread from heaven; third, the idea of *eating* is symbolic up to v. 51b, but in vv. 51c-58 *to eat* (ἐσθίω and τρώγω) are literal; and fourth, v. 51b marks a shift in the issue at stake: prior verses focus on Jesus' heavenly provenance, while following verses focus on his corporality and humanity. Together, these shifts point to a primary focus on Christology not on the Eucharist.⁸⁰

Maarten Menken maintains two significant language shifts reveal that Jesus is talking of his person rather than the eucharistic elements: first, *bread* refers to Jesus himself (vv. 35, 48, 51b), then to Jesus' σάρξ (v. 51c), and then the term ἄιμα is added (vv. 53-56); second, in vv. 56-57 Jesus uses the first person singular "I" and in v. 58 that "I" is the bread which came down from heaven.⁸¹

Once again, these same considerations of consistency of language lead some scholars to conclude a eucharistic nature to the pericope. Scholars who see two segments in chapter 6 posit the influence of the Johannine community's later liturgical practice. However, Dorothy Lee counteracts this idea by identifying the way that wisdom and eucharistic themes gradually reveal Jesus as the true Bread in John's gospel.⁸² For her, vv.

⁷⁹ And, ultimately to the disputes in the wilderness in Exod 16; 17:2. Borchert, *John 1–11*, 270–1.

⁸⁰ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 184–6.

⁸¹ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 189; Painter, "Jesus and the Quest," 87–88.

⁸² Dorothy A. Lee, *Flesh and Glory: Symbol, Gender, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (New York: Crossroad, 2002), 39.

51-58 explain the full significance of the earlier feeding miracle using John's symbolic and theological framework which gives rise to eucharistic language. The material bread and wine are transformed to bear the spiritual reality in order that those who consume these elements will also be transformed spiritually.⁸³

The fact that scholars disagree on the function of v. 51 (the end, the beginning, the link, or even seemingly integrated into the larger passage), demonstrates the complexity of detailed analysis of Scripture. It appears to be a "saddle or linking text," placed there by John to indicate multiple linkings in chapter 6, serving not only to highlight the underlying eucharistic nature but also to remind his readers that Jesus is the incarnate Word.

While Maarten Menken holds that a clear eucharistic interpretation is not tenable, he admits that there is a eucharistic undertone, not only to vv. 51c-58 but also to the whole of John 6.⁸⁴ His argument hinges on separating vv. 51-58 from the rest of the discourse, on which he maintains other scholars base their eucharistic interpretations. As well, his argument presents an either/or scenario which unnecessarily narrows our understanding: either these verses are eucharistic or they are christological. However, the admission of a eucharistic undertone, even one that is faint, lends credence to a eucharistic interpretation for these verses. Finally, the shifts he sees in the language serve to explain the teaching rather than to rule out references to the eucharistic elements: Jesus begins with a reference to himself as the bread which came down from heaven (vv. 35, 48, 51b), then speaks of his σάρξ (v. 51c) and ἄιμα (vv.53-56) and then re-iterates, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς (v. 58). In conclusion, these language clues cannot rule out a eucharistic interpretation of these verses.

⁸³ Lee, *Flesh and Glory*, 40–41.

⁸⁴ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 184–6.

4.4.2. *The Institution Narratives*

Several scholars compare John 6 with the Institution Narratives and conclude that the pericope is not eucharistic. The fact that John uses εὐχαριστεῖν in v. 11 (in the Feeding Miracle), which the church saw as eucharistic language, does not mean that John intended a eucharistic interpretation. Jesus does not break bread as in the Institution Narratives. Furthermore, there is simply no evidence of the word as a technical term.⁸⁵ Matthew and Mark do not use it at the Last Supper (but do for their feeding stories) and John uses it without eucharistic connotations in John 11:4. Rather, this word is simply the most natural to use as it corresponds to Jewish table custom.⁸⁶

There are language similarities between Jesus' words in the Institution Narratives and John 6. In reference to Jesus' σάρξ, there is a resemblance between v. 51c (δώσω . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς) and Luke 22:19 (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον). As well, Jesus' blood was shed, according to all accounts, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (1 Cor. 11:24), ὑπὲρ (Matt: περὶ) πολλῶν, (Mark 14:24; Matt 26:28; Luke 22:20). Furthermore, ἡ σάρξ μου / τὸ αἷμα μου, (vv. 53, 56) parallel the Institution Narratives' τὸ σῶμα μου / τὸ αἷμα μου (also found in Justin's account (*Apol.* 1.66.3)). However, in the Institution Narratives, Jesus' words refer directly to the bread he holds in his hands; in John 6 there is first a metaphorical identification of the bread which he then identifies with his flesh in his coming death (v. 51c).⁸⁷

However other scholars conclude the pericope is eucharistic when they acknowledge the resemblance between the language of the Bread of Life discourse and the Institution Narratives,⁸⁸ as well, vv. 53–56 mark the fulfilment of Jesus' words of

⁸⁵ In other words, used only in a eucharistic context or with eucharistic connotations.

⁸⁶ Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 332–3.

⁸⁷ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 187–91.

⁸⁸ Verse 51c resembles the Pauline and Lukan words of institution; vv. 51-58 are centred on the Eucharist but follow the structure of vv. 35-50. Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1965), 88. References to eating and drinking (vv. 51-58) echo the Institution Narratives.

institution as evidenced by these linguistic similarities.⁸⁹ While the Bread of Life is presented as a doctrine for belief (vv. 35, 40, 45, 47), the similarities between v. 51c and Luke 22:19, the combining of σάρξ and αἷμα, and the use of τρώγω in vv. 53-56 reveal John's eucharistic theme.⁹⁰ The use of τρώγω (to munch or eat as animals do) may be to emphasise the realistic nature of the elements.⁹¹ However, because John does not use the present form of ἐσθίω elsewhere, he may be using τρώγω with no special intention.⁹² In correcting the mistaken conclusion of a metaphorical use by John of σάρξ rather than the Institution Narratives' σῶμα, scholars point out that neither Hebrew nor Aramaic has a word for body as understood in English and which corresponds to σῶμα. Therefore, what Jesus said would have been the Aramaic equivalent of "This is my flesh."⁹³

Furthermore, because Jews are forbidden to consume blood (Lev 17:10-14), Jesus' command to consume his flesh and blood (v. 53) must have a eucharistic interpretation.⁹⁴ The use of *flesh* also points to John 1:14: "Word became flesh" and Ps 78:27: "God is said to rain flesh, as well as bread, upon the people." Since the expression "flesh and blood" may refer to humanity, this reference tells of the promise of eternal life and resurrection to those consuming Jesus' humanity.⁹⁵ Verse 53 marks the

Culpepper and Black, *Exploring the Gospel of John*, 36 n.12. Language in vv. 51-58 echoes that of Luke. Burge, *John*, 202. Two indications of the Eucharist: the eating and drinking similarity to the Institution Narratives and the formula found in v. 51. Stephen K. Ray, *St. John's Gospel: A Bible Study Guide and Commentary For Individuals and Groups* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002), 160.

⁸⁹ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 159.

⁹⁰ Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays*, 82.

⁹¹ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 160.

⁹² D. Moody Smith, *John* (Abingdon New Testament Commentaries; Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1999), 159.

⁹³ Burge, *John*, 203 n. 24; Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 160.

⁹⁴ D. Moody Smith, *John*, 158.

⁹⁵ See Sir 14:18; 17:31; Matt 16:17; 1 Cor 15:50. In the Old Testament "flesh" is usually enough as in Joel 2:28 cited in Acts 2:17. D. Moody Smith, *John*, 158.

pinnacle of the discourse with its double *amen* introducing the double meaning of belief and sacrament.⁹⁶

John's use of εὐχαριστέω (to give thanks), rather than εὐλογέω (to bless, invoke a blessing), along with Jesus' distribution of the bread (v. 11) turn our attention to the eucharistic gifts.⁹⁷ While some scholars point to the missing "breaking of the bread" as significant, κλάω does not have a prominent place in all eucharistic texts: Justin uses εὐχαριστέω, while the *Didache* and Ignatius use both εὐχαριστέω and κλάω.⁹⁸

John demonstrates in chapter 6 that he knew of the Synoptic material, held that tradition in esteem, and knew of Jesus' ministry beyond what is reported there.⁹⁹ John, however, moves far beyond those accounts; rather than offering his solidarity in martyrdom, Jesus tells the community that he *is* the true bread from heaven to be consumed in the eucharistic elements.¹⁰⁰

Scholars accept the similarities between John's language and that of the Institution Narratives; some point to the literal vs. metaphorical interpretation of the various words and elements in order to maintain their position that John 6 (particularly vv. 51-58) cannot be about the Eucharist. However, John is continuing his pattern of using signs to remind his hearers about realities they already know and celebrate within

⁹⁶ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 159.

⁹⁷ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 150; Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays*, 83; Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 10.

⁹⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 10:17 and the *Didache*. John's focus on Jesus' distribution to the great crowd gives us a theological emphasis on the miracle. Furthermore, the mention of the 12 baskets of fragments gathered under his instruction precedes any mention of the Twelve. Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 17–18.

⁹⁹ Several factors point to John's knowledge of the Synoptic material: 1) the references to the great crowd, 2) the fact that they are following him out of curiosity about the signs, 3) that Jesus goes up the mountain and withdraws there again, 4) that Passover is near, and 5) his typological use of the manna. Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 14; D. Moody Smith, *John*, 161. Furthermore, his mention of Capernaum forms a link to the Synoptics which tend to give more geographical details. Bruce David Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings: Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus Through Johannine Circles* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 72; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 138.

¹⁰⁰ Chilton, *Feast of Meanings*, 137.

the community. That the Eucharist is just one of those realities allows a eucharistic interpretation of these verses.

4.5. Timing and Context

Several scholars maintain that the placement of John 6 indicates there is no intention to provide a eucharistic interpretation. It cannot be speaking of the Lord's Supper because the Lord's Supper had not yet been instituted.¹⁰¹ As well, the fact that the Bread of Life discourse follows the multiplication of bread and fish (with no wine) eliminates the link to the Eucharist, and the context, unlike the Institution Narratives, is revealed in v. 59 as synagogue debates.¹⁰²

Links to other pericopes have been observed, most notably the one between the life-giving bread and life-giving water (6:34 and 4:15) offered to the Samaritan woman. John presents a Jesus "in opposition to Moses and the Law as the giver/mediator of life"¹⁰³ with the well symbolising the Law and the bread symbolising the manna. The development of these symbols in vv. 51-58 demonstrates "that belief in Jesus takes account of his death for the life of the world."¹⁰⁴ In addition to the identification of this link, Robert Kysar widens the horizon formed by the two miracle stories in John 6 to include the dialogue with Nicodemus (John 3). These links reveal a primarily christological function to the Bread of Life discourse with the use of the metaphor of the bread that results in eternal life presenting a new "construction of reality" to the reader.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ James Montgomery Boice, *The Gospel of John: An Expository Commentary: John 5:1—8:59* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 218–9.

¹⁰² Ben Witherington, *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 96, 159.

¹⁰³ Painter, "Jesus and the Quest," 91–92.

¹⁰⁴ Painter, "Jesus and the Quest," 93.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Kysar, "The Dismantling of Decisional Faith: A Reading of John 6:25–71," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 175.

Within John 6 each group addressed is told of the qualifications for their belief: to the crowd he refers to belief as the “work of God”; to “the Jews,” that they are first drawn by God; to the disciples, that they are given to Jesus by the Father; to the Twelve, that he had chosen them. For each group, God initiates the faith invitation.¹⁰⁶ Because eternal life is at stake, the believer must respond to God’s invitation with belief in Christ.

As with the other arguments and aspects, these considerations of timing and context lead some scholars to posit a eucharistic interpretation. John 6 reveals both Synoptic and non-Synoptic features with no direct literary links; therefore, the influence probably came from the oral tradition. John’s theology presents the necessity of communal celebration of the Eucharist understood in the context of the Incarnation rather than as an independent means of personal salvation;¹⁰⁷ but John leaves a mystery surrounding the Eucharist in order that it “not to be made rationally accessible to those outside.”¹⁰⁸

A combination of internal textual indicators and external Christian use of the texts gives the “necessary criterion for recognizing symbolic references to the sacraments.”¹⁰⁹ The link between eating and drinking and the sapiential and sacramental themes evidenced in John 6 have antecedents in the Old Testament and in other references in John’s gospel.¹¹⁰ The Jewish prohibition against cannibalism, and the fact that “to eat someone’s flesh refers to hostility toward them”¹¹¹ suggests that a eucharistic interpretation of the Bread of Life discourse is reasonable.

¹⁰⁶ Kysar, “Dismantling Decisional Faith,” 178.

¹⁰⁷ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 17, 55.

¹⁰⁸ Haenchen, *John*, 295.

¹⁰⁹ Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 233.

¹¹⁰ Prov 9:5; Sir 24:19, 21; Isa 55; John 4:13-14. D. Moody Smith, *John*, 160. A sign of God’s curse and punishment (Lev 26:27-29; Exek 5:10). Ray, *St. John’s Gospel*, 159.

¹¹¹ For Old Testament prohibitions, Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; Deut 12:23. For hostility, Ps. 27:2; Zech 11:9. Burge, *John*, 202.

Evidence of the developing doctrine of the Eucharist in the Johannine community, a doctrine which provokes a reaction from the Jews, is seen in vv. 51b-58.¹¹² The wish to incorporate the meaning from the Pauline liturgy is seen in v. 54 (cf. 1 Cor 11:26). The Johannine community began with an eschatological interpretation (6:1-21), developed a high Christology which they defended by adding vv. 26-51a and, later still, introduced the passion-orientation of the other communities (vv. 51b-58) resulting in their leaving the Synagogue (vv. 60-66).¹¹³

According to Raymond Brown, while there are eucharistic overtones throughout the chapter, vv. 35-50 are primarily sapiential and vv. 51-58, with their focus on eating of the flesh of Jesus, are primarily eucharistic. The notion of sacrifice appears with the use of δῶσω and of blood which is poured out and is to be drunk.¹¹⁴ Chapter 6 has thus led to two divergent interpretations: first, that it refers to the Eucharist as a passion-oriented sacrament; second, that it is a metaphor for the attainment of eternal life through faith in Jesus. An interpretation between the two poles encompasses both ideas. Beginning with a purely eschatological view of the Eucharist, the Johannine community understood their Risen Lord to be nourishing them through his word at their celebration of the Eucharist. In this phase, the bread and wine did not possess sacramental symbolism. The insertion of vv. 51b-58 incorporated the sacramental understanding of the elements into the existing reading. With the rejection of the Johannine community by the Synagogue, the passion-oriented interpretation of the Eucharist was added to the Bread of Life discourse rather than to their already-familiar Last Supper narrative.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Haenchen, *John*, 294.

¹¹³ Perry, "The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist," 23, 34–35.

¹¹⁴ He sees an abrupt shift between vv. 35-50 and vv. 51-58 as evidenced by the closer link between vv. 60-71 and vv. 35-50 (than to vv. 51-58). Furthermore, he is one exegete who sees a liturgical influence. Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays*, 84–85, 91–92.

¹¹⁵ Perry, "The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist," 29–32.

The fact that the Lord's Supper is not instituted before the events in chapter 6 is understandable, given that John has written a Gospel which is not a chronological history of the life of Jesus. Thomas Aquinas states, in reference to vv. 47-52, (lect. 6) that this discourse reveals that the sacrament of the Eucharist has not yet been instituted (Jesus says "I will give").¹¹⁶ The Eucharist was being celebrated when John wrote his Gospel and his audience was well-acquainted with the Old Testament allusions, the objections of their Jewish and Hellenistic neighbours, the eucharistic practices of other communities, and their own emphasis on the necessity of Baptism and the Eucharist. The fact that there is no wine in the feeding miracle story does not mean that it has no eucharistic allusions. Jesus took the bread, broke it, and distributed it to the multitude. These actions are the actions of Jesus as described in the Institution Narratives in the three Synoptic Gospels and in 1 Cor 11:23-26.

Arguments about the context of the text, whether it was aimed at either a Hellenistic or a Jewish audience, have no bearing on the discussion of its eucharistic nature. That the Johannine community celebrated the Eucharist is generally accepted; therefore, they would have recognised the language of chapter 6 as eucharistic.

4.6. Contrast of Chapter 6 to the Lord's Supper

With this argument, exegetes look at the details of John 6 in comparison to the details of the Lord's Supper. For James Boice, John 6 cannot be speaking of the Lord's Supper due to substantial differences: first, in John 6, Jesus was addressing unbelievers while the Lord's Supper is reserved for Christians; secondly, John 6 speaks of eating unto salvation but the Lord's Supper is for those already saved; and thirdly, and most importantly, John 6 speaks of attaining eternal life but there is irrefutable evidence that the Christians who participate weekly in the Lord's Supper have not yet attained it. As he

¹¹⁶ (Aquinas *Commentary on John* 959, 961). Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on John*, 380–81.

states it, the “Lord’s Supper does not produce those results which are here attributed to the eating and drinking of Christ.”¹¹⁷

Other scholars see the same evidence and yet maintain a eucharistic interpretation. In pointing to the many differences between chapter 6 and the Lord’s Supper, Boice overlooks the nature of Jesus’ varied audiences in his assertion that John 6 is addressed to unbelievers: yet, in chapter 6 Jesus addresses a large crowd (v. 2) then his disciples (vv. 3-10); he feeds the large crowd (vv. 11-15), then joins his disciples at sea (vv. 16-21); then he addresses the large crowd (vv. 25-40), “the Jews” at the synagogue in Capernaum (vv. 41-59), his disciples (vv. 60-66), and, finally, the Twelve (vv. 67-71). Boice also has a narrow understanding of salvation as he views the Lord’s Supper as reserved to those already saved and he expects to see immediate evidence of eternal life for those partaking. The Roman Catholic view, that the Eucharist is for sinners and that eternal life is to come after this mortal life ends, reveals a connection between the discourse in John 6 and our weekly (or daily) celebration of the Eucharist. For Roman Catholics, the Eucharist anticipates, and is a foretaste of, the heavenly banquet. In conclusion, the contrast to the Lord’s Supper does not exclude a eucharistic interpretation of these verses.

4.7. No Institution Narrative in John

This argument hinges on the fact that John’s gospel does not contain an Institution Narrative comparable to the Synoptic Gospels. John’s treatment of the Lord’s Supper relates nothing of the meal itself and therefore John gives no notion of any significance to the meal elements. Furthermore, where the Synoptic authors place the Institution Narrative in their texts, John places the footwashing with no instructions for ritual repetition.¹¹⁸ Given the lack of an Institution Narrative in John’s gospel,¹¹⁹ arguments can

¹¹⁷ Boice, *John Expository Commentary*, 218–9.

¹¹⁸ Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 96.

¹¹⁹ R. M. Ball posits John 13:1 as John’s institution of the Eucharist. R. M. Ball, “Saint John and the Institution of the Eucharist,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23 (Fall 1985): 62–63.

only be developed from silence.¹²⁰

Other scholars posit different explanations for the lack of an Institution Narrative while maintaining the eucharistic nature of the pericope in question. John has presented the theology behind the Eucharist rather than its Institution which is already presented in the Synoptics or it may be an indication that John's account represents a time before Paul's account came to be regarded as normative.¹²¹ However, vv. 51-58 may represent the "adapted Johannine account of the institution, moved here from the account of the Last Supper."¹²² Rather than seeing this as an embarrassing lack, it may reflect a decision to link the Eucharist with the already-established dialogue in the Bread of Life discourse "in order to bring out more clearly the truth that Jesus is the food of man, not only as divine wisdom, but also in the sacrament."¹²³ John knows his community; he knows that their understanding of typological descriptions would lead them to see Jesus' words and actions as clear types of the church's sacraments and accept the grounding of the sacrament in Jesus.¹²⁴ Furthermore, vv. 51-58 present the necessity of the Eucharist in a typically Johannine fashion with an "intention to show how the institutions of the Christian life are rooted in what Jesus said and did during his life."¹²⁵

Given that the author of the Gospel of John demonstrates an awareness of the Synoptic Tradition, it is not surprising that the Gospel contains no direct instructions on sacramental celebration. Rather than construct arguments from silence, it is reasonable to

¹²⁰ John may have omitted direct reference to the Supper out of an anti-eucharistic sentiment, out of concern for the misuse of the Eucharist, out of a sense of its unimportance to his community, or out of a sense that the community was so imbued with the Eucharist that it required no explicit mention. Borchert, *John 1-11*, 270.

¹²¹ Mal 1:11-12. Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 149.

¹²² Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 212.

¹²³ Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays*, 87-88.

¹²⁴ Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 230.

¹²⁵ Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 234.

assume that John's community accepted the importance of the celebration of the Eucharist. Therefore, a eucharistic interpretation of these verses is tenable.

4.8. Literal vs. Metaphorical Interpretation

Scholars look at the interpretation of the pericope, literally or metaphorically, to determine its not-eucharistic/eucharistic nature. First, we will discuss the argumentation which leads to a not-eucharistic interpretation of these verses. The idea of eating flesh and drinking blood would have been problematic to both Jewish and Hellenistic audiences; for the Jewish hearers the idea would be unthinkable, and for the Hellenists such an action as a requirement for eternal life would have been scandalous.¹²⁶

The whole discourse focusses on the need to believe in Jesus; he is “the source and sustenance of eternal life” and his whole being (σάρξ καὶ αἷμα) gives eternal life to those who come to him and believe. There is no distinction between the meaning of the bread in the two portions; it is not that the earlier references are to divine revelation and the latter to the eucharistic elements. Rather, “the manna and the bread of the miracle are contrasted with and are symbols of Jesus, not of the Lord's Supper.”¹²⁷ Furthermore, the literal interpretation (eternal life comes through the eucharistic eating and drinking) is incompatible with the attack on literalism in v. 63. John uses eucharistic language in a metaphorical sense to speak of the union between Jesus and his followers when they believe in him.¹²⁸

James Dunn disagrees with the position of J. Bonsirven that vv. 51c-58 are “about eating Christ, the bread of life” on the basis that this would require an unnecessary mixing of a literal interpretation of *eating* with a non-literal interpretation of *bread*. A metaphorical interpretation is substantiated through the rebuke of the people's interest in

¹²⁶ Dunn, “John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse,” 330.

¹²⁷ Dunn, “John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse,” 333.

¹²⁸ Dunn, “John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse,” 334–37.

material bread which perished (vv. 26-27) and an exhortation to focus on food which endures to eternal life. The discourse has two points: first, our faith is belief in the incarnated Jesus who really died for humanity, as underscored by the offensive, anti-docetic use of σάρξ for ἄρτος and τρώγω for ἐσθίω (vv. 51c-58). Second, eternal life comes to believers through the Holy Spirit after Jesus' death (vv. 62-63) rather than through the Eucharist. John 6 addresses the challenge of Docetism (forcefully) and the challenge of sacramentalism (more delicately). The eucharistic overtones of the passage are secondary and negative for without the Holy Spirit, the Eucharist will do no good.¹²⁹

Because of the prior identification of the bread with Jesus, the words δὲ ἐγὼ δώσω (v. 51) refer to Jesus willingly giving himself up in death rather than referring to the Last Supper or to the Eucharist. This understanding is in line with the Johannine view that the Father sends the Son whose goal is reached, not in his incarnation, but in his death. The climax of the Father's gift of Jesus as bread appears in v. 51c: Jesus gives himself; he gives the bread of life to the partaker. The argument that vv. 50-51 can only be understood metaphorically hinges on the use of τρώγω and the use of φαγεῖν ἐκ in vv. 50-51b in contrast to the simple φαγεῖν or τρώγειν in the remainder of the pericope.¹³⁰ A literal understanding requires an acceptance that the terms flesh and blood refer to the eucharistic elements. However, in vv. 48, 50-51b eating and the bread (the object) are both metaphorical; while in vv. 53-58 the eating and drinking are metaphorical, but the objects (flesh, blood, me) are not. Verse 35 contains a similar mix of metaphorical and literal language and if John had intended a literal meaning for v. 56, the order would surely be reversed to read "I remain in him, and he in me." John uses the two verbs τρώγω and ἐσθίω interchangeably. In vv. 53-54, they are used in parallel; furthermore, John 13:18 quotes Ps. 41:10 where τρώγων is used for the LXX's ἐσθίω.

¹²⁹ Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 333–37.

¹³⁰ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 195.

Finally, a metaphorical meaning persists because the use of ἐσθίω + accusative and ἐσθίω ἐκ + genitive is not significant enough to point to a eucharistic meaning. The use of “true food” and “true drink” mean simply that they do what food and drink do normally, that is, provide sustenance.¹³¹

The general focus of the Gospel of John is christological not ecclesiological. Taking the whole Johannine corpus, a community that is neither particularly sacramental nor particularly anti-sacramental is evident.¹³² The disciples have not realised the symbolic nature of Jesus’ actions. Ben Witherington states that John’s gospel, with its focus on the incarnation, presents the “physical . . . as an icon of the spiritual, a window on a larger truth, a means to a greater end.”¹³³

John 6:51c-58 is often labelled as anti-docetic because the Docetists avoided the Eucharist with its consumption of Jesus’ flesh and blood. However, this interpretation is at odds with v. 52 which presents the objection of the Jews rather than that of the Docetists. The Jews accepted that Jesus was a human being who died on the cross but did not know that Jesus is the bread from heaven; the Docetists knew of the Son of God who is “the bread from heaven” but needed to know that “the bread from heaven” is the crucified Christ. Therefore, these verses could have been aimed at either group.¹³⁴

We turn now to these literal/metaphorical distinctions leading to a eucharistic interpretation of these verses. Because a sapiential theme is present in the background of the prologue, it may also be assumed to be present at other important points of John’s gospel. These wisdom motifs are closely associated with the incarnation in John: “wisdom supplies food and drink—indeed, is to be consumed—there is here a natural or

¹³¹ Maarten J. J. Menken, “Eucharist or Christology,” 193–97.

¹³² Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 96.

¹³³ Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 155.

¹³⁴ Maarten J. J. Menken, “Eucharist or Christology,” 198–8.

logical link between incarnation and sacrament.”¹³⁵ The fact that eating and drinking give eternal life (vv. 53, 54, 57, 58) startle the hearer and form the basis of the interior, intimate experience one may have with Christ (v. 56). In this, John has moved well beyond the Old Testament antecedents found in Moses and the manna (v. 59). Only Jesus’ flesh and blood will give eternal life.¹³⁶ If John were not intending his audience to link chapter 6 with the Eucharist, he would have indicated clearly that he was speaking metaphorically and was not referring to their liturgies. Rather, he wrote so that his readers would know the depth of the mystery of the Eucharist.¹³⁷

The intention of the Bread of Life discourse is to bring the hearers to an understanding that Jesus is the Bread of Life, that eternal life comes through him. It is reasonable to see an intensification of the metaphor with a transition from divine revelation to the concrete eucharistic elements following John’s pattern of mixing metaphorical and literal language. Rather than understanding v. 63 as an attack on literalism (thereby ruling out the role of the flesh in attaining eternal life), the context of that verse must be taken into account. Earlier, Jesus says ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον (v. 54) and in vv. 63-65 he warns that the spirit gives life and the Father chooses whom to draw to Jesus. Only someone drawn by the

¹³⁵ D. Moody Smith, *John*, 160.

¹³⁶ Burge, *John*, 203.

¹³⁷ He cleared up other ambiguities in John 1:42; 21:18–19. Ray, *St. John’s Gospel*, 160.

According to Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria said in his *Hypotyposes* or *Sketches*: “Il disait qu’avaient été écrits les premiers les Évangiles qui contiennent les généalogies ; que l’Évangile selon Marc l’avait été dans les circonstances suivantes : après que Pierre eut prêché la doctrine publiquement à Rome, et qu’il eut exposé par l’Esprit l’Évangile, ses auditeurs qui étaient nombreux exhortèrent Marc, en tant qu’il l’avait accompagné depuis longtemps et qu’il se souvenait de ses paroles, à transcrire ce qu’il l’avait dit. Il le fit et communiqua l’Évangile à ceux qui le lui avaient demandé ; ce que Pierre ayant appris, il ne fit rien par ses conseils pour l’en empêcher ou pour l’y pousser. Quant à Jean, le dernier, voyant que les faits matériels avaient été exposés dans les Évangiles, poussé par ses disciples et divinement inspiré par l’Esprit, il composa un Évangile spirituel” (*Histoire ecclésiastique* 6, 14, 5-7). Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (trans. Gustave Bardy; Sagesses chrétiennes; Paris: Cerf, 2003), 334.

Spirit can understand the meaning of the words in v. 54; for the person who thinks in terms of material flesh, v. 54 makes no sense.

The idea that a literal intention would have been signalled by the order of v. 56 reversed to read “I remain in him, and he in me” can be counteracted by the position that this is “the Johannine formula which elsewhere is used to describe the relation of faith to the Revealer.”¹³⁸

With physical food, the food is transformed into the eater; with this spiritual food, the eater is transformed. Some scholars claim Thomas Aquinas misreads vv. 51-58 eucharistically (rather than as a reference to the person of Christ); however, he accepts the inseparable link between the person of Christ and the Eucharist. Furthermore, Thomas Aquinas was well aware that the denial of Christ’s humanity leads to a denial of the reality of the Eucharist. Christ’s flesh is united to the Word; therefore, his sacramentally-received body gives life. Because vv. 51-58 are clearly eucharistic for Thomas Aquinas, consumption of this bread results in gaining eternal life. The earlier verses of John 6 reveal that the teachings of Jesus give eternal life; here, his eucharistic flesh gives that life. Rather than two distinct options within the Bread of Life discourse, Thomas Aquinas sees the sapiential and eucharistic interpretations as united. For him, Jesus’ flesh in the Eucharist is received as the wisdom which leads to eternal life.¹³⁹

Because sin blocks our ability to receive wisdom in a purely spiritual way, Christ came physically to allow believers to see and be led to his divine nature. The sapiential

¹³⁸ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, 236.

¹³⁹ Carlo Leget, “The Concept of ‘Life’ in the *Commentary on St. John*,” in *Reading John With St. Thomas Aquinas: Theological Exegesis and Speculative Theology* (Michael Dauphinais and Matthew Levering; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 165, 171; Paul Gondreau, “Anti-Docetism in Aquina’s *Super Ioannem*: St. Thomas as Defender of the Full Humanity of Christ,” in *Reading John With St. Thomas Aquinas: Theological Exegesis and Speculative Theology* (Michael Dauphinais and Matthew Levering; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 273; Michael Dauphinais, “‘And They Shall All be Taught by God’: Wisdom and the Eucharist in John,” in *Reading John With St. Thomas Aquinas: Theological Exegesis and Speculative Theology* (Michael Dauphinais and Matthew Levering; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 313–14.

meaning of the Bread of Life discourse “naturally leads to the Eucharistic meaning since St. Thomas says not only did the Son of Man assume flesh, but he also nourishes us with his flesh.”¹⁴⁰ Rather than divide the meanings, Thomas Aquinas holds them together with their differences in tension: for him, the bread of life is the Incarnate Word and the Eucharistic Word.¹⁴¹ Thus he continues the differentiation between sacramental and spiritual reception of communion, both of which are needed in order to “receive Christ’s divinity as well and so be transformed into Christ.”¹⁴² In other words, the partaker must receive the Eucharist in Wisdom. Thomas Aquinas ably demonstrates how each meaning, sapiential and eucharistic, presupposes the other.¹⁴³

Finally, the mix of metaphorical and literal interpretations should not pose a problem in the interpretation of John 6. That the community celebrated the Eucharist is accepted as is the view that John uses the concrete to explain the spiritual. To see the text as only anti-docetic or only anti-Jewish unnecessarily narrows the purpose of John’s writing. The Gospel is both christological and ecclesiological and is both sapiential and sacramental. The community was living in a world that encompassed all those facets; there is no need to maintain that they would have been addressing only one issue at a time. Therefore, a eucharistic interpretation of these verses is tenable.

4.9. The *Didache* and Patristic Interpretation

In this argument, scholars look to the *Didache* and to the interpretation of the Fathers of the church. While some scholars cite the *Didache* as evidence for a eucharistic interpretation for John 6, James Dunn maintains that the later *Didache* with its eucharistic prayer (9.4) was likely influenced by John; hence, it does not have the necessary

¹⁴⁰ Dauphinais, “They Shall All be Taught by God,” 316.

¹⁴¹ Dauphinais, “They Shall All be Taught by God,” 316.

¹⁴² Dauphinais, “They Shall All be Taught by God,” 317.

¹⁴³ Dauphinais, “They Shall All be Taught by God,” 317.

independence to be valid evidence. Furthermore, the *Didache*'s gathering of fragments so that nothing is lost is open to not-eucharistic interpretation.¹⁴⁴

Similarities between the language of vv. 51c-58 and the Institution Narratives seem to make a stronger case for a eucharistic interpretation. Early church writers were divided on the nature of vv. 51c-58 with Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Theodore of Heraclea on the not-eucharistic side.¹⁴⁵ Ignatius and Justin use the terms σάρξ and αἷμα to indicate the eucharistic elements.¹⁴⁶ Another possibility is that perhaps John has preserved a Last Supper tradition independent from that of the Institution Narratives. While Ignatius cannot be shown to be independent of John,¹⁴⁷ it is not possible to demonstrate a direct dependence. Therefore, the best explanation for John's use of σάρξ and αἷμα is the use of existing terminology from a common oral tradition. Furthermore, just as Ignatius speaks of his coming martyrdom in eucharistic language, so John uses known eucharistic language to speak of Christology.¹⁴⁸

In early Christian writings, the phrase "Jesus' blood" referred to his shed blood and the mention of flesh and blood together often refers to his violent death. Verse 51c reveals an intensification of the identification of Jesus, who dies on the cross, with the bread which comes from heaven.¹⁴⁹

In this review of the not-eucharistic view of John 6, the positions of the scholars have been as follows: for James Boice, the eating and drinking refer to hearing Jesus,

¹⁴⁴ Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 333.

¹⁴⁵ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 65–67.

¹⁴⁶ We find σάρξ and αἷμα together in Ign., *Rom.* 7.3; Ign. *Philad.* 4; Justin, *Apol.* 1.66.2. We find σάρξ alone in Ign. *Smyrn.* 7.1. Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 188.

¹⁴⁷ Ignatius's *Eph.* v. 2 τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ and *Rom.* vii. 1 ἄρτον Θεοῦ tie Ignatius to John 6:33. Dunn, "John VI: A Eucharistic Discourse," 333–4.

¹⁴⁸ Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 188–89.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Matt 27:24-25; John 19:34; Acts 20:28; Rom 3:25, 5:8-10; Eph 1:7; Heb 13:12; 1 John 1:7, 5:6; Rev 5:9; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 1.1; 1 *Clem.* 7:4. Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 190–1.

coming to him, and believing in him.¹⁵⁰ Ben Witherington holds that John has taken a studied effort to avoid sacramental mention; rather, his gospel reveals something of Jesus' character through his signs.¹⁵¹ Maarten Menken posits that vv. 51c-58 are integral to John 6 and, while they use eucharistic language, they are not primarily about the Eucharist. Furthermore, in Menken's opinion, the Johannine community celebrated the Eucharist (v. 51c) with a focus on Jesus' death which gave the sacrament its meaning.¹⁵²

We now turn to a more detailed look at the eucharistic interpretation. John's use of *συνάγω* and *κλάσμα* in chapter 6 may be understood as additional eucharistic clues because these words also appear in the eucharistic formula in the *Didache* (9:4).¹⁵³ The Eucharist of the community of the *Didache*, like that of the Johannine community at the time of the writing of the Gospel, was exclusively eschatological; neither community viewed the eucharistic elements as representative of Jesus' body and blood at the crucifixion.¹⁵⁴ The *Didache* is accepted as eucharistic; the fact that the two texts may be interdependent or may both originate in a common oral tradition does not preclude assigning a eucharistic interpretation to John 6.

Although early church writers differed in their views of the nature of vv. 51c-58, many prominent writers maintained the eucharistic character of these verses; for example: the Alexandrians, Ammonius and Cyril; the Antiochenes, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia; and the Latin Church's Ambrose, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Augustine and Cajetan also presuppose the eucharistic nature.¹⁵⁵ The eucharistic interpretation of John 6 has thus continued through a long line of

¹⁵⁰ Boice, *John Expository Commentary*, 219.

¹⁵¹ Witherington, *John's Wisdom*, 96.

¹⁵² Maarten J. J. Menken, "Eucharist or Christology," 201–2.

¹⁵³ Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays*, 83.

¹⁵⁴ Perry, "The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist," 28.

¹⁵⁵ However, the Council of Trent Fathers were divided on the issue with the majority holding that the verses were both spiritual and sacramental. Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 65–67.

commentators, some of whom point out that a “secondary reference to the Eucharist is inevitable.”¹⁵⁶ John appears to be setting the context for the Bread of Life discourse by his use of εὐχαριστία (v. 23), the term commonly used for the “breaking of the bread” when John was writing his gospel.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, all the church fathers proclaimed the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Their understanding of “symbol” did not negate this Real Presence, and “to drive a wedge between the aspects of ‘sign’ and ‘reality’ is to do a disservice to biblical teaching and historic Christian teaching.”¹⁵⁸

The precedence for the two interpretations of the passage (eucharistic and incarnational) appears to come from Ignatius who seems to have known docetic Christians who, denying Christ’s humanity, neglected the Eucharist.¹⁵⁹ The arguments presented above to rule out a eucharistic interpretation to John 6 do not, however, lead to that conclusion. While the use of σάρξ as a eucharistic term is found in the writings of both Ignatius and Justin, their dependency upon John is uncertain; this Last Supper terminology may have developed within the Johannine community without recourse to other early writers.¹⁶⁰ Still, this patristic use of the terms σάρξ and αἷμα as references to the eucharistic elements themselves opens the possibility of John’s similar use.

4.10. The Use of John 6 as a Eucharistic Text: Conclusion

The sections above have presented the arguments put forward by scholars on both sides of the not-eucharistic vs. eucharistic interpretation of John 6:51-58. As seen above, Rudolf Schnackenburg, Andreas Köstenberger, Stephen Ray, Michael Dauphinais, and

¹⁵⁶ Burge, *John*, 202.

¹⁵⁷ Ray, *St. John’s Gospel*, 150.

¹⁵⁸ In particular, he cites St. Ignatius *Smyrn.*, 6, 7 and *Eph.*, 20; St. Basil the Great *Letter* 93; St. Augustine *Explanations of the Psalms*, 98. 9; St. Cyril of Jerusalem *Mystagogical Catecheses* 4:1–2, 6, 9. Ray, *St. John’s Gospel*, 160–1.

¹⁵⁹ See Ignatius *Smyrn.* 5, 7. D. Moody Smith, *John*, 158; Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 177.

¹⁶⁰ As evidenced by the use of σάρξ John 1:14; Ignatius *Rom.* 7:3, *Phld.* 4:1, *Smyrn.* 7:1, and Justin *Apologia* 66. Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 55, 452–3 n. 154. Ignatius also uses σάρξ καὶ αἷμα. See *Rom.* 7.3, *Phld.* 4, *Smyrn.* 7.7, *Trall.* 8.1. Haenchen, *John*, 294.

John Perry each find indicators of the Eucharist in the Bread of Life discourse.¹⁶¹ As well, according to Carlo Leget, Paul Gondreau, and Michael Dauphinais, Thomas Aquinas knew without a doubt that the spiritual food is primarily the sacrament of the Eucharist.¹⁶²

Considering vv. 51c-58 as one of John's seven clear references to sacraments,¹⁶³ Francis Moloney outlines four criteria necessary to determine the presence of sacramental teaching, each of which he finds in John 6: first, internal evidence revealing John's interest in the Eucharist; second, evidence of the use of the passage in the early post-New Testament church (in liturgy, literature, and art); third, the polemical tone demonstrating the community's view of the essential nature of Baptism and the Eucharist once they were expelled from the Synagogue; fourth, the repetitious emphasis on the importance of the presence of the Absent One, particularly in the broken bread and the poured wine of their eucharistic celebrations.¹⁶⁴

It is hard to imagine that the Eucharist does not come to the mind of readers in any age who are part of a church which celebrates the Lord's Supper. In vv. 52-58, John links

¹⁶¹ It serves to explain the previous day's Feeding Miracle. Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 10. While John is not espousing the later Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, there is no doubt his audience would have recognised the eucharistic nature of Jesus' words. Andreas J. Köstenberger, *Encountering John: The Gospel in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 140–5. Among the levels of meaning used to speak of the Eucharist, Jesus defines what the bread *is*: his flesh which will be given (Luke 22:19-20); he is recognised in the breaking of the bread after his Resurrection (Luke 24:25-35). John and his readers would have been conscious of the reference to the Eucharist. Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 149, 158. John's Gospel typically teaches spiritual realities through appropriate visible actions. Michael Dauphinais and Matthew Levering, *Reading John With St. Thomas Aquinas: Theological Exegesis and Speculative Theology* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 164. Given that the Johannine liturgy focussed on the Resurrection with an expectation of immanent return of Christ, vv. 51b-58 are stridently eucharistic. Perry, "The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist," 22.

¹⁶² Leget, "Concept of 'Life'"; Gondreau, "Anti-Docetism"; Dauphinais, "They Shall All be Taught by God."

¹⁶³ The seven: 1) Marriage feast at Cana; 2) cleansing of the Temple; 3) John 4:31-34 ("My food is to do the will of my Father"); 4) Chapter 6; 5) Footwashing; 6) Vine and the branches; 7) Chapter 21 (meal of bread and fish). Francis J. Moloney, "When is John Talking About Sacraments?" *Australian Biblical Review* 30 (October 1982): 10–11.

¹⁶⁴ For him, it is not an anti-docetic text. Moloney, "When is John Talking About Sacraments?" 17–25.

eternal life to the participation in the Eucharist rather than to belief and election (as in 1:13; 3:3, 16; 5:24).¹⁶⁵ The fact that vv. 51-58 belong to the canonical text of John's gospel and the fact that a sacramental element exists in chapter 6 outside these verses, the discussion of their addition by the ecclesiastical redactor has no bearing on their interpretation as eucharistic.¹⁶⁶ Finally, while John does not indicate any institution of the sacraments in his gospel, the fact remains that the sacramental theme is undeniable throughout his gospel. The themes woven by John in chapter 6 include the Eucharist.

This section has recognised the intermingling of themes, both sacramental and sapiential, as well as christological and ecclesiological, throughout John 6. In upholding the polyvalent nature of Scripture, it has demonstrated that the arguments for a eucharistic interpretation carry more weight than those presented by scholars to uphold a not-eucharistic interpretation. Therefore, this project will include John 6:51-59 as one of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes.

5. PERICOPE BOUNDARIES

This section of the project provides an explanation of the reasons for the choice of the extent of the pericopes as not all scholars delimit the pericopes in the same manner as presented here. The following discussion presents the indicators in each text which signal the logical beginning and end of each of the pericopes.

5.1. Matthew 26:26-30

For Matt 26:26-30, there is a shift in focus between v. 25 which ends a discussion between Jesus and the Twelve and v. 26 with its first mention of the "eucharistic" actions of Jesus at the dinner. As v. 30, Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, indicates how they ended the dinner and presents a change of scene for the coming events, it more properly marks the ending of this pericope.

¹⁶⁵ D. Moody Smith, *John*, 158–9.

¹⁶⁶ Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 49, 231.

5.2. Mark 14:22-26

Similarly, for Mark 14:22-26 the pericope is delimited by the change of focus from the discussion with the Twelve to the first mention of the “eucharistic” actions of Jesus at the beginning to the exact same ending (v. 26) as with Matt 26:30.

5.3. Luke 22:14-23

Luke 22:14-23 presents a difficulty beyond the decisions for the beginning and the end. The beginning, v. 14, is easily identified by considering two factors: v. 13 marks the completion of the preparations for the Passover and v. 14 sets the stage for the meal.

The identification of v. 23 as the end arises from two factors: first, Jesus’ words continue through v. 22, at which point, in v. 23, the narrator indicates their impact on the apostles; and, second, the subject matter under discussion around the table changes dramatically in v. 24, marking the beginning of a new pericope.

However, the so-called “shorter or longer text” of Luke presents a difficulty: do vv. 19b-20 belong in the pericope? According to D. C. Parker, who favours the shorter text, most scholars hold that the longer text is authentic.¹⁶⁷ According to Bruce Metzger, and the Editorial Committee of the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament, there is ample external evidence to support the originality of vv. 19b-20; the missing “second cup” in some manuscripts is more easily explained by its deletion than by its subsequent addition in other manuscripts in order to match Paul’s account; the shorter version may have been created to protect the words of institution from misuse or may be due to scribal errors; and, finally, that the similarity to 1 Cor 11:24b-26 derives from Luke’s knowledge of the liturgical practices of the Pauline communities.¹⁶⁸ Acknowledging that historically

¹⁶⁷ D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 155.

¹⁶⁸ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/German Bible Society, 1994), 148–50.

these verses have been included in Bibles, and that the canonical approach seeks to study the canonically accepted text, these verses are included in this project.

5.4. John 6:51-59

The portion of the Bread of Life pericope identified for this project begins in the midst of Jesus' speech at v. 51. This beginning was chosen as it marks a change of language in the discourse as noted earlier. Many scholars end the section at v. 58 but the pericope rightly ends with v. 59 where the narrator explains that Jesus taught all this at the synagogue in Capernaum.

5.5. 1 Cor 11:23-26

The Corinthians pericope rightly begins with v. 23, wherein Paul explains that he received his information from the Lord, and ends with v. 26 as it sums up the purpose of the Supper.

5.6. Pericope Boundaries: Conclusion

As we have demonstrated, the pericopes, as chosen, are remarkably simple in structure. As shown in Appendix VII: Voices, the Institution Narratives, each has only two "voices": that of Jesus and that of either the narrator (Matthew, Mark, Luke) or Paul (1 Cor). The other participants in the drama are variously named: "them" in Matthew and Mark (identified in Matt 26:20 and Mark 14:17 as "the Twelve"); "apostles" in Luke (v. 14); and in 1 Cor 11:23-26, Paul tells the Corinthians about the tradition he received without naming the other participants of the Last Supper. Only in John is another "voice" heard: that of "the Jews" objecting to Jesus' teaching.

6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the various eucharistic pericopes have been categorised in a systematic manner which allowed a logical narrowing of the eucharistic-allusive pericopes of the New Testament to five which are most closely related to the Eucharist and which represent the major communities of New Testament times. We then proceeded

to investigate language and anthropological issues which demonstrated that adding John's pericope (with its use of σὰρξ and αἶμα) to the Institution Narratives (which use σῶμα and αἶμα) is logical and that both pairs of terms point to the sacrificial nature of the eucharistic elements.

We then explored in depth the various arguments and aspects of John 6:51-58 which scholars have used in assigning a not-eucharistic or eucharistic interpretation to the pericope. In this section, it is clearly demonstrated that the eucharistic interpretation is tenable. Finally, we finished by explaining the particular verse boundaries for each pericope. With the particular body of Scripture clearly identified for this project, we now turn to an explanation of the methodology to be used.

Chapter 3

Methodology

1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 we explored the ways in which the Eucharist has been written about and discovered that the Scriptures cited and the ways in which the Eucharist was explored are vast and wide-ranging. Rather than being able to identify specific pericopes to use in this project, we discovered six themes which could form the framework for analysis. In Chapter 2 we identified the five proto-eucharistic pericopes as the logical choices for a systematic and tightly-focussed study of the Eucharist in the New Testament. We need a logical approach which will allow a study of the five New Testament pericopes with neither conflation nor preferential treatment to any one text. This chapter will discuss briefly the reasons for the development of the canonical approach, describe the approach in general, delve into the details of the approach as envisioned by Brevard Childs, explain some of the shortcomings and criticisms of it along with Brevard Childs's response, and, finally, discuss how the approach will be used in this project. It is anticipated that this analysis combined with an outline of its application in the project will demonstrate the fittingness of the canonical approach for the task at hand.

2. THE CANONICAL APPROACH

2.1. The Beginnings of the Canonical Approach

The canonical approach arose as exegetes such as Brevard Childs and James Sanders noticed deficiencies in the results of the historical-critical method of biblical exegesis. Mary Callaway states that three factors were key to its inception: 1) the search

for a unique biblical theology¹ was not successful,² 2) exegetes noted their inability to stand outside history in analysing it, and so they experienced a growing dissatisfaction with the results of historical-critical research,³ and 3) they recognised that the attempts to make Scripture more accessible had, in fact, locked it into the past and, by forcing the study to smaller and smaller diachronic units, made it both “virtually unreadable and unpreachable.”⁴ Brevard Childs responded to these concerns by focussing on the canon of Scripture as the context for interpretation. In particular, to each of the factors above 1) he suggested that rather than simply relating a given pericope to its historical context, the exegete should “explore the dialectic between individual text and full canonical context,”⁵ 2) he and James Sanders accepted that the communities which received the texts as Scripture had a role in both interpreting and preserving them. By studying pericopes within their context (the canon), the exegete preserves a crucial link between

¹ The term *biblical theology* is problematic because it is a *contrastive* term, essentially used in contrast to other ways of studying the Bible. James Barr maintains the meaning of the term and particular shape of the resultant study depends upon which of the five types of biblical studies against which it is being contrasted: 1) Doctrinal theology, 2) non-theological biblical study, 3) history of religion, 4) philosophical and natural theology, 5) “interpretation of *parts* of the Bible as distinct from the larger complexes taken as *wholes*.” James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 5. As well, *biblical theology* has been shaped by the conflict over whether it should be viewed as a descriptive task uncovering the theology present at the writing of the texts or its being “a discipline involving normative authority, personal commitment, and interpretation for the present day and the modern religious community.” Barr, *Concept of Biblical Theology*, 6.

² As such, a biblical theology required finding “a single controlling theological construct” in which would be found the locus of authority of the biblical text. This construct would have to be unique to Scripture, in other words, it would not be found in other ANE texts, and it would have to be identifiable in each and every book of the Bible. Mary C. Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Applications* (revised and expanded ed.; ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 143.

³ On reviewing the results of Historical-Critical research over time, scholars noted that as the context of the exegetes changed so did their work. Their interpretations of the texts were bound by their own historical context. One example: the recognition that the view that the authority of Scripture rested in its earliest version and in its individual authors represented a “reading back onto the communities which gave us Scripture” of Western post-Enlightenment values. Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 144.

⁴ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 145.

⁵ In this way, the exegete accepts the “accretions” as containing valuable theological import to the communities which accepted the biblical texts, preserved them, and in turn passed them to the next generation. Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 143–4.

redaction and canon formation,⁶ and 3) he noted that closing the gap between the “reading of the canonizing communities and contemporary believing communities,” the canonical approach brings Scripture from the exegete’s office to the church lectern and, ultimately, to the believing Christian.⁷

2.2. An Overview of the Canonical Approach

Although it may appear that there are two methods (historical-critical followed by the canonical approach itself) being used in this project, that is not the case. The canonical approach begins with the “output” of the historical-critical methods of biblical studies. In effect, the canonical approach is the next logical step to historical-critical analysis. The steps of the historical-critical method (textual, linguistic, literary, source, genre, tradition, and redaction criticism) are diachronic, tracing the text’s development through time. The last step, redaction criticism, because it deals with the final text, is synchronic as well as diachronic. The fact that the canonical approach uses both diachronic and synchronic steps adds to the depth of information that may be appropriated from the text. Furthermore, the fact that the canonical approach itself is synchronic helps to ground the final exegesis within the whole teaching of Scripture.

Several factors of the canonical approach address the inadequacies of historical-critical exegesis. First, the canonical approach recognises that Scripture contains its own self-corrective mechanisms and insists on holding the varied messages in tension with one another rather than either conflating them or privileging one particular text over the rest.

Secondly, the canonical approach is truly theological. It holds the individual texts “accountable” to the rest; it is not searching for textual or literary answers, but searches for God’s Word to the believing community as it was written. It seeks to understand how

⁶ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 144.

⁷ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 145.

these messages were understood together as the communities collected the texts which became the canon, and it attempts to answer questions of what that word says to the believing community today. Because it focusses on the text and its impact on the communities, past and present, it searches for the theological significance of the text in a way which other approaches (such as those which use the social sciences or the feminist or liberationist approaches) do not.⁸ In short, the canonical approach seeks to uncover how the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Because of this link to the believing community, one cannot be an honest canonical critic without also belonging to a faith community.

Thirdly, the canonical approach finds its hermeneutic key within Scripture itself and its tools have been developed by biblical scholars for use with the biblical texts only. This means that the exegete employing the canonical approach easily ensures that “the interpretation of the Bible [is] as faithful as possible to its character both human and divine.”⁹ Furthermore, because of the specificity of the technique to the biblical text, the canonical exegete is required to follow developments within the field of biblical studies alone and knows that its use is faithful to the aims for which it was developed.¹⁰ As Mary Callaway states, “canonical criticism assumes that hermeneutics by which the scriptures can be appropriated need not (indeed, should not) be imported from philosophical or theological systems, but are to be found within the scriptures themselves. The discipline of canonical criticism attempts to tease them out, either in the hermeneutics of the

⁸ To look at just one of these other approaches, the Pontifical Biblical Commission states “Feminist hermeneutic has not developed a new methodology. It employs the current methods of exegesis, especially the historical critical method.” As mentioned above, the canonical approach was developed to address perceived short-comings of the historical-critical method. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church [21 September 1993]* (Sherbrooke, Que.: Éditions Paulines, 1994), 67.

⁹ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *IBC*, 32.

¹⁰ The use of other methods which were developed for use in disciplines other than biblical studies require that the exegete stay abreast of any developments with the method and ensure that those developments have not moved the method in such a way that the biblical text’s special character is lost.

communities adapting the tradition (Sanders) or in the shape of the canonical text (Childs).”¹¹ Brevard Childs states that, “there is no one hermeneutical key for unlocking the biblical message, but the canon provides the arena in which the struggle for understanding takes place.”¹² For him, “scripture serves as a continuing medium through which the saving events of Israel’s history are appropriated by each new generation of faith.”¹³ The canonical approach accepts that the individual texts of Scripture and its collections became normative for the community of faith.

Fourthly, the canonical approach seeks to acknowledge the dynamic nature of the Bible as it recognises the fact that “inspired Scripture is precisely Scripture in that it has been recognized by the Church as the rule of faith.”¹⁴ Its interpretation must take place within the context of the believing community and in light of the place of the text within the complete whole of the canon of Scripture, recognising the “great Tradition which has produced the texts.”¹⁵ Communities used the texts, allowing themselves to be formed even as they recontextualised texts to their ever changing experience of salvation.¹⁶ In this recontextualisation, the communities added layer upon layer of meaning, a process which continued throughout the second and third centuries A.D.,¹⁷ in the fourth century

¹¹ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 147.

¹² Brevard S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 15.

¹³ Childs, *Canonical Context*, 16.

¹⁴ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *IBC*, 52.

¹⁵ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *IBC*, 52.

¹⁶ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 142. Peter Balla, “Evidence for an Early Christian Canon (Second and Third Century),” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 384–85.

¹⁷ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 142. Sanders speaks of two “periods of intense canonical process”: 6th c BC for the Old Testament and 1st c AD for the New Testament. James A. Sanders, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship: Old Testament Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 28, 32. See also Paul Beauchamp, “Quand Dieu parle en plusieurs temps,” in *Parler d’Écritures saintes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), 49–60; François Dreyfus, “L’actualisation à l’intérieur de l’Écriture,” *Revue Biblique* 83 (1976): 161–202.

A.D. authoritative lists reveal the results of that process.¹⁸ The canonical approach holds that the received text, including accretions from the forming communities before the canonisation of Scripture, is the key text; exegetical work cannot involve a search for the earliest text, ignoring anything added by subsequent writers, editors, or redactors.

Fifthly, the canonical approach accepts the canonical nature of the development of the texts; just as a canonical consciousness is apparent in the development of the book of Isaiah, the presence of this consciousness is also evident in the development of the New Testament texts. As well, the exegete who employs the canonical approach shows interest in the dynamic between the community which accepts the texts as authoritative and those authoritative texts. This shift in focus helps rectify the possibility of the work performed using historical-critical methods being coloured by the exegete's context.¹⁹ The canonical approach represents a further step in the "logical development of historical-critical work, whose history was a movement from smaller (sources) to larger (redaction) units of tradition. . . . [the] next logical step after redaction criticism, moving from the last stage of redaction to the early stages of reception as scripture."²⁰

¹⁸ The biblical canon is a collection of collections of books with each of those collections developing separately. The first collection, that of the four gospels, was well-known by the end of the second century after a time of considerable textual changes which gave rise to textual variants (Alexandrian, Western, Neutral, etc.). The Pauline letters, which make up the second collection, were well-known and were used liturgically throughout the second century; by late in the second century the letters were universally established as apostolic scriptures. The third and final collection, the Catholic Epistles entered the canon as a group late in the third century at the earliest. Given the gradual development of the collections which comprise the biblical canon, "it is very difficult to speak of the New Testament canon having taken any clear shape, whether in conception or in substance, prior to the appearance of [the third] collection, and therefore prior to the fourth century." Harry Y. Gamble, "The New Testament Canon: Recent Research and the Status Quaestionis," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 281–88.

¹⁹ The historical-critical method which "had promised to be an objective analysis of the biblical texts in their original settings had proved impossible because it was based on the assumption that the scholar could stand outside of history in order to analyze it." Reviewing this critical work over years reveals a link between the exegete's context and the emphasis chosen for the work. Callaway, "Canonical Criticism," 144. As Paul Wells states: "Il n'y a pas, en effet, de méthodes *neutres*." Paul Wells, "La méthode historico-critique et les problèmes qu'elle pose," *La Revue Réformée* 33 (1982): 2.

²⁰ Callaway, "Canonical Criticism," 144; James A. Sanders, "Scripture as Canon for Post-Modern Times," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 25, no. 2 (1995): 61.

Sixthly, the canonical approach looks at the crucial stage between redaction and conciliar decisions of canonicity, attempting to bridge the gap between the two.²¹ Not only is the received text itself important, but also the collections in which the final form of those texts are found play an important role in the canonical approach. It is “a hermeneutical approach, grounded in the historical-critical method.”²² Brevard Childs contends that, while historical criticism provides the exegete with invaluable information about the text and its meaning, it leaves that information “in a dialectical relation to the biblical witness which has a unique story to tell about God and his redemption which enters the world of time and space, but shatters its laws and mores through endless surprises.”²³ He maintains that the addition of a “homiletic topping” to this exegesis is an unsatisfactory solution.²⁴ For him, historical criticism has ignored the concept that the New Testament functions as “authoritative, canonical literature of both an historical and a contemporary Christian community of faith and practice. A special dynamic issues from its canonical function which is not exhausted by either literary or historical analysis, but calls for a theological description of its shape and function.”²⁵ Thus, the canonical approach continues the work done with historical criticism.

Finally, the canonical approach accepts the development of Scripture in five steps while making the third and fourth steps its focus.²⁶ There are two seemingly contradictory

²¹ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 144–5.

²² Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 145.

²³ Brevard S. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 45.

²⁴ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 45.

²⁵ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 36.

²⁶ Steps as follows: 1) God’s intervention; 2) written record of God’s intervention; 3) writings accepted by the communities (to varying degrees); 4) writings undergo editing and redacting in response to subsequent generations’ interpretations; 5) the community declares the writings “canonical” for their own and future generations. J. Dickson Brown, “Barton, Brooks, and Childs: A Comparison of the New Criticism and Canonical Criticism,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 36 (December 1993): 485. Clearly, the author cited has not acknowledged the oral stage of the development of Scripture which belongs between his first two steps. This stage is not a focus for the canonical approach.

principles at work in this development of Scripture: the critical principle and the inclusive principle. Together these are derivative of canon: the first attempts to preserve the purest text; the second “sought to include the widest possible number of variant traditions actually in use by the Christian communities through conflation and harmonization.”²⁷

While much of the exegesis performed using the canonical approach has involved the Old Testament, its approach has much to offer in the study of the New Testament with its four-fold Gospel tradition and other books which present the beliefs of the early church in a context of both the Old Testament and the then-developing New Testament. By accepting the genuine differences found in these texts, a more complete picture of the faith of the early church will be formed; the early church chose neither harmonisation (Tatian) nor simplification (Origen) in its canonisation of the New Testament.²⁸ Because the canonical approach begins with the conclusions of historical-critical work, it is evident that this approach allows the exegete to employ modern scientific methods while appropriating the views used by the Fathers of the church. The work of the Fathers demonstrates their appreciation for the importance of the whole of Scripture and the way in which its texts are in dialogue with one another. In fact, the Fathers believed that one could only interpret Scripture by the use of Scripture. As just one example of this thought, “Origen’s consistent principle of interpretation was: explain the Bible by the Bible—that is, obscure or difficult passages should be explained by other passages, from anywhere else in the Bible, in which the same word or phrase or idea or situation occurs.”²⁹ The canonical approach allows one to search for the theological message as the Fathers did

²⁷ Peter R. Rodgers, “The Text of John 1:34,” in *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. Christopher Seitz and Kathryn Greene-McCreight; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 299.

²⁸ James A. Sanders, “The Bible as Canon,” *The Christian Century* 98 (2 December 1981): 1254.

²⁹ Origen, *Origen: Homilies on Luke, Fragments on Luke* (vol. 94 of *The Fathers of the Church*; trans. Joseph T. Lienhard; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), xxii.

while maintaining the importance of the answers arrived at through modern questions and approaches.

3. BREVARD CHILDS

3.1. Brevard Childs's Work

Brevard Childs (September 2, 1923 – June 23, 2007) studied at the University of Michigan (A.B.³⁰ and M.A.), earned a B.D. at Princeton Theological Seminary, and a doctorate at the University of Basel, Switzerland. His dissertation, begun under Walther Eichrodt, was on the problem of myth in the opening chapters of Genesis. When Walter Baumgartner replaced Walther Eichrodt, Brevard Childs had to revise his work using form-critical analysis. His dissertation was completed in 1953 and he began teaching Old Testament at Mission House Seminary in 1954. In 1958 he accepted a teaching position at Yale Divinity School where he became the Sterling Professor of Divinity at Yale University until he retired in 1999. He remained an emeritus professor until his death.³¹

Having used historical-critical analysis for his doctoral work and early in his academic career, Brevard Childs began to notice shortcomings to the method which he felt needed to be overcome. In 1970 he published *Biblical Theology in Crisis*³² in which he outlined the problems he saw with historical-critical exegesis, identified the need for a new biblical theology, and described its *shape*. His next book was the seminal *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*³³ in which his exegesis situated the book of Exodus within the canon. Over the next several years, he developed his canonical approach with several commentaries on the Old and New Testaments.³⁴ Throughout his

³⁰ The University of Michigan calls their Bachelor of Arts degree an A.B.

³¹ From <http://www.danieldriver.com/research/bsc.html>, accessed 29 May 2008 and http://www.theopedia.com/Brevard_Childs, accessed 29 May 2008.

³² Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970).

³³ Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (Old Testament Library; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1974).

³⁴ Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); Childs, *New Testament as Canon*; Childs, *Canonical Context*; Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology*

teaching career and after his retirement, he worked with the canonical approach, developing it and publishing books³⁵ and articles.³⁶

3.2. Brevard Childs's Reasons for a New Approach

Brevard Childs developed his canonical approach over many years. This section and the two following sections cover several of his works³⁷ in order to see the development of his thought. These sections discuss his reasons for the need for a new biblical theology, his understanding of the relationship between the OT and the NT, and his vision of the way the canonical approach works.

Brevard Childs believed that a new approach was required because the field had become oriented to highly technical areas in history, philology, and literary criticism thereby risking the fragmentation of the discipline. Rather than the descriptive work of analysis, what was required was a synthesis of the data within the framework of the whole Bible. The material must be approached in a way that respects theological concerns, asking questions which relate to those concerns while respecting the biblical material. There has to be an overlap between biblical and dogmatic theologies. He believes that biblical theology³⁸ did not develop in a rigorous manner; rather, it appeared to be a

of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993).

³⁵ Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah: A Commentary* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology: A Proposal* (facets ed.; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2002); Brevard S. Childs, *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

³⁶ Brevard S. Childs, "Walter Brueggemann's Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 53, no. 2 (2000): 228–33; Brevard S. Childs, "The Canon in Recent Biblical Studies: Reflections on an Era," *Pro Ecclesia* 14, no. 1 (2005): 26–45.

³⁷ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*; Childs, *New Testament as Canon*; Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*; Childs, *Biblical Theology: A Proposal*.

³⁸ As noted above (in section 2.1), the term *biblical theology* is problematic. For Brevard Childs, however, "Biblical Theology is by definition theological reflection on both the Old and New Testament. It assumes that the Christian Bible consists of a theological unity formed by the canonical union of the two testaments." Childs, *Biblical Theology: A Proposal*, 13.

“homiletic topping” on the study of the Old or New Testament.³⁹

Brevard Childs felt that biblical theology did not take the canonical form of the text seriously as it posited that the interpreter approached the text from the outside leading to varieties of hermeneutical approaches (ontology, ethics, secular humanism, salvation-history, self-understanding, etc.). Using the context of canon, however, does not look “behind the text” for the theological data, but “in the text.” Holding the canon as normative respects the history of development and the varieties of ways in which Scripture speaks. The Bible is part of the church which treasured and treasures it and cannot be separated from those communities. “The relation of Scripture to tradition receives its normative form in the acknowledgment of a canon.”⁴⁰

For Brevard Childs, the use of historical-criticism marked a departure from the existing exegetical tradition with little importance given to exegetical work from the “pre-critical” period. He believes it is dangerous to assume that the only valid study of the biblical texts is a historical one. Our study should be both a science (advancing our knowledge and refining our research methods) and an art (which does not lend itself so easily to method).⁴¹ For him, the heart of the problem is theological and, because the historical-critical method lacks a theological or ecclesial context, it “is incapable of either raising or answering the full range of questions which the church is constrained to direct to its Scripture.”⁴² The inadequacy of the historical-critical method is obvious in modern commentaries which are not only too technical but also cover a too narrow range of

³⁹ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 93.

⁴⁰ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 102–3.

⁴¹ Earlier disputes (Alexandrians and Antiochenes; Reformers and Church Fathers; Calvinists and Wesleyans) paled before the method which questioned their common ground. We should “treat the history of Biblical scholarship as a slow growth of insight that finally culminated in the ushering in of the critical method.” Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 139–40.

⁴² Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 141.

issues.⁴³ Furthermore, the critical commentary may be accompanied by a homiletic section which is often “only loosely connected with either the text or the exegesis.”⁴⁴

Brevard Childs maintains that precritical interpretation dealt seriously with the Bible as Scriptures of the church, often using the context of the whole canon. While it related parts of the Bible to other parts and sometimes forced harmonisation of those divergent parts, “often this deficiency has been exaggerated.”⁴⁵ Some exegetes have provided a history of interpretation which gives one a range of possibilities for questions that have been asked of the text or been raised by it. Brevard Childs posits that the most difficult task for modern exegetes will be the rediscovery of the Bible as devotional literature. By this, he means the Bible in all its richness, not only in the private reading of the individual believer, but also for use in the liturgy of the believing community. He believes that there is no one technique that will guarantee success but there are examples of many great thinkers on which to draw.⁴⁶

3.3. Brevard Childs’s View of the Relationship Between the Old and New Testaments

A key in the canonical approach is understanding the relationship between the OT and the NT. We may begin by looking at the use of the OT by the NT: the NT writers accepted the authority of the synagogue Scriptures, reinterpreting them in light of Jesus Christ, a process continued by the early church using various methods (allegory, typology,

⁴³ For example, the “Two-Source Hypothesis” posits a “Q” source along with Mark to explain the “Triple Tradition” of pericopes found in all three Synoptic Gospels. From this hypothesis have sprung many studies along the lines of “The Q Community” and the “redaction history” of this non-extant, hypothetical document.

⁴⁴ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 142–3.

⁴⁵ Evidence of imaginative work in so called “pre-critical” exegesis which respects the canonical context stands in contrast to “modern” exegesis. For example, some exegetes look at the Psalms, comparing them to Babylonian parallel texts while ignoring the use of Psalms in the NT and their transformation through the LXX. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 144–5.

⁴⁶ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 145, 147.

Jewish midrash).⁴⁷ However, reading the OT in light of the NT seems to rob the OT of theological significance of its own. The church chose to put the two together in a particular order thereby setting a particular context for our interpretation.⁴⁸ While there is an obvious, historically-based decision for the interpretation of the NT in light of the OT, the reverse (interpretation of the OT in light of the NT) does not logically follow. Rather, it is a theological decision which acknowledges a particular relationship between the two Testaments. They are separate but neither can be treated as if the other does not exist and neither can be subordinated to the other. The OT, even when interpreted as a witness to Jesus Christ, should not be viewed as a primitive faith or in need of Christianisation. Using the canonical approach provides a context which respects the dialectical relationship between the two Testaments. The exegete remains responsible for understanding the exact relationship of the particular text being studied: it may be one of identity, of complementarity, or of opposition. This dialectical movement testifies to God's redemptive work in both Testaments rather than attempting a harmonisation of the concepts of God or constructing a doctrine. The fact that the two Testaments remain separate within the canon has implications and our interpretation requires the acknowledgement of this separation and of the significance of their historical context. These facts point to the validity of historical-critical exegesis.⁴⁹

However, Brevard Childs maintains that exegetical work must continue beyond this historical-critical work. For Christians, the dialectical movement is both from the OT to NT and from the NT to the OT. Neither Testament transcends its historical limitations and neither can be interpreted without recognising the existence of the other because,

⁴⁷ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 106.

⁴⁸ The particularity of the context is evidenced in the order of the portions of the OT: the Christian Church exchanged the second and third sections of the Hebrew Scriptures to present the Torah, Writings, and Prophets in our OT in order to link the two testaments theologically. However, Protestants returned to the order found in the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁴⁹ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 109, 111–2.

unlike the members of the early church, our conditioning has included both. Our study involves more than themes and motifs due to our interest in the historical conditioning of the text and its relationship to a theological reality.⁵⁰

In his early work, Brevard Childs proposed that biblical theology should avoid proof-texting and motif-studying suggesting that, although Scripture's polyvalent nature precludes the finding of one certain method for its study, one could study specific passages from the OT which are quoted in the NT. This follows the example of the NT writers themselves. For him, these interpretations within the NT highlight the historical conditioning of each of the texts and demonstrate the scope of the biblical witness and the inner dynamics of the individual passages to larger units.⁵¹ However, in his later work, Brevard Childs came to the conclusion that this should not be a central category of exegetical work because the influence of the OT on NT texts occurred at their writing rather than at their collection in the canon.⁵²

3.4. Brevard Childs's Understanding of the Canonical Approach

For Brevard Childs, using the canon as context allows the interpreter a variety of exegetical methods which acknowledge the unique role of Scripture in the church's life and faith.⁵³ For him, interpretation both begins and ends with the final canonical text. The interpreter enters a complex process in dialogue with the text discerning the way it bears faithful witness to, in the case of the NT, Jesus Christ. By looking at the text within the context of the canon, the interpreter may "discern how the material within the canon was fashioned through a particular intertextuality to render its special message."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 113–4.

⁵¹ For example, the interpretation of Psalm 8 in Hebrews 2 and 1 Corinthians 15. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 115.

⁵² Childs, *Biblical Theology: A Proposal*, 50; Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*, 76.

⁵³ Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 106–7.

⁵⁴ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 48.

First, the interpreter finds the shape of the text, looking “for traces either of how the author intended the material to be understood, or of the effect which a particular rendering has on the literature.”⁵⁵ This step involves detailed study of the language used in the text with its links to the historical context. This is followed by a look at the structure of the book, asking if the structure allows a variety of interpretations. Any proposed structure which ignores portions of the book is to be avoided. Within this structure, the patterns of textual material are analysed (for example, does the text alternate between dogmatic and paraenetic sections as does Hebrews? What is the function of narrative within the book?). The author may have stated his purpose at the beginning or end of the book. Any superscriptions, which were added late in the canonisation process, should be noted as they may provide information about the early church’s first interpretation.⁵⁶

Secondly, following this close look at the text, the interpreter searches the canonical context in which the church placed the book and seeks to understand any ramifications of this context. The interpreter must avoid finding the historical context and then interpreting the composition on that reconstruction. In other words, the interpreter is uncovering the context with which to study the text rather than creating it. The interpreter also must look at the intertextuality respecting the dialectic between the text and its original historical context.⁵⁷ As well, the addressees have a role to play in the interpretation: who they are and how the text addresses them provide important indicators for our interpretation of the text in a canonical context. For example, is the text ostensibly addressed to the original disciples, giving rise to a need for subtle analogies in order to understand the text today? Or, are the disciples being presented as models whose obedient

⁵⁵ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 49.

⁵⁶ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 49.

⁵⁷ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 50.

response is for emulation? If the author has moved from the singular “I” to plural “we” in the narrative, the text may be interpreted as a universalising of the particular message.⁵⁸

Thirdly, the question of authorship looks at the theological function of the claims without focussing on the question of historicity. Why, for example, were letters written after Paul assigned Pauline authorship by the church? What portraits are being drawn of the early leaders of the church, Peter and Paul, and how are these portraits different from what can be critically reconstructed?⁵⁹

Finally, one has to deal with the effect that the final canonical shape has on its component parts. This is intended, not as a short-cut to exegesis, but as a search for “a different vision of the biblical text which profoundly affects one’s concept of the enterprise, but which also makes room for the continuing activity of exegesis as a discipline of the church.”⁶⁰

4. CRITICISMS, RESPONSES, AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE CANONICAL APPROACH

4.1. Criticisms and Brevard Childs’s Response

Some exegetes claim the canonical approach is opposed to historical criticism, but the fact that it begins with the conclusions of historical-critical exegesis, indicates that it is not so opposed. Care must be taken that the recovery of historical information remains true to the text. The canonical approach seeks a link between the historical context of the text and the use of the text today. Historical criticism helps distinguish the various voices in the text which give rise to the textures in the text. The fact the canon was shaped to engender faith in the hearers and in the generations to follow allows one to understand

⁵⁸ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 52.

⁵⁹ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 52.

⁶⁰ The fact there are four Gospels with the longer ending of Mark bringing it into harmony with the others; the Pastorals combined with the Pauline letters; the severing of Luke-Acts; and the relationship between such diverse books as Galatians and James. Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 52–3.

that the meaning in the text is not some inert data that was deposited for unearthing. Rather the meaning is to be re-actualised by each generation in its own context.⁶¹ The canonical exegete takes the many divergent voices uncovered by historical criticism and rebuilds the one voice of the final biblical text.

Brevard Childs uses the term “canonical” for several factors in the formation of the biblical literature including the process by which the Bible was formed (a process which was not late as evidenced by the canonical consciousness deep within the Bible) and as a way to focus attention on the theology behind the formation of the Bible.⁶² In a call for greater clarity, James Barr, maintaining that this usage of “canon” is incoherent and ambiguous, gives it three specific meanings: a fixed collection, the final form of a book or group of books, and a principle of finality and authority. Brevard Childs, however, maintains that this separation into three distinct meanings “misses the major phenomenon for which the term is used.”⁶³ For him, the religious reading began early and the process continued for a long time as the canon was formed by the community. In his opinion, exegesis should relate the text to its original context while also exploring “the dialectic between individual text and full canonical context.”⁶⁴

In any exegesis, the search is for a new meaning of the texts to be applied to existing situations. This meaning is not that of the original author or any redactor(s) but one that transcends all that has gone before. The challenge is to “seek the unity of the text in this new voice.”⁶⁵ The canonical approach recognises the canonical process in the development of each book as well as in the development of the larger units within the New Testament: the Gospels, the Pauline Corpus, and the other writings and, finally, the

⁶¹ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 50–1.

⁶² Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*, 70–1.

⁶³ Childs, *New Testament as Canon*, 25–6.

⁶⁴ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 143.

⁶⁵ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 148.

combining of the Old Testament and the New Testament into the Christian Bible.⁶⁶ The canonical approach “gives the impression of offering at least the parameters of a theologically definitive reading”⁶⁷ and should lead to “a variety of canonical possibilities in a text. Perhaps the future of canonical criticism lies in the work of staking out the parameters within which a multiplicity of readings can function for the believing communities.”⁶⁸

4.2. Shortcomings

Without a doubt, no one exegetical method or approach is able to answer every question that may be asked of a given biblical text. As will be shown, the canonical approach has some shortcomings, as itemised by Mary Callaway, which the canonical exegete must keep in mind when using the approach.

First, in answer to the criticism that the canonical approach is akin to the New Criticism in literary analysis because of its focus on the final text for interpretation, the canonical exegete reminds the critic of the importance of the believing community for the context of shaping the final text. Secondly, the view that it is a return to pre-critical reading without the gains brought about by historical-critical exegesis, is corrected by a reminder that the foundation upon which the canonical approach comes to its theological conclusions is historical-critical exegetical work. This criticism is addressed adequately by the canonical exegete utilising the arduous process of exegesis.⁶⁹ There remains an unresolved issue: the relation of history to the biblical witness. The believing community reflected upon their religious traditions in the shaping of their texts, yet “the actual events that gave rise to the religious traditions in the first place are not only for the most part

⁶⁶ Using Old Testament Torah, Prophets, and Writings for reference: Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 148.

⁶⁷ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 154.

⁶⁸ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 154.

⁶⁹ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 152.

unrecoverable, but are secondary. It is the witness of the believing community that is canonical, not the historical event itself.”⁷⁰ Mary Callaway warns that Brevard Childs’s approach “tends to absolutize the historical moment crystallized in the final form of the text without much regard for the historical factors that may have influenced its formation.”⁷¹ Keep in mind that each stage in the development of Scripture had the concerns of the current community as its focus. The concerns of later generations were not being addressed. Furthermore, in order to keep our focus on the Word embodied in the biblical text, understanding must begin with the historical context of the stages of its development.⁷²

The canonical exegete must ensure that the exegesis respects the dissonance and uncertainty of the biblical texts when read as a unity. Against the tendency to harmonise the texts, “reading a biblical book canonically is like walking a tightrope, because it means attending to the subordinated voices even while hearing them in the context of the dominant voice.”⁷³ At the risk of flattening out the texts by focussing on the final sources at the expense of the earlier ones in order to simplify the message for the contemporary reader, the canonical exegete must recognise that the canon itself functions to protect the earlier sources as it presents them along with later ones. The canonical approach helps the exegete to hear the unity in the voices while accepting the dissonance of those voices. and recognise that “the sum is truly greater than the parts, but it will not tell the truth unless the parts function in it.”⁷⁴

In summary, “with its affirmation that many have been given glimpses of God’s purpose and none has the entire, complete and final answer, the canon calls us to continue

⁷⁰ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 152.

⁷¹ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 153.

⁷² Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 153.

⁷³ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 153.

⁷⁴ Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 153.

to study the text.”⁷⁵

5. HOW THE CANONICAL APPROACH OF BREVARD CHILDS WILL BE APPLIED IN THIS PROJECT

This project will follow the general outline given above for the application of the canonical approach of Brevard Childs. In light of the first step in his approach, this study will begin with a historical-critical analysis of the five pericopes focussing on the shape of each text, its place within each of the books, and the ramifications of that context. The questions which will drive this analysis include the characteristics as discussed above (in the section on the delimitation of the pericopes) which allows the five pericopes to be considered as a group. Other considerations such as the addressees and authorship of each text will be analysed.

This historical-critical analysis will be followed by the canonical analysis per se through a three-step process. The first step (canonical content⁷⁶) involves the analysis of the data uncovered in the historical-critical preparatory process with the five pericopes viewed together. First, the Institution Narratives with their two closely related strands of the tradition (Matthew and Mark as one strand; Luke and Paul as the other) must be interpreted together. Secondly, the separate Johannine tradition (John 6:51-59) must be interpreted. Finally, the juxtaposition of these three strands of the tradition must be interpreted.

⁷⁵ Donn F. Morgan, *Between Text and Community: The 'Writings' in Canonical Interpretation* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1990), 147 as quoted in Callaway, “Canonical Criticism,” 153.

⁷⁶ The frameworks of canonical context, canonical content, and canonical conversations come from Wall, “Significance of a Canonical Perspective,” 535–40. However, the author has chosen to change the order to canonical content, canonical context, and canonical conversation because it makes more sense to begin with the detailed analysis from the historical-critical study. In the canonical content section these details are analysed in light of all five proto-eucharistic pericopes. The framework then enlarges to include the canonical context of the pericopes in light of other New Testament texts and then in light of Old Testament texts. Further details of the manner of this analysis are given in Chapter 5. Finally, we move farther out to listen to the canonical conversation which arises from the first two frameworks.

The second step of the canonical approach per se (canonical context) will involve the analysis of these five pericopes in light of other New Testament and then in light of Old Testament pericopes. Finally, the third step of the canonical approach per se (canonical conversation) will see the uncovering of the biblical theology of the Eucharist. This conversation builds upon the information gleaned from the first two steps to “hear” the way the biblical teaching on the Eucharist may be adapted for the life of faith of believers today. This conversation seeks the common ground of the voices to which may be added the particular flavours of each community. As Robert Wall puts it, “the canonical interpreter seeks to relate the different ideas of particular biblical writers and canonical units together in contrapuntal yet complementary ways, to expose the self-correcting (or ‘prophetic’) and mutually informing (or ‘priestly’) whole of New Testament theology. . . . A New Testament theology thus relates the individual parts, whose significance extends beyond their compiled meaning; the New Testament’s diverse theologies, reconsidered holistically as complementary witnesses within the whole, actually ‘thicken’ the meaning of each part in turn.”⁷⁷ From this analysis, the project will have come to a truly theological exegesis of the New Testament proto-eucharistic pericopes.

6. CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated, the canonical approach is well-suited to respecting the voices of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes within the whole of Scripture. It allows the multiple voices to be “added together” to present a fuller appreciation of the mystery of the Eucharist, our “source and summit.” As the Pontifical Biblical Commission states, the

⁷⁷ Robert Wall speaks of two “canonical conversations”: the first is *intercanonical* (between the different biblical traditions) and the second is normed by the first and is *interecclesial* (between Scripture and various faith communities). This project contains only one conversation: the intercanonical; in order to have an interecclesial conversation, a scholar from another faith community could follow the steps to the intercanonical conversation at which point the two theologies could be put into conversation with each other for a truly interecclesial conversation. Wall, “Significance of a Canonical Perspective,” 539.

canonical approach “proceeds from the perception that the historical-critical method experiences at times considerable difficulty in arriving, in its conclusions, at a truly theological level. It aims to carry out the theological task of interpretation more successfully by beginning from within an explicit framework of faith: the Bible as a whole.”⁷⁸ As outlined above, we will begin with the historical-critical analysis of the five pericopes in the next chapter.

⁷⁸ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *IBC*, 50–1.

Chapter 4

Historical-critical Analysis of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes

1. INTRODUCTION

Having explored how the Eucharist was referenced by writers in the early church and demonstrated the wide-range of pericopes which they cited, along with the many ways they used their understanding of the Eucharist to expound on other matters (Chapter 1); and having developed a rationale for choosing the five proto-eucharistic pericopes to be employed in this project (Chapter 2); and having identified the canonical approach as one well-suited to the task (Chapter 3), we now turn to the first step in our study of these New Testament texts: a historical-critical analysis of each of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes. Following the pattern set in Chapter 1, the themes uncovered in the historical-critical analysis of each pericope will be flagged with an *. As explained in Chapter 3, the next chapter will present a canonical reading of these texts based upon the data uncovered in this chapter with its historical-critical analysis of the passages.

2. HISTORICAL-CRITICAL ANALYSIS

This historical-critical analysis will treat the pericopes (other than that of Matthew) in the order that most exegetes assign to their initial writing: 1 Corinthians, Mark, Luke, Matthew, and John. Matthew is treated as the last of the Institution Narratives as it seems the most directly connected with Mark and is without influence on the other texts.¹ Before looking at the details of each pericope, we will present general

¹ Dates: 1 Cor, AD 52-57; Mark, AD 60s; Luke, AD 80-85; Matthew, AD 80-90; and John, AD 90s. Raymond E. Brown, et al., *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 799, 596, 676, 631, 949. Some exegetes consider Mark to predate 1 Cor. Andrew Brian McGowan, “‘Is There a Liturgical Text in This Gospel?’ The Institution Narratives and Their Early Interpretive Communities,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 77.

information about the book in which it is found. This general information includes questions of authorship, date and place of writing, intended audience, and purpose of writing. The intention of this portion of the project is to present the reader with a context from which to understand the details presented for each pericope in preparation for taking a canonical stance in the next chapter; as such, the work of generally accepted scholarship is presented. Once the individual pericopes have been examined we will be able to take a canonical stance before the five pericopes as complementary texts within the whole Bible.

2.1. First Corinthians

As the earliest written of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes, we begin with Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. This analysis will cover the letter in general before presenting an overall understanding of the pericope followed by specific details. Paul states (16:8) that he was writing from Ephesus in the spring; exegetes posit a year in a range from 52-57 and, recognising the complexity of his relations with the Corinthian community, a likely date is 54.² Paul draws attention to his handwritten signature (16:21), demonstrating his close relationship with the community, and his wish to be present among them, and he expresses his intention that the letter be read aloud.³ This letter, which follows the format used in the first-century Greco-Roman world,⁴ is neither his first, nor his last, to the community and is in response to communications he has received from them and to reports he has heard.⁵

² Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The First Letter to the Corinthians," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; ed. Raymond E. Brown, et al.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 799.

³ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 3.

⁴ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 1. Particularly that of "Pseudo-Demetrius's 'friendship letter'" in the way he addresses various groups within the letter. Collins, *First Corinthians*, 9.

⁵ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 4-5. Not all exegetes agree, however: "The style of this section [vv. 17-34], together with Paul's redescription of what he understands to be taking place at the Lord's Supper, indicates that he is not responding to a question first raised by the addressees, but initiates the raising of an urgent matter for censure and re-education." Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (The New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 849.

Early Christian communities celebrated the Lord's Supper with a meal; the difficulty at Corinth had arisen from the lack of sharing the food brought for the occasion.⁶ Paul, aware of his own authority, is writing in order to contrast their behaviour with that of a "true" Lord's Supper, to admonish them, and to exhort them to change.⁷ The community consisted of Jews and pagans representing all but the very top and very bottom of the Greco-Roman social scale. Problems had arisen from the complexity of the social status of some of the members of the community; this complexity resulted in divergent visions of Christianity and competition for spiritual honours.⁸

The earliest written account of the Institution Narrative, 1 Cor 11:23-26 belongs within a larger segment of the letter (chapters 8–11) which focusses on Paul's discussion of ethical issues with the Corinthians. It is not clear if everyone in Corinth agreed that their celebrations were disordered.⁹ Paul's account is grounded in the practice of the early Christian communities but various scholars hold that Paul's writings do not reflect faithfully a tradition begun by the historical Jesus.¹⁰ Identifiable signs of the historical basis of his account include the differences between the ritual of the bread and the non-ritual, narrative nature of the cup. For some, the tradition originates with Paul because of the vision from the Lord he received on the road to Damascus.¹¹ Be that as it may, Paul's purpose was not mere repetition of a tradition he had given to them earlier; rather, he sought to show Jesus as a servant who gave up his own life in the covenant of his own

⁶ Peter Lampe, "The Eucharist: Identifying with Christ on the Cross," *Interpretation* 48, no. 1 (1994): 37; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 392, 419.

⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 1, 7, 26–27; Lampe, "Identifying with Christ," 36; Murphy-O'Connor, "First Corinthians," 799; Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 887.

⁸ From 1 Cor 16, Ac 18, Rom 16, we know the names of 16 members of the Corinthian community; examples of the complexities of their social status include: "rich but female (Phoebe), a city official but an ex-slave (Erastus), a skilled artisan but a Jew with a wife of higher social rank (Aquila)." Murphy-O'Connor, "First Corinthians," 799.

⁹ Beardslee, *First Corinthians*, 108, 110.

¹⁰ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 429; cf. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 154.

¹¹ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 427–30.

blood. Jesus' invitation to "do this in memory of me" calls for them to act likewise, in service to one another. Paul challenges them to see that the tradition they received condemns their self-centred behaviour.¹² Scholars also disagree on the existence of a Lucan dependence upon Paul's account. Raymond Collins maintains there is no evidence of a link; rather, the two accounts present different versions of the tradition.¹³

While Paul's main concern appears to be the ethical issues rather than providing a detailed theological explanation of the way in which Christ becomes present in the Lord's Supper (this concern arose later),¹⁴ the liturgical tradition of the early church is evident.¹⁵ He follows the steps of a Jewish festive meal, insisting that the eucharistic meal, beginning with the blessing of the bread, must take place before normal dinner activities.¹⁶ Paul, claiming that his authority in the church comes from the risen Lord himself, quotes directly his words as a liturgical narrative rather than simply as an example of a behavioural norm they are to follow.¹⁷

2.1.1. 1 Cor 11:23-26

This section will delve more deeply into Paul's proto-eucharistic pericope beginning with general information and concluding with a verse by verse analysis. In general, Paul's Greek tends to reflect a more Hellenistic background.¹⁸ His use of direct quotations of Jesus' words in this pericope (rather than his more usual allusions) demonstrates his knowledge of Jesus' teachings and his concern to show the unbroken

¹² Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 154.

¹³ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430.

¹⁴ Lampe, "Identifying with Christ," 36, 43.

¹⁵ Xavier Léon-Dufour, ed., *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (updated 2d ed.; trans. P. Joseph Cahill; Boston: St Paul Books & Media, 1995), 78–79.

¹⁶ Lampe, "Identifying with Christ," 41.

¹⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 264, 425; McGowan, "Early Interpretive Communities," 78–79; Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*, 219; Murphy-O'Connor, "First Corinthians," 809. However, not all exegetes agree on the liturgical basis for the account, Maccoby, "Paul and the Eucharist," 250.

¹⁸ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 78–79.

chain of transmission.¹⁹ The fact that Paul owes his account to tradition is revealed in language which appears only in these few verses. Here, he uses the term “the body of Christ” to refer to the community rather than to Jesus’ physical body as he does elsewhere.²⁰

In v. 23, Paul uses the terms *παρέλαβον* and *παρέδωκα*, technical terms for the careful passing of a tradition from teacher to student. He gives the Corinthians, word for word, what he had received.²¹ The formulaic nature of the beginning of this pericope demonstrates Paul’s knowledge of the pre-existence of the tradition, his wish to transmit it unchanged, and its importance to the Corinthians.²² Paul is emphasising the fact that the words are not his, that their Lord’s Supper originates, not in his own words, but in an explicit instruction from Jesus, their Lord.²³ The Corinthians are not to doubt that their tradition consists of an unbroken chain stretching back to Jesus.²⁴ Given the use of *δειπνήσαι* (implying several foods eaten with the bread) and that all the food at a meal was blessed through the blessing of the bread, the single use of *εὐχαριστήσας* (v. 24) does not prove that their meal included only bread.²⁵

The verbs, *παρέδωκα* and *παρεδίδοτο* (v. 23; my translation “handed on” and “betrayed” respectively), demonstrate the theological content and context of the tradition

¹⁹ John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus: The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (Anchor Bible Reference Library 1; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 46.

²⁰ “*παράδοσθαι* used absolutely, *εὐχαριστεῖν* used absolutely to designate grace at table, *κλᾶν* without an object, *καὶ εἶπεν, ἀνάμνησις* (twice), *μετά* with infinitive used as a noun, *δειπνεῖν, τοῦτο* placed before the noun, *ὁσάκις*.” Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (trans. Norman Perrin; ed. Alan Richardson; The New Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1966), 103–4.

²¹ Robert Louis Wilken, “Interpreting the New Testament,” *Pro Ecclesia* 14, no. 1 (2005): 16; These terms were used in “philosophical schools, gnostic literature, and rabbinic circles.” John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus: Companions and Competitors* (Anchor Bible Reference Library 3; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 139.

²² Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 886–87.

²³ Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 867.

²⁴ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 101.

²⁵ Lampe, “Identifying with Christ,” 42.

which Paul is presenting unchanged: Jesus was handed over for our sins*, God “gave him up” for us. In this there is an echo of the LXX of Is 53:6.²⁶ Paul claims apostolic authority but does not claim the right to change what he has received or present new teachings as originating with Jesus.²⁷

In v. 24, Paul uses the neuter demonstrative pronoun, τοῦτο, which may refer to the action or to the physical bread that Jesus is holding. Paul often uses it for emphasis; in this case, he also uses μου for emphasis. Whether τοῦτο is used to refer to the action or for emphasis, his meaning is clear: if this is *his* body given* on their behalf, then they must do this in remembrance of him.²⁸ If τοῦτο is intended to point to the liturgical action (blessing and breaking bread), then Jesus’ instruction to “do this in remembrance of me” would refer to the liturgical act itself.²⁹ Care must be taken to avoid an anachronistic understanding of εὐχαριστήσας: it refers to the Jewish table grace rather than the consecration of the bread.³⁰

In v. 25, the use of ὡσαύτως appears to set up a parallel between Jesus’ action with the bread and the cup. However, some exegetes maintain that “τὸ ποτήριον could be an *adverbial* accusative or an *accusative of respect* governed by the force of ὡσαύτως”³¹ which points to less strict parallelism revealing the antiquity of the formula. The μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι (after supper), a preposition with an articular infinitive, does not necessarily represent the liturgical instruction; neither does it necessarily describe what

²⁶ Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 869. Πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν· ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν. Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint With Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Reprint London 1851: Samuel Bagster & Sons; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

²⁷ Meier, *Marginal Jew: Roots*, 46; Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 867.

²⁸ Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153–54.

²⁹ Lampe, “Identifying with Christ,” 43.

³⁰ Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 870.

³¹ Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 882.

actually took place at the Lord's Supper celebrations at Corinth.³² Furthermore, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη (the new covenant)* was established through Christ's blood* on the cross and the tradition itself condemns the actions of the Corinthians at their Lord's Supper meals.³³ John Meier posits that the use of καινὴ in the phrase represents an interpretation of Jesus' words by the Christian community.³⁴

Verse 26 contains evidence of Paul's emphasis on Jesus' death* in the very structure of the sentence; his use of καταγγέλλετε (present tense) clearly points to a continuous present action, and the eschatological* dimension is evident in the last phrase of this pericope: ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ.³⁵

In summary, the words of institution allowed the Corinthians to interpret the death* of Jesus in association with the meal. For Paul, the Institution Narrative is presented as a reminder to the community, and as an exhortation to them to ensure their participation is in fact a participation in the eucharistic tradition established by Jesus himself. The implication, therefore, is “that the institution narrative had in fact already been received and interpreted by the Corinthians, but not as a model for direct liturgical imitation, let alone for recitation.”³⁶

2.2. Mark

We now turn to the next chronological account: The Gospel of Mark. There is little controversy about the authorship of this gospel. The superscription, “According to Mark,” was likely added only after other gospels were in circulation. It is formally anonymous but internal evidence paints a picture of the author: he had been persuaded

³² Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 882–83.

³³ Lampe, “Identifying with Christ,” 43; Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 154; Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 885; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 392, 419.

³⁴ Meier, *Marginal Jew: Companions and Competitors*, 593 n. 122.

³⁵ Thiselton, *Commentary: 1 Cor, Greek Text*, 886–87; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 376, 391. Text is ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ according to Aland, et al., *GNT*, 593.

³⁶ McGowan, “Early Interpretive Communities,” 80.

about the good news of Jesus and was writing in order to persuade others to understand Jesus' words and deeds in the same light. His writing indicates an intimate knowledge of Jewish customs, culture, sects, and the Scriptures which he read as truthful. He appears to understand early Jewish eschatology and apocalyptic. His knowledge of Aramaic implies he grew up in a Jewish family. His writing implies a good level of education, he could read and write reasonably well in Greek but did not assume his audience could. For them he provided Latin loan-words for these Greek terms of Jewish celebrations and at times his ungrammatical Greek may be explained by his use of Latin idioms.³⁷ As for external evidence, he may have been part of a Cypriot-Jewish family who settled in Jerusalem and became a part of the early Jerusalem church. Many patristic writers speak of the author as John Mark, an associate of Peter who later worked with Paul and Barnabus and then with Barnabus alone, and finally ended up in Rome.³⁸

Given that it appears to have been written in the 60s, it is the earliest gospel description of the Last Supper. The Gospel of Mark was written in Rome for a Christian community living under external threat of persecution, and internal conflict, and who viewed the incipient revolt in Jerusalem as a potential for further trouble.³⁹ The author's purpose is to show the eschatological dimensions and the link to the Passover context.⁴⁰ It is important to keep in mind that Mark's editing, to meet the needs of his largely Gentile audience, reveals that the earliest gospel does not necessarily present the earliest form of

³⁷ For example his reference to the Syrophoenician woman (7:26) indicates a Roman differentiation between residents of Syria and those of Carthage (referred to as Libuphoenicians). Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 20–21.

³⁸ Daniel J. Harrington, "The Gospel According to Mark," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; ed. Raymond E. Brown, et al.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 596; Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 22, 25–26.

³⁹ Harrington, "The Gospel According to Mark," 596; Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 41, 42, 46; Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373.

⁴⁰ R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (The New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 568.

any one particular saying or story.⁴¹ This search for the earliest text appears to have diminished. Exegetes continue to quote the work of Joachim Jeremias⁴² but also raise questions about his use of later Jewish documents to describe the Last Supper meal in spite of the many changes to Jewish practices after the destruction of the Temple. Jesus' last Kingdom of God saying is in Mark's Last Supper account. Mark attempts to reassure his community of the fulfilment of the prophecy for drinking anew just as his hearers come to an awareness of the fulfilment of the betrayal prophecy.⁴³

Mark is familiar with Jewish Scriptures but does not assume the same of his readers; his narrator controls the information given to the reader.⁴⁴ Beyond this purpose of equipping the community for persecution, exegetes speculate about other purposes such as: preserving eyewitnesses accounts, combating false teaching and heresies, providing instructions for their worship, or providing readings for baptismal or Easter liturgies.⁴⁵

That the Marcan community celebrated the Eucharist is a given;⁴⁶ Mark simply presents Jesus' words and actions along with the interpretation. In doing this, Mark shows that Jesus' act is one of self-giving* thereby bringing about a new covenant* which supersedes the old covenant between God and Israel.⁴⁷ The use of ἔστιν “suggests a too formal, even mathematical, equation between Jesus and the bread; on the other hand, a paraphrase such as ‘represents’ weakens the relationship between Jesus and the bread to a figurative or symbolic likeness. The verb is ideally understood as a metaphor, ‘The bread

⁴¹ Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 374.

⁴² Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*.

⁴³ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 396, 398, 399.

⁴⁴ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 20.

⁴⁵ Harrington, “The Gospel According to Mark,” 597.

⁴⁶ Moloney, *Mark: A Commentary*, 287.

⁴⁷ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 399; Hooker, *Gospel According to Mark*, 340.

means or conveys my body.”⁴⁸ For Ben Witherington, the words of institution had to have been taken symbolically as the blood contained the life-force and so could not be drunk.⁴⁹ James Edwards posits that the use of Jesus’ words to develop the medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation “overinterprets the sense of our Eucharistic texts. It is unlikely that Jesus’ words connote a change in substance in Mark, for he declares ‘This is my blood’ *after* the disciples have drunk the cup (v. 23).”⁵⁰

Mark introduces his gospel as Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1:1), marking the creation of a new genre imitated by the other gospel writers. Scholars debate as to the purpose of the gospel genre: were they each written for one community or were they intended to be circulated among all Christian communities? Evidence seems to point to Mark being used by Matthew and Luke. His intention was to encourage Christians to make his text their own through reflecting on their own lives in light of Jesus’ life.⁵¹ Writing closest to the eyewitnesses, Mark records the community’s traditions with less influence from their liturgical development although the 30-40 years of re-enactment of the Lord’s Supper means that the exact words used by the historical Jesus at the Last Supper cannot be known with certainty. In general, Mark’s version is viewed as the closest to those original words with the available evidence including the absence of liturgical balancing.⁵²

⁴⁸ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 425.

⁴⁹ Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 374.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 426.

⁵¹ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 1, 13, 42, 46; Harrington, “The Gospel According to Mark,” 597.

⁵² Timothy J. Geddert, *Mark* (Believers Church Bible Commentary; Waterloo, Ont.: Herald Press, 2001), 339–40; Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 5; Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373. Scholars are divided on the priority of Mark against Matthew with regard to the final redaction of these two books; however, in this paper the priority of Mark is held. As will be demonstrated in the section on comparing the pericopes, Matthew’s Institution Narrative account is clearly secondary to that of Mark. Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430

Given the fact that Mark dates to a generation after the death of Jesus, the audience would be converts who learned about Jesus' life through others and through the words of early credal* statements such as 1 Cor 11:23-26.⁵³

2.2.1. Mark 14:22-26

With this general information about the Gospel of Mark, we now turn to general information about Mark's proto-eucharistic pericope. Mark uses Aramaic wording in his Greek as well as Latin loanwords.⁵⁴ While it is the shortest Institution Narrative, in marked contrast to the details of the preparation (vv. 12-16), it contains all the key eucharistic words: λαμβάνω, εὐλογέω/εὐχαριστέω*, κλάω, δίδωμι, and the correct interpretation of the bread and cup symbolism.⁵⁵ According to I. Howard Marshall, for Bultmann, the original oral account of Mark was displaced by the Pauline cultic account; and for Schürmann, the Marcan Passover narrative was expanded to include, in a single unit, the eucharistic* narrative in order to clarify the obscurities found within the early tradition.⁵⁶

This pericope contains no reference to the detailed preparations of the previous section (vv. 12-16) but contains a secondary introduction. Mark's writing shifts from plain narrative to a more solemn language where he uses forms (participles, finite verbs) and sentence construction which he does not use elsewhere.⁵⁷ Mark has simply reverted to the liturgical formula of the community; a formula established long before and set by

⁵³ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 66.

⁵⁴ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 78–79; Harrington, "The Gospel According to Mark," 596.

⁵⁵ France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 567; Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 425.

⁵⁶ I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (The New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 793.

⁵⁷ "Τοῦτό ἐστιν, πίνειν ἐκ, διαθήκη, ἐκχεῖν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, οὐκέτι οὐ μή, γένημα, ἄπελος, ἕως . . . ὅτου, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. Note also the absence of the historic present, of which Mark is so fond." Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 97 n.5. There are 151 occurrences of the historical present in Mark. France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 568.

its use in their liturgies.⁵⁸

While Mark does not include instructions to eat or to drink, his use of λάβετε after giving the bread and the fact he recounts that they all drank allows one to assume that these instructions did not need to be stated explicitly. The blessings (vv. 22, 23) indicate a standard grace rather than denoting consecration, as εὐχαριστέω (v. 23) cannot have that meaning. With the bread (v. 22), the disciples are left to realise the significance; with the cup, Jesus tells them directly (v. 24).⁵⁹ The Aramaic term translated into Greek as σῶμα probably carried a meaning of “my person,” “my whole being,” or “my self*”; furthermore, Jesus’ gracious gift of himself on their behalf is evidenced by the seven transitive verbs in v. 22: eat, take, bless, break, give, say, take.⁶⁰ The word ἐστίν would not have been present in the Aramaic actually spoken by Jesus. While Mark’s account predates theological reflection on the part of the community, he does present symbolically the sense that they were to benefit from Jesus’ coming death.⁶¹ These words have caused much discussion as to their meaning: was Jesus merely indicating the bread, saying that “This is myself,” or was he pointing to the bread as “representative” of himself? Mark emphasises Jesus’ actions and his self-giving on the cross*.⁶²

Mark does not observe the later rabbinic custom of using individual cups and does not indicate over which of the four Passover cups Jesus said the words of institution; however, he does include Judas among the πάντες. Mark has Jesus echo the words he said over the bread (v. 22, τοῦτό ἐστίν τὸ σῶμά μου) with the cup (v. 24, Τοῦτό ἐστίν τὸ αἷμά μου) but Jesus then continues with the evocative explanation, τῆς διαθήκης and

⁵⁸ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 97.

⁵⁹ France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 567–68.

⁶⁰ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 425–26; Moloney, *Mark: A Commentary*, 285.

⁶¹ France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 569; Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 374.

⁶² Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 395.

τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν. In this, Mark continues to present a contrast between the present “coming” of God’s kingdom (hidden and in the grips of suffering), with its future coming in glory*. By having Jesus first refer to his “cup of death” (v. 24) and then to the “cup of future glory” (v. 25), it is evident that these “comings” form part of a single purpose: it is Jesus’ death, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, that will bring salvation.⁶³ For Joachim Jeremias, because the phrase “the fruit of the vine” is being used as a liturgical expression, the pericope functions as a liturgical rubric.⁶⁴

In conclusion, this section has shown that Mark takes for granted the community’s eucharistic practice, using the account to remind them of Jesus’ death as self-gift* ὑπὲρ πολλῶν. Jesus’ words, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας, remind them to look beyond his death. While Mark wants to highlight Jesus’ relationship* with his disciples and his self-sacrifice which ushers in the new covenant* between God and his people,⁶⁵ in his sober narrative Mark keeps the focus on Jesus’ death in order that his community does not overstress the communal-meal aspect of their celebrations.⁶⁶

2.3. Luke

We now turn to Luke’s gospel; once again, general information about the gospel will be presented prior to a more detailed look at Luke’s proto-eucharistic pericope. As with the Gospel of Mark, there is little controversy about the author of Luke. From the gospel itself, the author is purported to be a relatively obscure figure who was well educated in Hellenistic rhetoric and in the Torah and is a masterful story-teller. References outside Luke’s gospel indicate he is perhaps a companion of Paul although this would have been an early relationship as there is no evidence of Pauline thought or

⁶³ France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 569–72.

⁶⁴ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 97 n. 4.

⁶⁵ Moloney, *Mark: A Commentary*, 285–87.

⁶⁶ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 400.

references to Paul's letters.⁶⁷ That he might be the "beloved physician" has been disputed with the recognition that the language he uses is no more technical than any other writing of the time which is known to be by a non-physician.⁶⁸ Several early Christian writers speak of the author Luke; if they were to fabricate authorship, surely the choice would not have been one so obscure.⁶⁹

While dating the writing of Luke depends upon interior evidence which has been interpreted in many different ways, this project will assign a date of 80-85 due to the following considerations: it was written after Mark, assumes knowledge of the destruction of the Temple, demonstrates no knowledge of either the persecution of Christians which began during Domitian's rule (81-96) or the conflict between the developing Christian communities and the Jewish Pharisaic reconstruction (85-90). Although the Fathers identify Luke as a companion of Paul, later scholars agree that the gospel is the product of "second generation" authorship.⁷⁰

While the recipients for whom Luke wrote his gospel are unknown, they likely were Gentiles who spoke Greek and knew enough Scripture and traditions to understand his many allusions. Luke was writing for an audience that was already Christian in order to confirm their belief. His work is finely crafted, meaning that it was not written in response to a particular crisis or confusion and he likely envisioned a larger readership than one specific community. Luke's writing was intended for anyone feeling out of place in the new movement. He wrote to give reassurances that God was directing them in a

⁶⁷ The Luke of Paul's greetings in Phlm 24 ("as well as Mark, Aristarchus, Bemas, and Luke, my co-workers"); Col 4:14 ("Luke the beloved physician sends greetings, as does Demas"); 2 Tim 4:11 ("Luke is the only one with me." This supposition would also explain the so-called "we" passages in Acts (16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16). Johnson, *Luke*, 2.

⁶⁸ Robert J. Karris, "The Gospel According to Luke," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; ed. Raymond E. Brown, et al.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 675; Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 32-33; Johnson, *Luke*, 2-3.

⁶⁹ Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, as well as the Muratorian canon and the late second-century Prologue to the Gospel. Karris, "Luke," 675; Johnson, *Luke*, 2.

⁷⁰ Karris, "Luke," 675-76; Johnson, *Luke*, 2.

renewed work and that the movement was forced out by Judaism rather than being isolationist themselves.⁷¹ For Luke, God will be faithful to his promises in a way that is unexpected; God will include “Gentiles, the unclean, the poor, women, Samaritans, rich toll collectors, and assorted other outcasts as well as elect people who are repentant of their initial rejection of Jesus, God’s prophet and Chosen One. This Israel is called reconstituted Israel. In it is found continuity with the old.”⁷²

According to John Donahue, disputes about Luke’s pericope (Luke 22:14-23) abound.⁷³ Textual evidence appears in a “short form” and a “long form” with vv. 19b-20 comprising the difference. Manuscript evidence indicates they should be included in the pericope.⁷⁴ Luke’s account is different from those of Matthew and Mark and may have circulated orally as a separate tradition or come from special Lucan material. These differences have raised questions about “Jesus’ original wording at the meal” and a search for the earlier tradition. For Joachim Jeremias the earliest is Luke; for others it is Mark; the argumentation is complex and clear evidence is lacking.⁷⁵ Clearly, the accounts complement one another as they tell of the significance of the Last Supper; “the base of the accounts is fundamentally similar, with Jesus’ sacrificial* role clearly present. The differences reflect alternative ways to summarize and emphasize the event’s implications.”⁷⁶

Some exegetes hold that the pericope focusses on Jesus’ service rather than the

⁷¹ Darrell L. Bock points not only to Acts but also to the rejection of Jesus spelled out in Luke 9–13; 22–23 as evidence for the rejection of the Lucan community. Johnson, *Luke*, 3; Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 794; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50* (vol. 1 of *Luke*; Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), 15.

⁷² Karris, “Luke,” 676.

⁷³ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 398.

⁷⁴ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 148–50.

⁷⁵ Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1716–17; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 189–91.

⁷⁶ Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1717.

sacrificial aspect of his death or the Paschal Lamb imagery;⁷⁷ for others, the focus is not the words of institution (vv. 19b-20) but the fact that the meal is Jesus' last supper with his disciples, the last in a series of shared meals, at which time God's promises are fulfilled*; still others see in it an exhortation for Luke's audience.⁷⁸

This pericope in Luke appears to have been drawn from Mark,⁷⁹ 1 Cor,⁸⁰ and special Lucan material which had been circulating orally.⁸¹ Recalling that Luke generally did not move text around but kept sections in the order Mark had employed,⁸² the deviations in this pericope contain another passion account parallel to those of Mark/Matthew and John.⁸³ It appears that the cultic expression of the Institution Narrative, as seen in 1 Cor 11:23-26, was placed in a Passover* setting as the writers were forming the passion narrative.⁸⁴

The structure of the pericope bespeaks its origin as two separate traditions: one eschatological and one eucharistic. Verse 14 introduces the pericope, vv. 15-18 present the eschatological* dimension, vv. 19-20 present the eucharistic* dimension, and vv. 21-23 tell of the coming betrayal*.⁸⁵ The Lucan redaction presents words about not eating and not drinking ordinary food and drink* followed by the eucharistic words over the bread and over the wine.⁸⁶ The pericope is a farewell meal for Jesus and his disciples with no developed sacramentalism but where Jesus reinterprets* the farewell for his disciples.

⁷⁷ Arthur Vööbus, "A New Approach to the Problem of the Shorter and Longer Text in Luke," *New Testament Studies* 15 (July 1969): 462.

⁷⁸ Robert J. Karris, *Luke: Artist and Theologian; Luke's Passion Account As Literature* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 65.

⁷⁹ Karris, "Luke," 675.

⁸⁰ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 78-79.

⁸¹ Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53*, 1716; Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 807.

⁸² Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 807-8.

⁸³ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 98-99.

⁸⁴ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 801; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 98.

⁸⁵ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 98-100.

⁸⁶ Meier, *Marginal Jew: Roots*, 397-98.

Luke also emphasises that betrayal is possible even by those present at the Lord's table. The fact of the two origins of this pericope explains the lack of connection between the portions and helps avoid the problem of assigning primacy to one or the other portion.⁸⁷ Luke sets up two parallel blocks of text which have arisen from different sources: vv. 15-18 (the "first cup") from Luke's special source, and vv 19-20 (the Institution Narrative itself) from the community's liturgical tradition. In the shift from ordinary drink to the eucharistic elements*, several key language changes take place: "from δεξάμενος (v. 17) to λαβών (v. 20), from the indefinite ποτήριον (v. 17) to τό ποτήριον (v. 20) and from the double εἶπεν (vv. 15, 17) to the double λέγων (vv. 19, 20)."⁸⁸

Verses 19-20 should be considered authentic, against the evidence which would omit vv. 19b-20.⁸⁹ Exegetes are divided as to the significance of the non-Lucan style within vv. 19b-20; do these differences help in the determination of the original Lucan text?⁹⁰ Kobus Petzer identifies eleven features within the disputed text which seem to point to a non-Lucan origin⁹¹ but then identifies other non-Lucan features in the undisputed Lucan text of vv. 17-19a,⁹² before concluding that Luke retained much of the language of his sources when crafting his Institution Narrative. While keeping in mind the fact that Luke retained the styles of his sources, further investigation of the other Institution Narrative passages, leads one to the conclusion that these verses cannot be attributed to a later scribe on the basis of non-Lucan style alone and that they may legitimately be attributed to Luke himself. This study investigated two aspects:

⁸⁷ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 793–94, 807–8.

⁸⁸ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 99–100.

⁸⁹ Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 78–79.

⁹⁰ Kobus Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:19b-20)," *New Testament Studies* 37, no. 1 (January 1991): 114.

⁹¹ Features: 1) ὑπὲρ ὄμων; 2) ἐμός; 3) ἀνάμνησις; 4) ποτήριον; 5) ὡσαύτως; 6) μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι; 7) δεῖπνέω; 8) omission of the copula; 9) καινός; 10) διαθήκη; 11) ἔκχεω. Petzer, "Style and Text," 115–21.

⁹² Features: δέχομαι; 2) ποτήριον; 3) εὐχαριστέω; 4) γένημα; 5) ἄμπελος. Petzer, "Style and Text," 121–22.

grammatical and literary, with grammatical differences suggesting that the verses are of non-Lucan origin, and the literary aspect indicating the insignificance of the grammatical differences. Kobus Petzer warns that the literary aspect is very complex due to the difficulties inherent in investigating the style of an author.⁹³

John Meier favours the originality of the longer text on the basis of P⁷⁵. He considers that Luke is using 1 Cor 11:23-26 and Mark, as well as changes which may have originated either in Luke himself or in the liturgical practice of his community.⁹⁴ According to Hyam Maccoby, Joachim Jeremias reversed his original view when he acknowledged that the Long Text is earlier than the Short Text. Luke intertwines the apocalyptic elements (vv. 15, 18) and the eucharistic elements* (vv. 19b, 20).⁹⁵

2.3.1. Luke 22:14-23

Luke shows his wide-ranging background through his use of rhetoric and several Greek literary techniques; he demonstrates his knowledge of Torah through many references and allusions; and he uses many parables to connect the history of Israel to the story of Jesus and the developing church. His interconnected narrative continues the ancient biblical story of God and his people.⁹⁶ His comfort with the traditions shows in the variety of Greek styles he employs; particular to this pericope are the Greek literary forms of symposium and farewell discourse.⁹⁷

⁹³ Petzer, "Style and Text," 122, 126–29.

⁹⁴ John P. Meier, "The Eucharist at the Last Supper: Did It Happen?" *Theology Digest* 42, no. 4 (1995): 343.

⁹⁵ Maccoby, "Paul and the Eucharist," 255.

⁹⁶ Johnson, *Luke*, 3.

⁹⁷ Karris, "Luke," 676; Johnson, *Luke*, 225. "The symposium was developed into a loosely structured literary form used to frame table conversation, dialogues, discourses, and other short literary forms." Only Luke and John used this literary form in their writing. We see this form in five instances in Luke one of which includes the the proto-eucharistic pericope (Luke 22:14-38), and in John, in the Last Supper account (John 13–16). David E. Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 454.

In v. 14, Luke uses ἀπόστολοι rather than “the Twelve” which may indicate he is following his Lucan source or may signal his wish to avoid a reference to the Twelve which would include Judas.⁹⁸

Verse 15 contains a number of features which may be particularly Lucan: first, ἐπιθομίᾳ is a dative use strengthening the verb following the use of Hebrew infinitive absolute, which is also found in the LXX; second, while the interest is in the meal, rather than the Paschal lamb, the point in the meal at which the words of institution were used is unknown; third, having a meal as the object of φαγεῖν; fourth, Jesus knew this was his last meal with his disciples, and so he spoke of being μεθ’ ὁμῶν and referred to the πάσχῳ to alert them to his coming suffering*; and, finally, he uses the phrase πρὸ τοῦ.⁹⁹

Verse 16 parallels v. 18 (and Mark 14:25) with its eschatological emphasis. Verses 17-18 parallel the first part and the description of the institution of the Lord’s Supper. While it might be preferable to see in the shared cup, a sharing in the blessing Jesus gave, it must be understood that the “blessing” was a prayer of thanks* to God for all his gifts and the very act of drinking together unites the participants* in table fellowship.¹⁰⁰

According to I. Howard Marshall, most exegetes maintain that the phrase in v. 19, “this is my body,” is not possible in Aramaic; however, Schürmann disagrees. The climactic nature of v. 20 has Jesus facing a “martyrological” death rather than a “sacrificial” one. Luke here gives a eucharistic* sense to the “second” cup in marked contrast to the focus of the first.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 795; Meier, *Marginal Jew: Companions and Competitors*, 136.

⁹⁹ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 795.

¹⁰⁰ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 796–99; Pierson Parker, “Three Variant Readings in Luke-Acts,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (June 1964): 166.

¹⁰¹ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 803; Pierson Parker, “Three Variant Readings in Luke-Acts,” 167, 170.

In v. 21, while continuing to speak to the apostles, Jesus abruptly warns them of the betrayer. His words, πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ, which are also found in the LXX, may be another Lucan form. As well, the wording in Mark 14:25, αὐτὸν λέγω ὑμῖν, may be earlier than Luke's.¹⁰²

Jesus is aware of his destiny and knows his betrayer is with them at the table. Luke introduces this section (a Lucan redaction of Mark 14:17-18a) dramatically [πλὴν ἰδοὺ] to catch the attention of his audience by changing Mark's future tense to the present. Verse 22 presents a more gentle Jesus in contrast to Mark's account (14:21b). Luke may have the more original order or may have been following his special source.¹⁰³

In conclusion, this section has shown that in Luke, Judas is present for the eucharistic portion of the meal, only being singled out afterwards. Through this, Luke may have been exhorting his community to self-examination: taking part in the Eucharist does not exempt anyone from failure. Luke has moved this betrayal from the particularity of Judas to the universal. In every age, believers are capable of lapsing, of betraying the faith.¹⁰⁴

2.4. Matthew

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the last of the Institution Narratives to be considered is that of Matthew. While the Gospel of Matthew takes first place in the New Testament due to its content and its prestige in the early church,¹⁰⁵ it is discussed last here because of the minor differences in its proto-eucharistic pericope. The gospel

¹⁰² Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 808–9.

¹⁰³ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 795, 809; Vööbus, “New Approach,” 459.

¹⁰⁴ Vööbus, “New Approach,” 459; Karris, *Luke: Artist and Theologian*, 67.

¹⁰⁵ The early church considered it to bear the name of one of the apostles and held its content in high regard, for example the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus' three-fold prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, Judas's suicide. His work contains the most quotes of the Hebrew Scriptures and focuses on the fulfilment of many prophecies in the life and work of Jesus. Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 2–3; Benedict T. Viviano, “The Gospel According to Matthew,” in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; ed. Raymond E. Brown, et al.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 630.

itself does not give any authorial information; it is anonymous but information is still available to give some indications about the author. Likely, he was an early Christian teacher and leader who had been raised a faithful Jew. He may have been a rabbi and catechist. He is familiar with Jewish Scripture and his teachings appear to be in line with later Jewish writings such as the Mishnah and the Talmud. Some scholars assert he was not adverse to the use of Midrash. He gave no explanation about Jewish celebrations or dietary and purity laws. He demonstrates concern for Jewish issues with his genealogy beginning with the Father in faith, Abraham and Jesus being sent to the “lost sheep of Israel.” He distances himself from official Judaism with critiques of “their” scribes (7:29) and “their” synagogues (9:25). His gospel presents the strongest case for a continuity between the past in Judaism and the future in following Jesus.¹⁰⁶

The Gospel of Matthew appears to have been based on Mark with material from Q as well as special Matthean material.¹⁰⁷ The fact it was known by Ignatius of Antioch places its writing in the latter half of the 80s.¹⁰⁸ Given the use of Jewish rhetoric and the lack of explanations of Jewish themes, Matthew’s community must have been mostly Jewish Christians, likely in Syria or Palestine, with its Jewish population and predominant use of Greek.¹⁰⁹ There may have been some community conflict over their continuation of Jewish customs which could explain Matthew’s focus on the relationship between Jesus and the Torah and on Jesus, rather than the Scribes and Pharisees, as the proper interpreter of the Torah.¹¹⁰ Matthew follows Mark with changes to show Jesus in control and giving orders, changes which may reveal the liturgy of the Matthean community. According to Daniel Harrington, the Johannine chronology is more likely

¹⁰⁶ Harrington, *Matthew*, 8–9; Morris, *Matthew*, 2–3; Viviano, “Matthew,” 630–31.

¹⁰⁷ Harrington, *Matthew*, 1, 2, 5, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Viviano, “Matthew,” 631.

¹⁰⁹ Harrington, *Matthew*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Harrington, *Matthew*, 8.

than that of the Synoptics whose choice may demonstrate the wish by early Christians to have a closer link between the Last Supper and Passover. Matthew's community continued to celebrate Jewish festivals; by keeping a close link between those festivals and their developing celebration of the Eucharist, they were able to continue celebrating the themes of Passover anywhere and anytime.¹¹¹

The Matthean changes to Mark's text seem to have a liturgical origin and several purposes for these changes have been proposed: Mark was attempting to show that the Jewish-Christian context best preserved their Jewish tradition; he was teaching his community and exhorting them by providing material for liturgies and for sermons; he was addressing outsiders who were open to the teachings of the community; he was addressing outsiders hostile to the community; or he was simply writing a story.¹¹²

2.4.1. *Matt 26:26-30*

With this general information about the gospel, we now look more closely at the proto-eucharistic pericope itself. The canonical text of Matthew is Greek; his Greek, with evidence of Hebrew idioms and expressions, appears to have attempted to improve the Greek of his sources.¹¹³ Exegetical work on this pericope tends to focus on the link to Mark's account outlining the redactive changes he made. In this section, only the features unique to Matthew will be discussed.

In v. 26, Matthew makes a stronger connection between Jesus and his words and actions that follow by mentioning Jesus by name. Matthew also says that Jesus had given the bread to "the disciples" and then places a command to eat (φάγετε) on Jesus' lips. Exegetes posit that this command reveals the community bringing the text into line with

¹¹¹ Harrington, *Matthew*, 369–71.

¹¹² Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 78–79; Harrington, *Matthew*, 17; Viviano, "Matthew," 631–32.

¹¹³ Harrington, *Matthew*, 3–4.

their liturgical practice.¹¹⁴

Verse 27 presents another imperative spoken by Jesus, this time to drink (πίετε). This introduces symmetry to the event which, again, may reflect the liturgical practice. It also presents Jesus in control of the events.¹¹⁵ Verse 28 contains a significant contribution to the Institution Narratives as Matthew states the purpose of the shedding of the blood*: εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Matthew has an emphasis on Jesus' power to forgive sins throughout his gospel; all evoke the Suffering Servant Song of Isa 52:13–53:12 and this instance is the climax of these references.¹¹⁶

In v. 29, first Jesus states he will not drink ἅπ' ἄρτι, thereby strengthening the focus on his coming passion*; secondly, Jesus promises that the next time he drinks it will be μεθ' ὑμῶν and this sharing will take place in the kingdom τοῦ πατρὸς μου. Again, these changes make the events of the Last Supper more personal.¹¹⁷

In conclusion, most exegetes understand Matthew to be a redaction of Mark through the liturgical experience of his community; they see “prayers for cultic recitation over bread and cup, more or less along the lines familiar from later liturgies.”¹¹⁸ However, Leon Morris warns “that we have no knowledge of any Christian liturgies as early as this writing”¹¹⁹ for comparison.

2.5. John

Following our procedure with the first four of the proto-eucharistic pericopes, we will look at John's account in the Bread of Life discourse with an initial discussion of matters concerning the whole Gospel of John. In discussing the Gospel of John (for its overall structure see Appendix VIII: Structure of the Gospel of John), we first recall that

¹¹⁴ Harrington, *Matthew*, 367.

¹¹⁵ Harrington, *Matthew*, 367–8.

¹¹⁶ Others are found at Matt 1:21; 5:23-24; 6:12, 14, 15; 9:6; 18:21-35. Harrington, *Matthew*, 368.

¹¹⁷ Harrington, *Matthew*, 368.

¹¹⁸ McGowan, “Early Interpretive Communities,” 74.

¹¹⁹ Morris, *Matthew*, 658.

Irenaeus asserted the existence of a four-gospel canon by the late second century. He recognised the extensive use of John's gospel by gnostic heretics but held that its place in the canon was certain.¹²⁰

Raymond E. Brown identifies three stages in the development of John's gospel: Stage 1, its origin in the public ministry of Jesus of Nazareth; Stage 2, the community's proclamation of Jesus in their post-resurrectional context; and Stage 3, the writing of the gospel, a stage which involved both the original writer and a redactor. While there is evidence of redactional activity within the gospel, that additional material is not necessarily more recent than what was originally included because this redactor used material from the first two stages of development, which the original writer had not included in his account. Raymond E. Brown posits that most likely the redactor was a fellow disciple with the evangelist and a member of the Johannine School as a follower of the Beloved Disciple.¹²¹

The writer of the Fourth Gospel chose to remain anonymous and, according to modern scholars, his identity is still not known with certainty.¹²² According to Francis J. Moloney others suggest the founder of the Johannine community who may have been a disciple of Jesus but was neither a son of Zebedee nor one of the Twelve.¹²³ According to Stephen K. Ray, many names have been suggested, among them: Lazarus, Paul, Matthias, John Mark, a presbyter named John, or even the community of John writing in John's name. He concludes that internal evidence shows that "the author is clearly a Palestinian Jew, fully acquainted with life in Israel before the destruction of Jerusalem. He writes as

¹²⁰ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11. Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary Volume 1* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003), 141.

¹²¹ Raymond E. Brown avoids Bultmann's terminology "Ecclesiastical Redactor" because the redactor has not "corrected" the text. Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 64–78, 82–83.

¹²² Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Gospel of John* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2; Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (vol. 4 of *Sacra Pagina*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 7.

¹²³ Moloney, *John*, 7.

an eyewitness, with amazing detail, a point that even some Jewish historians have admitted. The writer obviously had an intimate place among Jesus' followers."¹²⁴ The internal evidence includes references to "the disciple" and to "one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved" (for example, John 13:23) which, from their contexts, allows an assumption that they refer to the Apostle John, the Son of Zebedee. Although an eyewitness, it may be posited that he does not use his name and only infrequently quotes himself out of modesty.¹²⁵ Francis J. Moloney concludes from the internal evidence in John 21:24 that the writer of the gospel is "the Beloved Disciple," he who leaned on Jesus' breast at the Last Supper (13:23); stood at the foot of the cross (19:25-27); and saw the clothes in the empty tomb and believed (20:3-10).¹²⁶

For external evidence about the author of the Fourth Gospel, Irenaeus (among early writers) states, "John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon his breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia."¹²⁷ Eusebius (ca. 260–ca. 340) states that John wrote his gospel after Mark and Luke wrote theirs; he quotes Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–ca. 215) to say that John composed a spiritual gospel; and he preserved the writing of Polycrates (from the second century) who states that John was a presbyter and was buried at Ephesus.¹²⁸ Stephen K. Ray concurs with this patristic evidence and states that church history and tradition have maintained this information.¹²⁹ Craig S. Keener, using external evidence, concludes that John the son of Zebedee wrote the substance of the Fourth Gospel.¹³⁰ Andreas J. Köstenberger,

¹²⁴ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 29.

¹²⁵ In John 13:25, "So, lying thus, close to the breast of Jesus, he said to him, 'Lord, who is it?'" 21:7, "That disciple whom Jesus loves said to Peter, 'It is the Lord!' . . ."; and 21:20, "Peter turned as saw following them the disciple whom Jesus loved, who had lain close to his breast at the supper and had said, 'Lord, who is it that is going to betray you?'" Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 29.

¹²⁶ Moloney, *John*, 6.

¹²⁷ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 29; Moloney, *John*, 6–7.

¹²⁸ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3, 1, 1 as quoted in Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 30.

¹²⁹ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 29.

¹³⁰ Keener, *Gospel of John*, 139.

combining internal and external evidence, agrees that “the author is an apostle, one of the Twelve, John, the son of Zebedee, and is associated with Peter. John lived to a ‘ripe old age’ and his was the last Gospel to be written. He wrote in Ephesus for the universal church not just for his community.”¹³¹

Other modern scholars do not concur with the patristic evidence but posit various answers for the question of authorship. Richard Bauckham holds that the author was a disciple with a uniquely close relationship with Jesus; indeed, he is the ideal witness to Jesus and his mission. The gospel he crafted is a structured narrative which leads the reader to a level of trust of what he says in spite of the fact he may have been an obscure, relatively unknown disciple.¹³²

As to where John wrote his gospel, once again, modern scholarship has many answers to this question. Early traditions posit the Gospel of John being written in Ephesus. However, internal evidence and the way the gospel was used in antiquity lead to other possibilities. This internal evidence includes the way John’s gospel differs from the Synoptics in its details of Jerusalem and Palestine, its understanding of Jewish feasts, its use of the LXX for Scripture quotes, its translation of basic Hebrew and Aramaic words into Greek, the fact that the Apostles are not mentioned, and that there is little evidence of any existing church structure. After presenting details of these and other factors (12 in all), Raymond E. Brown looks at the possible composition sites proposed by others: Alexandria, Antioch or Syria, Northern Transjordan, Ephesus. He concludes that the whole issue of place of composition is not important as the gospel itself appeals to

¹³¹ Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 6–8.

¹³² Richard Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple: Narrative, History, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 10–16. Bauckham states that a number of modern scholars (O. Cullmann, R. E. Brown, R. Schnackenburg, R. A. Culpepper, and B. Witherington (to name a few) hold that the Beloved Disciple was not one of the Twelve. Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 412, n. 1.

believers in a way which transcends place and time (see John 20:30-31). However, for him, Ephesus seems the most likely and is the only one of the proposed sites which has ancient attestation. The Johannine tradition most likely began in Jerusalem and Judea in the oral tradition surrounding Jesus' ministry, then went through an early written stage in a Greek-speaking area near Palestine, and had its final redaction in Ephesus.¹³³ Andreas J. Köstenberger and Stephen K. Ray concur with his conclusion that John wrote in Ephesus. Despite this, the author of John displays more intimate knowledge of the areas of Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Jerusalem, than do the synoptic writers (see John 2:20).¹³⁴

As to John's audience and his purpose in writing, he supplies some basic information in John 20:30-31.¹³⁵ At a time when the gnostic heresy was emerging and later flourished and, as mentioned above, made much use of the Gospel of John, exegetes posit that one of John's purposes was to refute such thought (that matter is evil and spirit is good) by presenting the Incarnation as contrary evidence. John also argued against the Judaizers, who insisted that Gentiles had to comply with Jewish law to become Christians.¹³⁶ Andreas J. Köstenberger believes that the addressees were primarily Jews of the Diaspora and new converts to Christianity. While John was encouraging his community and building their faith, the fact he translates Hebrew words and Jewish events (see, for example, John 4:9; 9:6-7; 19:31) shows that he was also writing for

¹³³ Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 199, 206.

¹³⁴ Köstenberger, *John*, 6–8; Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 29; Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 2.

¹³⁵ "Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name."

¹³⁶ Gnosticism is a term which "covers a number of religious and quasiphilosophical movements that developed in the religious pluralism of the Hellenistic world and flourished from the second to the fifth centuries A.D." Everett Ferguson, *A–K* (vol. 1 of *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*; 2d ed.; New York: Garland, 1997), 465. Also held by exegetes such as: Köstenberger, *John*, 8; Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 59, 62; Keener, *Gospel of John*, 141; Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 34–35; Peder Borgen, *An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 10; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 148–54, 189–90.

Gentiles.¹³⁷ In other words, John was writing in a context of conflict with Jewish authorities and was attempting to retain the community's Jewishness while opposing the leaders who rejected the message of Jesus. John wants his community to understand the continuity of their Jewish heritage alongside their commitment to Christ.¹³⁸

We now turn to the probable date of writing of the Gospel of John. As with the previous discussions about other aspects of the gospel, modern scholarship has still not settled this question with certainty. Given the many examples of John's references to traditions found in the Synoptic Gospels, in spite of the lack of absolute proof, most scholars agree that John, even if he did not use the gospels themselves, knew much of their Jesus tradition which would make his writing later than theirs. As to external evidence, many examples of attestations to the existence of John by the late second century have been found.¹³⁹ As well, archaeological evidence supports these writings: in 1935 in a remote town of Egypt a fragment of John's gospel dating to the first half of the second century was found (P⁵²). Many scholars prefer a date in the mid-nineties because the community separated from their synagogue a decade or two before that. Modern scholarship seems to have settled on 100-110 as the latest date for the composition of John. Raymond E. Brown concludes that his Stage 2 probably began about 90 and his Stage 3 no later than 110.¹⁴⁰

In summary, John wrote within a context of the early Christian Gentile mission in reaction to early gnosticism and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (70). John holds up the Incarnation in response to the gnostics and presents Jesus as the new temple (see

¹³⁷ Ray, *St. John's Gospel*, 34–35; Köstenberger, *John*, 6–8.

¹³⁸ Keener, *Gospel of John*, 232.

¹³⁹ For example: scenes in frescoes in Rome dated to the second and third centuries; Hippolytus quotes Basilides quoting John 1:9; Polycarp references John in his letter (*Phil.* 7.1); and Eusebius states that Irenaeus places John in Ephesus in the reign of Trajan (98-117). Keener, *Gospel of John*, 140–42.

¹⁴⁰ Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 2–5; Keener, *Gospel of John*, 140–42; Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 207–15.

John 2:18-22; cf. 1:14; 4:21-24) as well as the fulfillment of the symbolism of Jewish festivals (see John 5–12). These considerations place the writing after 70 and before 100. To narrow this range further, if Thomas’s proclamation “my Lord and my God” in John 26:28 is read as a reaction to calls to worship Domitian (81-96), the writing would have to have taken place after 81.¹⁴¹

2.5.1. John 6:51-59

In Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, we justified the use of a portion of the Bread of Life Discourse (John 6:51-59) as a proto-eucharistic text along with the Institution Narratives. Now we will investigate the way this pericope has been studied from a historical-critical approach. After some preliminary comments about the pericope, we will proceed verse-by-verse looking at the language used by John. As mentioned above, the structure of the Gospel of John is presented in Appendix VIII. As well, further details of the structure of John 6 are presented in another appendix (Appendix VI: Structure of John 6 and of the Bread of Life Discourse).

Throughout this pericope, John uses “flesh*” (vv. 51, 52, 63) and “flesh and blood” (vv. 53, 54, 55) to refer to “man as whole.” In Judaism, “flesh and blood” signifies the sphere of activity of people in contrast to the sphere of activity of God and his heavenly powers. When speaking of the spiritual sphere, John includes words such as God, Logos, the Son, the spirit, spiritual and divine re-birth, and life-giving power. This gives rise to a sharp distinction, but one without dualism, in John. Jesus becomes flesh*, meaning that the distinction between external and spiritual has been removed. For John, the Incarnation proved docetic spiritualists to be externalists who, like their Jewish externalist counterparts, rejected the Incarnate One as the only mediator between God and man. In the face of the threat by gnostic docetism felt by the Johannine church, John

¹⁴¹ Köstenberger, *John*, 8. See also Ray, *St. John’s Gospel*, 30–31.

follows a gnostic line of thought. John 6:31-33¹⁴² refers to this gnostic thought, to which he adds, “but the bread is Jesus.” For John, “flesh” and “flesh and blood” refer to Jesus as a historical being, the son of Joseph. This discourse is not a doctrinal instruction on what came to be known as the Eucharist; rather, it is John’s way of shedding light on the reality of the Incarnation using Jewish traditions including that of Torah and of wisdom. For John, eucharistic eating and drinking is about both the desert experiences of eating the manna and drinking the water as well as consuming the wisdom of God. This eucharistic eating and drinking unites* participants with the historical Jesus.¹⁴³

Verse 51 suggests an eschatological setting, common to the Synoptics, Paul’s writings, Hebrews, Jewish apocalyptic literature, and rabbinic writings. In this eschatological setting, tension exists between present realisation and future expectations. John presents a most radical transformation of the present bread in the external sphere, pointing to the bread of the past (the manna)* and to the present bread from heaven in the spiritual sphere. As discussed in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, vv. 51-59 present a midrashic interpretation of vv. 31-32. This midrash is interpreted on the basis of the present spiritual reality to which it points. The underlying theological principle is that external factors are to be used to point beyond themselves to the spiritual reality of the Son.¹⁴⁴

In v. 51 Jesus refers to himself as ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν (the living bread) as compared to ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (the bread of life) in vv. 35, 48. While Johannine literature uses both expressions, Jesus does not refer to himself as “the living water” in spite of the use of the

¹⁴² “Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, ‘He gave them bread from heaven to eat.’” Jesus then said to them, ‘Truly, truly, I say to you, it was not Moses who gave you the bread from heaven; my Father gives you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven, and gives life to the world.’”

¹⁴³ The Torah tradition includes concepts of giving life, and the theophonic vision of God; the wisdom tradition includes concepts of invitation, eating, drinking, and self-prediction. Borgen, *Concept of Manna*, 147–92.

¹⁴⁴ Borgen, *Concept of Manna*, 147–92.

phrases “living water” (John 4:10) and “water of life” (Rev 21:6; 22:1,17). There is something significant to this phrase, the bread of life. While in v. 51 “bread” may represent the manna in the desert for the literal-minded, or may be a metaphor for teaching, Jesus’ words, “I am the bread of life” remove any ambiguity and show an exclusive identity* between this bread and Jesus. As with the pattern of other “I am” statements in John’s gospel, something positive about Jesus (he is uniquely life-giving) is revealed along with something negative about something else (here, the manna is not life-giving in the same way).¹⁴⁵

The verb καταβάς (aorist) in v. 51 shows a change of tense from v. 50, καταβαίνων (present) which may or may not have any theological significance. The past tense emphasises the historicity of the Incarnation; this is no seemingly-physical Jesus. Suffice it to say that this “coming down,” in either tense, points to the Incarnation.¹⁴⁶

Jesus’ use of the verb φαγη causes a misunderstanding by the audience and leads them to question him (in v.52). However, v. 51 contains the use of the future tense δώσω which is not unanimous textually but is accepted due to the nine significant manuscripts in which it is found.¹⁴⁷ Jesus will be giving, simply, ὁ ἄρτος . . . ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. Here are key expressions tied to the Johannine celebration of the Eucharist*: the bread, flesh, I will give, and for the sake of. Along with this clear eucharistic interpretation is the fundamental issue of Jesus’ self-gift* for the life of the world, his gift of his flesh in the crucifixion*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 125; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (1–12)* (William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman, gen. eds.; vol. 29 of *The Anchor Bible*; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 282.

¹⁴⁶ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282.

¹⁴⁷ These texts are P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵, Vaticanus, Bezae, Old Latin, Vulgate, Sinaitic Syriac, Curetonian Syriac, and Sahidic. Moloney, *John*, 220.

¹⁴⁸ Moloney, *John*, 220.

There are textual differences (beyond that of δόσω) for this text. In v. 51 Sinaiticus has “for the life of the world” linked to the verb “to give” rather than this link to “flesh.” The resulting wording “give for the life of the world” may conform more closely to Luke 22:19 (my body which is given for you).¹⁴⁹

In verse 52, the word ἐμάχοντο,¹⁵⁰ continues the theme of grumbling from John 6:41 where the verb used is γογγύζω,¹⁵¹ which is used in the LXX of Exod 16:7-8 along with a compound of this verb, διαγογγύζω.¹⁵² The grumbling and arguing against Moses and God continues in Exod 17:2 and Num 20:3 (using the verb λοιδορέω,¹⁵³) and in Num 11:4 (using the verb ἐπιθυμέω).¹⁵⁴ This shows that among the many choices of words meaning grumbling, v. 52 includes the verb which would remind the audience of the Exodus experience*.

The use of the murmuring and arguing verbs in close proximity (vv. 41, 52) echoes the murmuring of the Jews in the desert followed by their arguing among themselves in Exodus 16. This murmuring and arguing amounts to rebellion against God. This recalling of the Exodus event helps in the understanding of the link with the manna and the transition to the eucharistic section of the discourse which follows. For Paul, the manna and water from the rock are types* of the two eucharistic gifts (1 Cor 10:3-4). The hearers’ misunderstanding springs from their materialistic interpretation of the words which often occurs in John, and he exploits this confusion to reveal their unbelief.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282.

¹⁵⁰ From μάχομαι meaning, “to engage in heated dispute, without use of weapons, fight, quarrel, dispute.” Danker, *BDAG*, 623.

¹⁵¹ Meaning “to express oneself in low tones of disapprobation, grumble, murmur.” Danker, *BDAG*, 204.

¹⁵² Meaning, “complain, grumble.” Danker, *BDAG*, 227.

¹⁵³ Meaning “revile, abuse.” Danker, *BDAG*, 602.

¹⁵⁴ Meaning, “to have a strong desire to do or secure someth., *desire, long for.*” Danker, *BDAG*, 371. Moloney, *John*, 224; Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282; Köstenberger, *John*, 215.

¹⁵⁵ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 60.

As well, v. 52 contains the pronouns οὗτος (“he,” or literally “this one”), likely said contemptuously as in v. 42¹⁵⁶ and [αὐτοῦ] (“his”), which is retained in this project in the light of textual evidence both for and against its inclusion.¹⁵⁷

Overall, the question in v. 52 is likely posed to highlight the meaninglessness of Jesus’ words to the hearers; it also leads him to explain how he is the fulfilment of the gift of manna during their ancestors’ wandering in the desert. The end result is a hardening of hearts toward Jesus (as will be seen in the individual verse treatment). Jesus’ reply speaks concretely of eating and drinking with words that point to the eucharistic* elements, which are to be consumed in the same way bread and wine are consumed at any meal: truly chewed and drunk*.¹⁵⁸

In vv. 53-65, John has Jesus expand what he said in v. 51b about his flesh; here he includes the expression, “flesh and blood.” The argument is structured with each verse following the same pattern: first, a mention of eating flesh and drinking blood and secondly, a mention of the necessity of this eating and drinking for salvation*, to have eternal life, and to remain in Jesus. This focus on the necessity of eating and drinking may come as a caution for members of the Johannine community who are reacting to persecution. This section contains two stages of teaching about the eucharistic gifts: flesh and blood, real food and real drink, give life (vv. 53-55) and they bring lasting union*, eternal life, with Jesus (vv. 56-57).¹⁵⁹

In v. 53, the use of Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν gives a solemn authority to Jesus’ words. It is the third such introduction to an explanation given because of interruptions by a

¹⁵⁶ “They said, ‘Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How does he now say, ‘I have come down from heaven?’”

¹⁵⁷ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282; Köstenberger, *John*, 215.

¹⁵⁸ Köstenberger, *John*, 216; Moloney, *John*, 220; Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 127.

¹⁵⁹ Pheme Perkins, “The Gospel According to John,” in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown, et al.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 962; Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 60–61.

misunderstanding audience. As well, it acts as a signal to the reader that the answer is unfolding in a staged manner with both negative and positive explanations to Jesus' claim.¹⁶⁰ Jesus uses ἐὰν μὴ and, as in other Johannine “unless” statements, the message is about transforming oneself and belonging*.¹⁶¹

The eucharistic formula used by the Johannine community is likely represented by the parallel sayings using σάρξ rather than the σῶμα of the Institution Narratives. The use of σάρξ rather than the σῶμα is attested in Ignatius of Antioch (as seen in Chapter 1). Their formula likely also had a “for, on behalf of” clause which is seen in this pericope at v. 51b “for the life of the world.*”¹⁶²

It is important to keep in mind that the combination of the terms flesh and blood in v. 53 represents a Hebrew idiom meaning the whole person. The bread and flesh references recall the manna* in the desert; and the blood reference points to the blood of the covenant* which Moses cast upon the people (Exod 24:8). These themes may point to the Johannine eucharistic formula similar to that of the Institution Narratives: “my blood of the covenant” (Matthew, Mark) or ‘the new covenant in my blood’ (Luke, Paul)¹⁶³

Also in v. 53 Jesus refers to himself in the third person with the title, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. While this is the only such third person self-reference in this section, it is not unusual in Son of Man passages in general. For some exegetes this also rules out any sacramental understanding. Jesus is speaking of his “flesh and blood” which refers to his

¹⁶⁰ Moloney, *John*, 224; Köstenberger, *John*, 216.

¹⁶¹ “Jesus answered him, ‘Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ . . . Jesus answered, ‘Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God’” (John 3:3, 5); “I told you that you would die in your sins, for you will die in your sins unless you believe in me” (John 8:24); “Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit” (John 12:24); “Peter said to him, ‘You shall never wash my feet.’ Jesus answered him, ‘If [ἐὰν μὴ] I do not wash you, you have no part in me’” (John 13:8); “Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit by itself, unless it abides in the vine, neither can you, unless you abide in me” (John 15:4). Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 128.

¹⁶² Perkins, “John,” 962; Moloney, *John*, 207.

¹⁶³ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282.

whole person (Hebrew idiom; also in Matt 16:17; 1 Cor 15:50; Gal 1:16; Eph 6:12; Heb 2:14).¹⁶⁴ As noted in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, this pericope carries sacramental tones.

In summary, Jesus is reacting strongly to the arguing; he does not soften his stance in the face of objections. As outlined in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, there can be no doubt that John is making reference to what is presently called the Eucharist. His point may be to address the rejection of the Eucharist by a gnostic or docetic group in his community. John is calling them not to deny the Incarnation and Jesus' death on the cross (flesh and blood)*. John's use of the title "Son of Man" is not accidental. The eucharistic meal is real, but receiving the Eucharist is not about receiving the flesh and blood of the historical Jesus but about receiving the spiritual flesh and blood of the Son of Man.¹⁶⁵

In v. 54 the verb τρῶγω ("to crunch; to eat, . . . to take food, partake of a meal"¹⁶⁶) appears as it does in three other verses in this pericope (vv. 56, 57, 58). This use, in contrast to the φάγητε of v. 53, raises various options: John may have been highlighting the physical aspect of eating in order to ensure that there was no minimalising of the necessity to eat the eucharistic food; he may have been differentiating the symbolic eating of heavenly bread (v. 51b) from this real sacramental eating (v. 53); he may have been repeating the verb used in v. 52; or he may have been using the verbs interchangeably. John uses ἐσθίω and its aorist forms (such as φάγητε) throughout his gospel while τρῶγω is found only in John 6: 54-58 and 13:18. That these verses are found within eucharistic pericopes points to John's deliberate use of the verb which underscores the necessity of physical eating of the eucharistic* bread. John may have been highlighting this physical

¹⁶⁴ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 282–83; Köstenberger, *John*, 216.

¹⁶⁵ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 61.

¹⁶⁶ Mounce, *Analytical Lexicon*, 456.

necessity in the face of docetic groups within his community. John reveals a dependence upon the Semitic understanding of the soul with the fulfilment of life involving bodily resurrection against the gnostics who deny the resurrection of the body.¹⁶⁷ As well, in v. 54 is another phrase which is consistent with John's understanding of death and resurrection and which may have been employed against the docetists: *κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*.¹⁶⁸

In v. 55, Francis J. Moloney maintains that the adjective *ἀληθής* ("true"¹⁶⁹) which appears twice (once with flesh and once with blood) should actually be the adverb *ἀληθῶς* ("truly"¹⁷⁰ or as he translates it "indeed"). Raymond E. Brown agrees that the adverb of the Western tradition more accurately captures Jesus' insistence that eating his flesh and drinking his blood have genuine value.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, this verse brings to mind the discussion in vv. 27 and 32¹⁷² about spiritual food and drink*. John is making links between Jesus and the fulfillment* of the Old Testament feeding in the desert. In the Bread of Life Discourse, Jesus does not soften the teaching; he does not say the disciples have misunderstood; rather, he states, "My flesh is real food, my blood is real drink." Aidan Nichols sees in this the Johannine community's doctrine of the real presence*. A general textual rule of thumb is that the more difficult reading must be preferred. In this case, the adjectival reading is the more difficult one. John is highlighting that this

¹⁶⁷ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 62; Moloney, *John*, 224. The context of John 13:18 is the Last Supper and John inserts *τῶν* into a citation of Ps 41:10. Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283.

¹⁶⁸ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283; Moloney, *John*, 225.

¹⁶⁹ Mounce, *Analytical Lexicon*, 62.

¹⁷⁰ Mounce, *Analytical Lexicon*, 62.

¹⁷¹ In this, Francis J. Moloney is following these mss: Sinaiticus, Bezae, Koridethi, Athos, Old Latin, Vulgate, Sinaitic Syriac, Curetonian Syriac, and the Peshitta. Moloney, *John*, 225; Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283.

¹⁷² "Do not labour for the food which perishes, but for the food which endures to eternal life, which the Son of man will give to you; for on him has God the Father set his seal" (v. 27) and "Jesus then said to them, 'Truly, truly, I say to you, it was not Moses who gave you the bread from heaven; my Father gives you the true bread from heaven'" (v. 32).

eucharistic food and drink are truly what food and drink should be; next comes the promise of eternal life*.¹⁷³

In v. 56, the promise, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ, is given to those who eat and drink. This “remain” or “abide” is not referring to a physical space but to membership* with Jesus who gives eternal life (v. 54).¹⁷⁴ As well, it points to John 15:3-7¹⁷⁵ which is another pericope containing a likely eucharistic symbol, in this case that of the vine.¹⁷⁶

The effect of mutual indwelling arises from the fact that receiving the Eucharist brings about an intimate connection* with Jesus. In v. 56 a participial phrase identical to that in v. 54 states that the one who partakes remains in Jesus and Jesus remains in the partaker. As will be seen in v. 57, this association with Jesus brings the partaker into the sphere of God’s life. It is the eucharistic* participation which brings this personal union* which is key to our eternal life. This immanence formula contains points of contact with the Pauline formulas of “through Christ” and “in Christ.”¹⁷⁷

In v. 57 the two strands (flesh and blood, eating and drinking) become more personal¹⁷⁸ and include the phrase ὁ ζῶν πατήρ, which is a New Testament *hapax legomenon*.¹⁷⁹ It may have been used as a reminder of the ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν of v. 51. The Father-Son relationship is now being extended to include the participant in the Eucharist*. The language in this verse also points toward John’s Last Supper Discourse

¹⁷³ Köstenberger, *John*, 216; Nichols, *Holy Eucharist*, 14–15; Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 63; Perkins, “John,” 962.

¹⁷⁴ Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 128.

¹⁷⁵ “You are already made clean by the word which I have spoken to you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit by itself, unless it abides in the vine, neither can you, unless you abide in me. I am the vine, you are the branches. He who abides in me, and I in him, he it is that bears much fruit, for apart from me you can do nothing.”

¹⁷⁶ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283; Köstenberger, *John*, 216.

¹⁷⁷ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 63; Perkins, “John,” 962.

¹⁷⁸ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 60–1.

¹⁷⁹ From Greek, ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, “something said only once.”

(in particular to John 14:20-21 and 17:21a). The verse is all about life: Jesus has life “because of the Father” and the partaker has life because of Jesus.¹⁸⁰

While Francis J. Moloney points out that the preposition διὰ followed by the accusative case may have a meaning of “through, by means of” rather than “because of,”¹⁸¹ this differentiation does not change the overall theme of life.¹⁸² Furthermore, Andreas Köstenberger may be overanalysing when he states that John’s use of the personal pronoun με rather than the more direct “my flesh and my blood” makes this pericope at best secondarily sacramental.¹⁸³ As we have seen in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, the pericope is eucharistic.

In v. 57 the focus returns to “eating” (“drinking” appeared for the last time in v. 56) thereby forming an inclusion with the beginning of this pericope.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, the circle is complete: God sends his Son into the world for our salvation; through the Son, man obtains life by communication with the Son in faith (vv. 29, 35, 40, 47) and in the Eucharist (vv. 53-54).¹⁸⁵

Verse 58 begins with the phrase οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος which, although it lacks an antecedent, clearly refers to Jesus’ flesh. Here the same wording as in v. 50 is encountered, although this verse has no purpose clause. The discourse proper concludes

¹⁸⁰ “In that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you. He who has my commandments and keeps them, he it is who loves me; and he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him” (John 14:20-21); “that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us” (John 17:21a). Perkins, “John,” 962–3. While “the living Father” only appears here, “the living God” appears in both the Old and New Testaments. Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283; Köstenberger, *John*, 216.

¹⁸¹ Moloney, *John*, 225.

¹⁸² διὰ “w. acc. of pers. and freq. as expr. of favorable divine action.” Danker, *BDAG*, 226.

¹⁸³ Köstenberger, *John*, 216–17.

¹⁸⁴ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283–84.

¹⁸⁵ “Jesus answered them, ‘This is the work of God, that you believe in him whom he has sent.’” (v. 29); “Jesus said to them, ‘I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst.’” (v. 35); “For this is the will of my Father, that every one who sees the Son and believes in him should have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.” (v. 40); “Truly, truly I say to you, he who believes has eternal life.” (v. 47) Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 64.

at v. 58 with a stark contrast reminding the hearers of those who ate and died.¹⁸⁶ Once again, an inclusion brings the Exodus account of the feeding in the desert* to mind; now the knowledge* that Jesus is the true bread is known. In v. 49, Jesus referred to “your” fathers; here he says “the” fathers.¹⁸⁷

Verse 58 continues with the phrase, ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, which some consider sapiential rather than sacramental. However, the language in this pericope links the themes of belief* and eternal life* in close connection with the eucharistic* celebration of the Johannine community. Verse 58 wraps up the Johannine eucharistic discourse per se.¹⁸⁸

In this project, the Johannine proto-eucharistic pericope ends at v. 59 which contains the location of the teaching: the synagogue in Capernaum.¹⁸⁹ Other New Testament evidence tells of such teaching taking place at synagogues. That the word συναγωγή is used anarthrously may point to a wish to downplay the specificity of Capernaum as the location of the discourse. The fact that it also occurs at a synagogue may be John’s way of presenting Jesus’ teaching as one “which presupposes, fulfills[*], and transcends the OT.”¹⁹⁰

In conclusion, according to John Koenig, W. Wilkens posits that John has shifted Jesus’ words over the bread and wine from the Last Supper Account to the Bread of Life Discourse in chapter 6 in order to spread the theme of the Jewish Passover throughout his gospel.¹⁹¹ However, Raymond E. Brown disagrees, asserting “it is quite likely that

¹⁸⁶ Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 284; Perkins, “John,” 963.

¹⁸⁷ “Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died” (v. 49). Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 284.

¹⁸⁸ Moloney, *John*, 225; Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 64–65.

¹⁸⁹ Perkins, “John,” 963 For example, John 18:19-20; cf. Matt 13:54; Mark 1:21; 6:2; Luke 4:15; 6:6. Köstenberger, *John*, 217.

¹⁹⁰ Schnackenburg, *Commentary: Chapters 5–12*, 65.

¹⁹¹ John Koenig, *The Feast of the World’s Redemption: Eucharistic Origins and Christian Mission* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press, 2000), 195.

Passover was already mentioned in [chapters] 2 and 6, and that the redactor was simply shifting material from one Passover feast in Jesus' life to another."¹⁹²

3. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have dealt with each of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes in a very structured manner. There appear to be two different traditions giving rise to the four Institution Narrative pericopes: a eucharistic tradition (Mark 14:22-24; Luke 22: 19-20; 1 Cor 11:23-26) and a final-meal tradition (Luke 22:15-18; Mark 14:25).¹⁹³ As seen in detail in the section on Luke's Institution Narrative (above), there is debate over the redaction of Jesus' words over the bread and the cup.¹⁹⁴ The four accounts each link the Eucharist with a supper meal and Jesus' death. Paul alone places the meal "on the night when he was betrayed" while the others tell of Jesus' actual betrayal in the following text. Paul's letters do not have a Passion narrative and he does not state that the meal shared was a Passover meal.¹⁹⁵ The four accounts are similar with the treatment of the bread: the action is take, thank, (Matthew and Mark add a blessing,) break, and state an interpretation. Matthew, Mark, and Luke add the giving to those with him. Jesus invites all his disciples "to relate the bread to Jesus' death that is on their behalf. . . invites them into communion with one another in a remembering community, the church."¹⁹⁶ As seen above, the Johannine Eucharist is presented in the proto-eucharistic portion of the Bread of Life Discourse in John 6. John does not present an "Institution" of the Eucharist but he does state that believers must eat Jesus' flesh and drink his blood to have eternal life.

John Donahue warns two possible dangers arising from the centrality of the Eucharist to Christians: a tendency to conflate the various pericopes and the possibility of

¹⁹² Raymond E. Brown, *Introduction to John*, 85.

¹⁹³ Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53*, 1716.

¹⁹⁴ Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373.

¹⁹⁵ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430.

¹⁹⁶ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430.

over-exaggeration of the real presence. However, he also points out that “Vatican II provided an excellent guideline for proper interpretation by speaking of the ‘twofold table of the Lord’s Word and of the Supper.’”¹⁹⁷ Evident in the four accounts is the pre-existence of a liturgical form which still, in New Testament times, has variety. Mark and Matthew (which is dependent on Mark) are the shortest; Paul adds “which is for you” (v. 24) Luke adds “given” (v. 19). Mark and Matthew have no command to repeat (as do Paul and Luke).¹⁹⁸ As seen above, John focusses on the link between Jesus’ flesh and blood and the food and drink that believers must consume in order to have eternal life. Jesus gives this gift of eternal life as he is the Son of Man who has come down from heaven.

We have completed a structured historical-critical analysis of each of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes by investigating general information about the book in which each pericope is found (four in gospels, one in a letter) prior to looking at information about the pericope and details about each verse. We have discussed briefly the development of the texts as far as Jesus’ words, instructions, and actions. The data as uncovered in this chapter forms the input for analysis through the lenses of the canonical approach as outlined in Chapter 3. With the required data at hand, we now proceed to the key components of the canonical approach.

¹⁹⁷ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 400.

¹⁹⁸ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 425.

Chapter 5

A Canonical Reading of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes

1. INTRODUCTION

Thus far we have reviewed early church writings about the Eucharist and early church writers' use of the proto-eucharistic pericopes (Chapter 1); have developed a rationale for categorising the many eucharistic-allusive pericopes in the New Testament in order to identify the five proto-eucharistic pericopes (Chapter 2); explained the canonical approach, identified it as a suitable tool for exploring the five proto-eucharistic pericopes, and outlined how it will be utilised here (Chapter 3); and explored the five proto-eucharistic pericopes using historical-critical exegesis and identified the six themes uncovered in our survey of the work done to date (Chapter 4). We are now prepared to continue the study by taking a canonical stance before these five pericopes. As outlined in Chapter 3, the five pericopes will be read under the three frameworks known as the "canonical content," the "canonical context," and the "canonical conversation." The final step (canonical conversation) reveals the early church's theology of the Eucharist as given through the biblical texts.

We begin with the canonical content in which we will look at each of the pericopes while keeping the other four within view. This will be done in order of the writing of the books within which the five proto-eucharistic pericopes are found. Various forms of a "Synoptic Exercise" are found in four Appendices below: Appendix IX: Comparison of Greek Texts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; Appendix X: Comparison of Greek Texts of Mark, Luke, and Paul; Appendix XI: Comparison of Greek Texts for Common Features of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul; and Appendix XII: Comparison of Greek Texts For Unique Features of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul.

Following this look at the inter-relationships of the pericopes, we will round out the canonical content step investigating changes in Jesus' words of institution and his instructions, and the changes to the eucharistic actions. These changes reveal three threads to the liturgical traditions in the early church.

Only after this detailed look at the five pericopes together will we be able to proceed with the canonical context and the canonical conversation.

2. CANONICAL CONTENT: THE FIVE PERICOPE INTERPRETED TOGETHER

In the following sub-section, each pericope will be discussed in the order of the assumed dating of the writing of the book in which it is found with general comments preceding more specific points. The reason for this approach stems from the belief that each author, redactor, and accepting community began with a meaningful text and then adapted it to meet the current needs of that community.

2.1. General Comments on Each of the Pericopes

The Institution Narrative as presented in Corinthians likely represents the formula known in Pauline churches and at Antioch;¹ however, Justin Martyr maintained that 1 Cor 11:23-26 “does not directly represent any one of the canonical traditions.”² The primitive nature of this text is evidenced by Paul's reminder that he has already told them how to celebrate the Lord's Supper³ as well as by the lack of a smooth balance between the actions described and the words spoken with the bread and wine. Jesus does not say “this is my blood” and while Paul gives details (εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν) for the bread (v. 24), he merely reports ὡσαύτως for the cup (v. 25). Balance does occur in Jesus' instructions: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (v. 24) and τοῦτο

¹ Meier, “Eucharist at the Last Supper,” 341.

² McGowan, “Early Interpretive Communities,” 80.

³ Maccoby, “Paul and the Eucharist,” 267.

ποιεῖτε, ὅσάκις ἔαν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (v. 25). Still, caution must be exercised, recognising that the community's shaping of their source material, which introduced balance to the pre-Pauline tradition was, most probably, liturgically driven; these may not be Jesus' exact words.⁴

Following this natural process to create balance through parallelism,⁵ we turn to Mark's presentation of the Institution Narrative from his community in Rome.⁶ While Mark is the earliest gospel version of the Institution Narrative, the fact that he typically edits texts for his Gentile audience serves as a reminder that the earliest gospel does not necessarily present the earliest text of a particular event.⁷ While the Twelve are not given instruction to drink, the text states that they drank. Mark has introduced balance in the actions described with the bread and the cup (λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς (v. 22) and λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς (v. 23). The lack of instruction to repeat these actions and words indicate this part may be more primitive than 1 Cor 11:23-26. So, it is evident that in some areas the earlier formula appears in Paul's account while in other areas it appears in that of Mark.⁸

The journey of development continues with the most complex of the Institution Narrative pericopes, that of Luke, for which discussions abound. While much of Luke's gospel is taken from Mark, the Institution Narrative appears to be dependent on the Pauline form. Scholars do not all agree on the possibility that Luke had available 1 Cor 11:23-26; some hold that he knew the liturgical rite because he belonged to a Pauline church, while others maintain that he used the letter in crafting his Institution

⁴ Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 340; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 427; Peter Henrici, "Do This in Remembrance of Me": The Sacrifice of Christ and the Sacrifice of the Faithful," *Communio* 14 (Summer 1985): 146.

⁵ Barry D. Smith, "The More Original Form of the Words of Institution," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 83, no. 3-4 (1992): 177.

⁶ Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 341.

⁷ Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 374.

⁸ Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 341.

Narrative.⁹ The comparison of the three texts in Appendix X: Comparison of Greek Texts of Mark, Luke, and Paul demonstrates that the latter position is more tenable (i.e., that Luke had before him Paul's letter as he composed his gospel). For John P. Meier, Luke "represents the most advanced and mixed stage in the tradition, with a basically Pauline tradition being meshed with elements from Mark, Luke's liturgical tradition, and Luke's own redaction."¹⁰ Luke balanced Mark's simple account by having Jesus talk of ordinary eating and drinking (vv. 15-18) before the eucharistic words (vv. 19-20).¹¹ Both Luke and Paul make this event personal through their assertion that Jesus' actions are not for Mark's general πολλῶν (which can only be general, standing on its own), but for the very personal ὁμῶν.¹² Luke adds the warning of the apostles' coming separation from Jesus (vv. 16, 18) while stressing (more so than either of Matthew or Mark) that their ongoing communion with Jesus springs from their sharing in the cup, the new covenant in his blood.¹³

I. Howard Marshall states that H. Schürmann, suggests Mark is indebted to the tradition in Luke. This conclusion arises from his view that Mark's use of the word λαμβάνω is liturgical terminology which Luke would have been unlikely to drop.

I. Howard Marshall, posits that Luke appears to predate 1 Corinthians because Luke's wording goes beyond that of Mark: both Paul and Luke report that Jesus' body is τὸ ὑπέρ

⁹ Representing those who believe Luke did not read 1 Cor 11:23-26: Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 342; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430; John T. Pless, "Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies for the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: A Survey of the Literature," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 48, no. 2-3 (1984): 206. Representing those who maintain that Luke had the text: Pierre Benoit, "Eucharist," in *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (trans. Arthur F. McGovern; ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour; Boston: Pauline Books & Media, 1988), 145-49.

¹⁰ Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 343.

¹¹ Meier, *Marginal Jew: Roots*, 397-98.

¹² Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 801.

¹³ Jozef Verheyden, "Documenta Q: The Reconstruction of Q 22, 28-30," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 76, no. 4 (2000): 414.

ὄμῳν (1 Cor 11:24; Luke 22:19) to which Luke adds, διδόμενον.¹⁴

Some scholars see Luke's Institution Narrative not as evidence of an independent tradition specific to Luke, but as a development from Mark's account which Luke extensively reworked.¹⁵ On the side of independent development of the Institution Narrative pericopes is scholar Hyam Maccoby, who posits that Luke has added a eucharistic theme to an existing apocalyptic narrative, leading to a narrative which is strained as opposed to the smoother accounts found in Mark and Matthew.¹⁶

The final Institution Narrative pericope to be discussed is that of Matthew, which is accepted as secondary to Mark. It appears that he has made his typical redactive changes to Mark. In a clear effort to bring about greater symmetry to the two parts of the eucharistic liturgy, Matthew's Jesus parallels the words said with the bread and those said over the cup. These changes also give more weight to Jesus' authority and indicate the existence of a liturgical rite (vv. 26, 27). While Mark connects the forgiveness of sins with John's baptism, Matthew connects it more directly to the Eucharist by adding to Jesus' words over the cup: ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (v. 28) to show that this forgiveness is brought about by consuming (in the Eucharist) Christ's blood which was shed for the faithful.¹⁷

The final proto-eucharistic pericope is verses 51-59 of John's Bread of Life discourse (John 6:22-59). John has made no attempt to present an Institution Narrative. Rather, he presents a narrative which in its first and last verses mentions bread and flesh alone. The remainder of the references to flesh are paralleled with references to blood (vv. 53, 54, 55, 56). This eating of Jesus' flesh and drinking of his blood brings about

¹⁴ Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 797, 803.

¹⁵ For Maccoby, it is the overlap and doubling in Luke's account which reveals the attempt at refining the narrative. Meier, *Marginal Jew: Roots*, 397-98.

¹⁶ Maccoby, "Paul and the Eucharist," 255.

¹⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430; Pless, "Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies," 206; Meier, "Eucharist at the Last Supper," 342; Viviano, "Matthew," 670.

eternal life and being raised on the last day: ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸ τῆ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (v. 54). John also reiterates that Jesus' flesh and blood are true food and drink (v. 55).

Having made these general observations about each of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes, we now turn to an investigation of the changes in the accounts. First, we look at the changes to Jesus' words of institution and to his instructions.

2.2. Investigating Changes in Jesus' Words of Institution and Instructions

Investigating the changes in the words of institution and in Jesus' instructions for repetition reveals that: Mark and Matthew have the shortest words while Paul (v. 24) and Luke (v. 19) add ὑπὲρ ὕμῶν, to which Luke adds a further διδόμενον;¹⁸ Paul and Luke have the closest reported words, as is evidenced by Luke further modifying a text which had already seen liturgical development.¹⁹ As for the command to repeat Jesus' words and actions: Mark and Matthew have no such instruction;²⁰ Paul's account gives instructions for both the bread and the cup while Luke's has the instruction only with the bread.²¹ The question of why Luke omitted the instruction for the cup remains unanswered. There is, however, a difference in the purpose of the instruction: Paul's account indicates that Jesus is to be remembered in the future while Luke's indicates that the rite is to be repeated in the future.²²

In John, who does not present an Institution Narrative, Jesus' words are “ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν

¹⁸ Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 568.

¹⁹ Murphy-O'Connor, “First Corinthians,” 809.

²⁰ This command is absent from Mark because “by the time his gospel was written this would have been taken for granted on the basis of regular liturgical experience.” France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 567.

²¹ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 425; Henrici, “Sacrifice of Christ,” 146.

²² I. Howard Marshall states that Schürmann holds the original instruction was as in Luke and that Paul added the instruction for the cup due to a liturgical interest in parallelism. Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 804.

ἑαυτοῖς” (v. 53) along with a promise of eternal life. These words concerning the necessity of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man appear to be John’s way of accomplishing what the Institution Narratives did through Jesus’ direct instructions to his disciples along with the descriptions of Jesus’ actions.

Having looked at the changes to Jesus’ words of institution and instructions in the five accounts, we now look at the changes in the eucharistic actions in the five accounts.

2.3. Investigating Changes in the Eucharistic Actions

As for the eucharistic actions: all four Institution Narrative accounts have: take, thank (bless in Mark, Matthew), break, and an “interpretive word” for the bread. Jesus’ act of giving to them does not occur in Paul. Jesus’ interpretive word invites all, those present as well as future disciples, “to relate the bread to Jesus’ death that is on their behalf. It conveys oneness in Christ (cf. [1 Cor]10:17) and invites them into communion with one another in a remembering community, the church. The cup provides a share in the new covenant.”²³ John’s account, which is not an Institution Narrative, contains an interpretive word as well: it is only ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ (v. 56).

2.4. Three Threads of Liturgical Traditions

Having looked at the changes in Jesus’ words of institution and instruction along with the changes in the eucharistic action, it is evident that three liturgical traditions are found within the five proto-eucharistic pericopes: Mark/Matthew, Paul/John, and Luke. While all four Institution Narratives involve a supper at the time of Jesus’ death, only Paul states it was that very night. Paul has not set his Institution Narrative in a Passion narrative, in fact he neither tells of Jesus being handed over nor presents any Passion narrative.²⁴

²³ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430; Henrici, “Sacrifice of Christ,” 147.

²⁴ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 430; Pless, “Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies,” 206.

The variations between the four Institution Narrative texts are minor, other than the command to repeat the Eucharist (omitted by Mark/Matthew; its presence in Paul and Luke bespeaks its early origins).²⁵ Each of the Institution Narrative pericopes appears to be a liturgical tradition; together they offer valuable insights into the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the early church.²⁶ The final proto-eucharistic pericope, that of John, reveals that the Johannine community followed the liturgical tradition of Paul. John's use of "flesh" rather than the "body" of the Institution Narratives represents a different translation of the Aramaic word used by Jesus.²⁷

Several avenues of development took place with the proto-eucharistic pericopes. To begin with, Paul wrote his letter to remind the Corinthians how the Lord instituted the celebration at the Last Supper in order to correct their liturgical celebrations of the Lord's Supper; Mark simply describes the Last Supper event; John gives a balanced presentation of the community's liturgical celebrations with parallel references to the flesh and the blood in the Bread of Life Discourse; and Luke combines the eucharistic institution with explicit instructions from Jesus to continue the rite.²⁸

The most simple developmental thread is the thread from Mark to Matthew. Matthew takes Mark's account and gives it more elegant and more liturgical Greek. Matthew's theological emphasis is revealed in the language he employs to demonstrate: 1) that it is Jesus' blood which is being shed expressly for the forgiveness of sins, ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (v. 28); 2) that it is Jesus himself who will drink with them in the kingdom, μεθ' ὑμῶν (v. 29) and τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς μου (v. 29); and 3) that Jesus has primacy in Matthew's mind when he explicitly names Jesus first

²⁵ Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians is earlier than any of the Gospel accounts of the institution of the Eucharist. Benoit, "Eucharist," 146.

²⁶ Benoit, "Eucharist," 145.

²⁷ Peder Borgen, "John and the Synoptics: Can Paul Offer Help?" in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 86.

²⁸ Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 104–5; Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 804.

(v. 26) and has Jesus give the words of instruction himself (vv. 26, 27). Matthew has also made Mark's reference to the kingdom more personal by changing it to τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός μου (v. 29).

A more complex developmental thread occurred when Luke combined Paul and Mark to present a final-meal tradition and a eucharistic narrative in one event. Luke also uses more elegant Greek than does Mark and he sets a more solemn tone at the beginning of the pericope with Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα (v. 15). Luke also gives Jesus primacy by mentioning him prior to mentioning the apostles (v. 14), provides a liturgically balanced account with the thanksgiving over both the bread and the cup (vv. 17, 19), and adds an explanation that the action is τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (vv. 19, 20). Luke also reveals his concern for the coming of the kingdom οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ (v. 18) against Mark's focus on the kingdom as a place in which he will drink, ἐν τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 25), and Paul's more personal ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ (v. 26). John not only keeps the focus on the necessity for each person to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man in order to have eternal life (within his Bread of Life discourse), but also presents a richer testamentary discourse at the Last Supper in later chapters.

As mentioned in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, scholars speculate as to the silence of John's community on the institution of the Eucharist in the Last Supper account. However, the Johannine proto-eucharistic pericope presents evidence that the Johannine community understood the importance of the celebration of the Eucharist in much the same way as the communities who presented the institution of the Eucharist in the context of the Last Supper.²⁹

As has been demonstrated above, each of these developments added meaning, but not arbitrarily; rather, meanings changed within the boundaries of the text and the

²⁹ Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (vol. 4 of *Sacra Pagina*; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 207, 220.

community appropriating the text.³⁰

2.5. Canonical Content Conclusion

In our theology of the Eucharist we need to keep all five of the proto-eucharistic pericopes in mind as not one of them provides a complete picture. Appendix XII: Comparison of Greek Texts for Unique and Common Features of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul shows the unique features of each of the Institution Narrative pericopes along with the elements which are found in the four Institution Narrative accounts.³¹ The four-fold eucharistic action, “take, bless, break, and give,” is seen in Mark, Luke, and Matthew, but is missing in Paul. The presentation of the event ranges from a simple recounting of the Last Supper with no instruction to repeat the action (Mark and Matthew) to a variously balanced, liturgical celebration which is to be repeated (bread only in Luke, both bread and cup in Paul). Jesus’ interpretive words change from the impersonal πολλῶν in Mark to a more personal ὑμῶν in Paul and Luke. Matthew keeps the πολλῶν but mentions the further purpose: ἐκχουνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Matthew emphasises the communal aspect of the meal and that it is Christ’s shedding of his blood which gives forgiveness of sins to participants. By sharing in the cup within the community his forgiveness is available to participants.

The eucharistic nature of the celebration is present in all accounts but is emphasised in Luke. Luke also stresses the apocalyptic nature of the celebration with Jesus’ words about separation from the disciples, a separation which they may mitigate in community through sharing τὸ ποτήριον ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου. Jesus’ authority is underscored by Matthew and Luke while Luke alone states that, not only is Jesus’ offering a personal one, but also that Jesus knowingly includes his betrayer in the

³⁰ McGowan, “Early Interpretive Communities,” 76.

³¹ Because John’s proto-eucharistic pericope is not an Institution Narrative, it is not presented with the other four proto-eucharistic pericopes in the “Synoptic Exercise” charts.

Last Supper. As mentioned above, John's proto-eucharistic pericope, through its language which is similar to the Institution Narratives of the Synoptic Gospels, provides evidence of the importance of the Eucharist to the community.

As mentioned, John's gospel does not present an Institution Narrative but in the Bread of Life discourse he reveals that the Johannine community understood the Eucharist and its importance to them. In his presentation, John uses different words to indicate that the Incarnate Word of God is present in the living bread, his flesh. The community members are called to participate by eating this flesh and drinking his blood.

Having explored the first of the three canonical approach frameworks (the canonical content) in which we see each in relationship with the others, we now turn to the second framework (the canonical context) as we move outward in our canonical exploration of the proto-eucharistic pericopes.

3. CANONICAL CONTEXT: THE PERICOPE IN LIGHT OF OTHER SCRIPTURAL TEXTS

Keeping in mind the details uncovered in the first framework, the canonical content, this section of the project examines other Scriptural passages which are linked in some way to one or more of the proto-eucharistic pericopes. This link involves the setting, theme(s), or specific words or patterns of words used by each writer. We will discuss these links in three sections: first, we begin with observations about the links of each pericope to verses outside the pericope but within the book in which it is found; secondly, we will investigate the links from any of the proto-eucharistic pericopes to New Testament texts outside of the book in which it is located; and thirdly (and finally) we will look at the Old Testament roots apparent in these five texts. Because this project involves the use of the canonical approach in which we interpret texts within the canon, the first section will be ordered by the canonical order of the books (then chapter and verse) which contain the five proto-eucharistic pericopes. In the second and third

sections, the observations will be ordered primarily by the six themes identified in Chapter 1: Status Quæstionis: The Eucharist in the New Testament and presented in table form in Appendix II: Themes Apparent in Relevant Texts.³² Within these themes the observations will be explored in book, chapter, and verse in the canonical order for the New Testament and book, chapter, and verse as found in the *Septuaginta* edited by Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart³³ for the Old Testament.

3.1. Each Proto-eucharistic Pericope Within its Book

As stated above, this section will examine the links between each proto-eucharistic pericope and other verses within its canonical book.³⁴ We will discuss these links in the order in which the books appear in the canon of Scripture followed by the chapter and verse for the link. The reason for this switch to the canonical order is the conviction that the text's environment (where it is placed, as well as what comes before and after it), influences the interpretation of the text.

3.1.1. Matthew 26:26-30

Matthew's proto-eucharistic pericope is found at Matt 26:26-30 with v. 28 containing the pinnacle reference in Matthew's gospel to the theme of forgiveness*. This theme is woven throughout his gospel, specifically at: Matt 1:21; 5:23-24; 6:12, 14, 15;

³² As a reminder, the six themes are: 1) body and blood, elements change, food and spiritual nourishment; 2) sacrificial aspect; 3) thanksgiving (Eucharist); 4) ecclesial aspect, union with Christ; 5) knowledge; 6) typology. Within each theme, the links will be discussed in canonical order of the reference. Where something links to more than one other verse in the book, the observation will be made at the first reference and include all other instances.

³³ All citations will be taken from Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta* (Altera ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006) unless otherwise indicated.

³⁴ These links represent a compilation of material from many sources: for Matthew, Harrington, *Matthew*, 367–68; and Viviano, "Matthew," 670. For Mark: Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 395–97; and Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373–76. For Luke: Karris, "Luke," 715–16; and Johnson, *Luke*, 336–40. For John: Moloney, *John*, 223–25; Perkins, "John," 962–63 and Köstenberger, *John*, 215–17. For Paul: David E. Garland, *I Corinthians* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 544–48; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 431–34; and Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153

9:6; and 18:21-23.³⁵ In Matthew's gospel, the Emmanuel prophecy* (v. 29) appears at Matt 1:23 and is alluded to with the promises of Jesus' abiding presence in Matt 18:20; and 28:20.³⁶ This is of particular importance as Matthew has written his gospel with an inclusion of the Emmanuel prophecy as an overarching theme.³⁷ As with all the proto-eucharistic pericopes, Matthew's "take, bless, break, give"* language evokes the earlier feeding miracle pericopes found at Matt 14:13-21 and Matt 15:32-39. Links are obvious between any meal in the gospel and the Last Supper which is the culmination of all meals; not only did he eat with his disciples, he also ate with sinners as is evident in the story of the meal with tax-collectors and sinners just after Matthew responds to Jesus' call (the meal located in Matt 9:9-13).³⁸ Similarities in the wording of Matt 26:21 and Matt

³⁵ “τέξεται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν” “She will bear a son and you are to name him Jesus, because he will save the people from their sins” Matt 1:21; “ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κἀκεῖ μνησθῆς ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σου, ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ὑπάγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ τότε ἔλθὼν πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου” “Therefore, if you bring your gift to the altar, and there recall that you brother has anything against you, leave your gift there on the altar, go first and be reconciled with your brother, and then come and offer your gift” Matt 5:23-24; references at Matt 6:12-15 concern the Our Father; “ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας - τότε λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Ἐγερθεὶς ἄρῃ τὸν σου τὴν κλίνην καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου” “But that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins”—he then said to the paralytic, ‘Rise, pick up your stretcher, and go home’” Matt 9:6; and references at Matt 18:21-23 are to the parable of the unforgiving servant. Harrington, *Matthew*, 368.

³⁶ “Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός” “Behold, the virgin shall be with child and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel, which means ‘God is with us’” Matt 1:23; “οὗ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν” “For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them” Matt 18:20; and “διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος” “And behold, I am with you always, until the end of the age” Matt 28:20.

³⁷ An “inclusion” is a literary device used to frame text by which an author underscores the importance of a particular theme. In this case there is a macro-inclusion of the form A-B-A' encompassing most of the Gospel of Matthew which demonstrates the importance of the fulfilment of the Emmanuel prophecy from the Old Testament in the person of Jesus and his ministry as reported by Matthew. Thus Matthew shows the continuity with their Jewish past. Aune, *Dictionary of NT and Early Christian Literature*, 229. Viviano, “Matthew,” 670.

³⁸ Viviano, “Matthew,” 670.

26:26³⁹ demonstrate that vv. 21-29 were originally two separate stories which have been placed side by side in the canon. The first pericope tells of the betrayer's presence at the meal and this would remain in the hearers' minds as the story moves to the institution of the Eucharist at that same meal.⁴⁰ More will be said about the placement of the information on the betrayal in a separate section later.

3.1.2. *Mark 14:22-26*

We now turn to Mark's proto-eucharistic pericope (Mark 14:22-26) to investigate links from verses within the pericope to the rest of Mark's gospel. The Marcan themes of the coming of the kingdom of God* and Mark's eschatological* view (that the kingdom is both already here and, at the same time, not quite here) are spread throughout his gospel. The Marcan theme of the coming of the kingdom of God* first appears in Mark 1:14-15,⁴¹ where Jesus proclaims the nearness of God's kingdom, and its last mention is in the proto-eucharistic pericope at v. 25. The fact that Mark has used an inclusion with this pair of verses indicates the importance of the theme of the coming of the kingdom of God. As well, the ideas of repentance* and of fasting* link to Mark 1:14-15 (above); and Mark 2:19-20.⁴² As with all the proto-eucharistic pericopes, Mark's account evokes his

³⁹ “καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν, Ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με” “And while they were eating, he said, ‘Amen, I say to you, one of you will betray me’” Matt 26:21; in comparison to “Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου” “While they were eating, Jesus took bread, said the blessing, broke it, and giving it to his disciples said, ‘Take and eat; this is my body’” Matt 26:26.

⁴⁰ Harrington, *Matthew*, 367.

⁴¹ “Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λέγων ὅτι Πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ” “After John had been arrested, Jesus came to Galilee proclaiming the gospel of God: ‘This is the time of fulfillment. The kingdom of God is at hand. Repent, and believe in the gospel’” Mark 1:14-15.

⁴² “καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν νηστεύειν; ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ’ αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν. ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ” “Jesus answered them, ‘Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast. But the days will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast on that day’” Mark 2:19-20.

earlier feeding miracle pericopes (Mark 6:34-44 and 8:1-9) which share the “taking, giving thanks, breaking, and giving”^{*} language of the proto-eucharistic pericopes. That the Son of Man came to give his life^{*} for the ransom of many (v. 24) evokes Mark 10:45.⁴³ Mark’s proto-eucharistic pericope begins with a solemn tone which was already set in Mark 14:18.⁴⁴ Furthermore, comparing the tone of v. 18 with v. 22 demonstrates that Mark was using two separate pericopes: Mark 14:18-21 and 14:22-25.⁴⁵ In Mark 14:23, “and gave it to them” repeats, with the cup, the action spoken of in v. 22 which may remind the hearer of the self-giving^{*} of Jesus in death and of the betrayer’s action^{*} and the consequences which arose.⁴⁶ According to Mark, ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες (14:23); the word πάντες appears also in vv. 27, 31, and 50⁴⁷ meaning that the eucharistic table is one of grace bestowed upon the participants independent of their possible merits. Jesus’ final kingdom saying (v. 25) also points forward to Mark 15:2, 9,

⁴³ “καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν” “For the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many” Mark 10:45.

⁴⁴ “καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ’ ἐμοῦ” “And as they reclined at table and were eating, Jesus said, ‘Amen, I say to you, one of you will betray me, one who is eating with me’” Mark 14:18.

⁴⁵ Mark 14:18 above; “Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου” “While they were eating, he took bread, said the blessing, broke it, and gave it to them, and said, ‘Take it; this is my body’” Mark 14:22. This is the same observation as was made earlier for Matthew’s gospel with the linguistic similarities in Matt 26:21 and 26:26. Similarly, Mark’s proto-eucharistic pericope was determined to be Mark 14:22-26 as explained in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes. Harrington, *Matthew*, 367.

⁴⁶ “ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ δι’ οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος” “For the Son of Man indeed goes, as it is written of him, but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed. It would be better for that man if he had never been born” Mark 14:21. In this verse the verb παραδίδομι appears as a passive (παραδίδοται) which is sometimes referred to as the “divine passive” and is a cognate of the verb used in vv. 23, 24 (ἔδωκεν from δίδωμι).

⁴⁷ “Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε, ὅτι γέγραπται, Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται . . . ὁ δὲ ἐκπερισσῶς ἐλάλει, Ἐὰν δέη με συναποθανεῖν σοι, οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον . . . καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον πάντες” “Then Jesus said to them, ‘All of you will have your faith shaken, for it is written: ‘I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be dispersed.’ . . . But he vehemently replied, ‘Even though I should have to die with you, I will not deny you.’ And they all spoke similarly. . . . And they all left him and fled” Mark 14:27, 31, 50.

12, 18, and 26⁴⁸ which are proclamations that the crucified* Jesus is the king, as well as to Mark 15:43-46 where Joseph of Arimathea, who was waiting for the kingdom of God*, gives his new tomb for Jesus' body.⁴⁹

3.1.3. Luke 22:14-23

We now turn to the third canonical gospel, that of Luke. The term ἡ ὥρα is used in Luke's proto-eucharistic pericope (Luke 22:14-23) with the same solemnity as in other pericopes spread throughout his gospel.⁵⁰ The theme of fulfillment* to which Luke refers

⁴⁸ “καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Πιλάτος, Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγει, Σὺ λέγεις . . . ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγων, Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; . . . ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Τί οὖν [θέλετε] ποιήσω [δὲν λέγετε] τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; . . . καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. . . καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων” “Pilate questioned him, ‘Are you the king of the Jews?’ He said to him in reply, ‘You say so.’ . . . Pilate answered, ‘Do you want me to release to you the king of the Jews?’ . . . Pilate again said to them in reply, ‘Then what [do you want] me to do with [the man you call] the king of the Jews?’ . . . They began to salute him with, ‘Hail, King of the Jews!’ . . . The inscription of the charge against him read, ‘The King of the Jews.’” Mark 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26.

⁴⁹ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 395–99; Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 426.

⁵⁰ “καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἔξω τῆ ὥρα τοῦ θυμιάματος” “Then, when the whole assembly of the people was praying outside at the hour of the incense offering” Luke 1:10; “καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἀνωμολογεῖτο τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ” “And coming forward at that very time, she [Anna] gave thanks to God and spoke about the child to all who were awaiting the redemption of Jerusalem” Luke 2:38; “ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ θεράπευσεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ μαστίγων καὶ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ τυφλοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν” “At that time he cured many of their diseases, sufferings, and evil spirits; he also granted sight to many who were blind” Luke 7:21; “ Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠγαλλιάσατο [ἐν] τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου” “At that very moment he rejoiced [in] the holy Spirit and said, ‘I give you praise, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for although you have hidden these things from the wise and learned you have revealed them to the child-like. Yes, Father such has been your gracious will” Luke 10:21; “τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν . . . τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποία ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ ἂν ἀφήκεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. . . ἤξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει” “For the holy Spirit will teach you at that moment what you should say. . . . “Be sure of this: if the master of the house had known the hour when the thief was coming, he wouldnot have let his house be broken into. You also must be prepared, for at an hour you do not expect, the Son of Man will come. . . . then that servant’s master will come on an unexpected day and at an unknown hour and will punish him severely and assign him a place with the unfaithful” Luke 12:12,39-40,46; “ Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθάν τινες Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες αὐτῷ, Ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι Ἡρώδης θέλει σε ἀποκτεῖναι” “At that time some Pharisees came to him and said, ‘Go away, leave this area because Herod wants to kill you” Luke 13:31; “καθ’ ἡμέραν ὄντος μου μεθ’ ὑμῶν

(v. 16 of the proto-eucharistic pericope) appears throughout his gospel with different aspects: it occurs in the kingdom of God,⁵¹ may be at that kingdom's eschatological* banquet where one reclines at the table (Luke 13:29 and Luke 14:15-24⁵²) and the full liberation in the coming of Son of Man is revealed (Luke 21:28⁵³); and the celebratory nature of the early Christian communities' meals*, as exemplified in the meal on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:30-42). Luke's gospel features many meals and the Last Supper is the last one shared with the earthly Jesus. Many of Luke's meals provide a backdrop to the controversies which arise between Jesus and the Pharisees due to the Pharisaic belief that they alone had the right to speak of God's will for the community.⁵⁴ As well, Luke knows that controversies centring on the functioning of the community's leaders have

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὐκ ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' ἐμέ, ἀλλ' αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτοῦς” “Day after day I was with you in the temple area, and you did not seize me; but this is your hour, the time for the power of darkness” Luke 22:53.

⁵¹ “καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔση σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας γένηται ταῦτα, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου, οἵτινες πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν” “But now you will be speechless and unable to talk until the day these things take place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in their proper time” Luke 1:20; “ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι Σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν” “He said to them ‘Today this scripture passage is fulfilled in your hearing’” Luke 4:21; “ Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσηλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναούμ” “When he had finished all his words to the people, he entered Capernaum” Luke 7:1; “οἱ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἤμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ” “who appeared in glory and spoke of his exodus that he was going to accomplish in Jerusalem” Luke 9:31; and “καὶ πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν” “They will fall by the edge of the sword and be taken as captives to all the Gentiles; and Jerusalem will be trampled underfoot by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled” Luke 21:24.

⁵² “καὶ ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δουμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ” “And the people will come from the east and the west and from the north and the south and will recline at table in the kingdom of God” Luke 13:29; at Luke 14:15-24 is the Parable of the Great Feast.

⁵³ “ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν, διότι ἐγγίξει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν” “But when these signs begin to happen, stand erect and raise your heads because your redemption is at hand” Luke 21:28.

⁵⁴ Other meals occur at: Luke 5:27-32 with Jesus after the call of Levi, the tax-collector; Luke 7:36-50 at the Pharisee's house with the sinful woman who anoints Jesus; Luke 11:37-54 where Jesus denounces the Pharisees and Scholars of the Law; Luke 14:1-24 we see another meal at the house of a Pharisee with Jesus under careful scrutiny as he heals the man with dropsy; Luke 19:7 which tells of the Pharisees' objections to Jesus staying at Zacchaeus' house. Johnson, *Luke*, 337; Karris, “Luke,” 715.

arisen from this Last Supper meal.⁵⁵ The meal aspect also points to Luke 6:4 which speaks of David and his men eating the bread of offering.⁵⁶ Just as the other Last Supper accounts (through the “took, blessed, broke, gave” language)*, would resonate with the hearers, Luke’s feeding miracle (Luke 9:12-17) would also influence how they received later teaching.⁵⁷

According to Robert J. Karris, Jesus presents a re-interpretation of the Passover in two ways within Luke’s proto-eucharistic pericope: 1) in vv. 15-18 the focus is on the eschatological banquet*; and 2) in vv. 19-20 the focus is on the salvific* meaning of Jesus’ death.⁵⁸

3.1.4. John 6:51-59

We now turn to John’s proto-eucharistic pericope (John 6:51-59) in order to identify links from it to verses in John’s gospel outside of the pericope. The development of thought in John 6:31-59, follows lines suggested in the Prologue (John 1:1-18) which is likely based on a known christological hymn. This hymn celebrates the pre-existent Word and its creative force (vv. 1-5); the Word’s ongoing guidance of humans in spite of their frequent rejection of divine wisdom (vv. 9ab, 10-12); and the Word’s incarnation which allows humans participation in the divine life (vv. 14-16).⁵⁹ Similarly, John 6:31-59 contains themes of Torah, the theophany at Sinai, and wisdom: John takes eating and drinking from a physical to a spiritual reality* with the bread from heaven being given the

⁵⁵ Karris, “Luke,” 715–16.

⁵⁶ “[ὡς] εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως λαβὼν ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ, οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ἱερεῖς;” “[How] he [David] went into the house of God, took the bread of the offering, which only the priests could lawfully eat, ate of it, and shared it with his companions” Luke 6:4. This links the Last Supper also to Lev 24:5-9 which will be mentioned in the section on Old Testament links below.

⁵⁷ Johnson, *Luke*, 337–38.

⁵⁸ Karris, “Luke,” 715.

⁵⁹ Perkins, “John,” 951.

life-giving* function of Torah, and wisdom* features from the theophany at Sinai.⁶⁰

Jesus says, “Amen, amen, ...” a total of 25 times in John’s gospel with four instances occurring in chapter 6; these sayings are among the key claims of Jesus.⁶¹ These introductory words indicate that the audience is about to hear a highly-structured argument unfolding both positive and negative aspects of the issue at hand. In John 6 this introductory expression lends solemn authority to Jesus’ words as he addresses interruptions from his hearers who have misunderstood what he has just said.

The unusual expression, “the living Father” (John 6:56) reminds the hearer of the relationship between the Father and the Son: the Father sent his Son to give life (John 3:16-17); in the Eucharist, this life-giving relationship* is extended to include the participants. The one who eats this bread will live forever (v. 58), and stands in contrast to their ancestors who, having only manna* to eat, died.⁶² And, as with the other proto-eucharistic pericopes, John presents language evocative of the feeding miracle* which is found just before the Bread of Life discourse at John 6:1-15.⁶³

As noted earlier, in Chapter 2: Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, John 6:51-59 is a midrash on the verb ἐσθίω (found as ἔφαγον and φαγεῖν in John 6:31).⁶⁴ This flesh which they must eat is the flesh which satisfies as mentioned in

⁶⁰ Köstenberger, *John*, 216, 389; Moloney, *John*, 224; Peder Borgen, *An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 10; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 154–58.

⁶¹ Jesus uses “Amen, amen” in John 1:51; 3:3, 5, 11; 5:19, 24, 25; 6:26, 32, 47, 53; 8:34, 51, 58; 10:1, 7; 12:24; 13:16, 20, 21, 38; 14:12; 16:20, 23; and 21:18. Felix Just, ““Amen, amen” Sayings in the Fourth Gospel,” from <http://catholic-resources.org/John/Themes-Amen.htm>, accessed September 28, 2010.

⁶² “Οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ’ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα κρίνη τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ’ ἵνα σωθῆ ὁ κόσμος δι’ αὐτοῦ” “For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him might not perish but might have eternal life. For God did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him” John 3:16-17. Perkins, “John,” 962–63.

⁶³ Borgen, “John and the Synoptics,” 87.

⁶⁴ ἔφαγον is Aorist, Active, Indicative, 3pl; φαγεῖν is Aorist, Active, Infinitive. “οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν το μάννα ἔφαγον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον, Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν” “Our ancestors ate manna in the desert, as it is written: ‘He gave them bread from heaven to eat’”

John 6:35.⁶⁵ The midrash in vv. 51-59 shifts the symbolic meanings of eating and drinking to the concrete eating bread and drinking wine* in the eucharistic celebration which is necessary in order to have eternal life.⁶⁶ John uses the verb ἐσθίω and its forms such as φάγητε (John 6:53) throughout his gospel. However, he uses τρώγω only five times, always in the form ὁ τρώγων;⁶⁷ four of these five instances are within the proto-eucharistic pericope (vv. 54, 56, 57, 58); the fifth occurs at John 13:18.⁶⁸ While some exegetes point to the use of φάγητε in v. 53 (in the immediate context of ὁ τρώγων in vv. 54-58) to support their claim that the verbs are used interchangeably, it is more likely that John, in an attempt to combat docetic ideas about Jesus, switches verbs in the proto-eucharistic pericope to emphasise the realism* of the eucharistic elements. Furthermore, Jewish thought was familiar with the idea of absorbing the Law as one absorbs food. Both John 6:51-59 and John 13:1-20 (which recounts Jesus' washing the disciples' feet and contains his fifth use of ὁ τρώγων) have eucharistic backgrounds. We will speak more of John 13:18 below because in it John introduces an Old Testament quote.⁶⁹

The strong warning of John 6:53 along with the idea of Jesus remaining* with them (v. 56) anticipates the Farewell Discourses found in chapters 14–17, in particular to John 14:20-21⁷⁰ and John 17:21.⁷¹ The idea of remaining points as well to the image of

John 6:31.

⁶⁵ “εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς· ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ πώποτε” “Jesus said to them, ‘I am the bread of life; whoever comes to me will never hunger, and whoever believes in me will never thirst’” John 6:35.

⁶⁶ Perkins, “John,” 962.

⁶⁷ This form is the Present Active Participle Nominative Singular Masculine.

⁶⁸ “οὐ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν λέγω· ἐγὼ οἶδα τίννας ἐξελεξάμην· ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ. Ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπήρην ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ” “I am not speaking of all of you, I know those whom I have chosen. But so that the scripture might be fulfilled, ‘The one who ate my food has raised his heel against me’” John 13:18. This is at the Last Supper near the end of the pericope entitled “The Washing of the Disciples’ Feet.”

⁶⁹ Borgen, *Concept of Manna*, 93; Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283; Moloney, *John*, 224.

⁷⁰ “ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ μου καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν. ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τηρῶν αὐτάς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπῶν με· ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με

the branch remaining attached to the vine (John 15:1-11) in particular, vv. 4-5.⁷²

3.1.5. 1 Cor 11:23-26

We now turn to Paul's proto-eucharistic pericope at 1 Cor 11:23-26. In v. 24, Paul uses the word ὑπερ (v. 24) in a cultic way: Jesus' death is ὑπερ ὑμῶν thereby indicating, by the lack of further explanation, that the concept of the sacrificial* nature of Jesus' death pre-dates this letter. Paul makes similar use of the word at 1 Cor 1:13; 15:3.⁷³

Also appearing in v. 24, is the neuter demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο which refers to the actions of Jesus because the word ἄρτος requires a masculine pronoun. Immediately following, in v. 25, the neuter demonstrative pronoun is used again; in this case it may refer to the cup (ποτήριον) as the word is neuter but given the evident parallelism of the two verses, this also would refer to Jesus' actions, this time with the cup. This use of a neuter demonstrative pronoun referring to an action rather than an object also occurs at 1 Cor 6:6, 8; 7:37; and 9:16.⁷⁴ This application in two parallel uses suggests that the word

ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κἀγὼ ἀγαπήσω αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτὸν” “On that day you will realize that I am in my Father and you are in me and I in you. Whoever has my commandments and observes them is the one who loves me. And whoever loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and reveal myself to him” John 14:20-21.

⁷¹ “ἵνα πάντες ἕν ὧσιν, καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὧσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύῃ ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας” “I in them and you in me, that they may be brought to perfection as one, that the world may know that you sent me, and that you loved them even as you loved me” John 17:21.

⁷² “μείνατε ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν. καθὼς τὸ κλήμα οὐ δύναται καρπὸν φέρειν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐὰν μὴ μένη ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένητε. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα. ὁ μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ οὗτος φέρει καρπὸν πολύν, ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν” “Remain in me, as I remain in you. Just as a branch cannot bear fruit on its own unless it remains on the vine, so neither can you unless you remain in me” John 15:4-5. Perkins, “John,” 962.

⁷³ “μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;” “Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?” 1 Cor 1:13; “παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς” “For I handed on to you as of first importance what I also received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures” 1 Cor 15:3. Collins, *First Corinthians*, 425, 432.

⁷⁴ “ἀλλὰ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀπίστων; . . . ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ἀδελφούς” “But rather brother goes to court against brother, and that before unbelievers. . . . Instead, you inflict injustice and cheat, and this to brothers” 1 Cor 6:6,8. “ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν

refers to an action not to the matter in Jesus' hands. Other uses will be mentioned later to underscore further that Jesus' words here tell the hearers to do as he is doing: offer bread and wine which become his body and blood.

The actions of Jesus (he took, gave thanks, broke, and gave)* with the bread along with the sharing of blessing and the cup, remind the hearer of Paul's earlier exhortation to avoid idolatry and share meals, with the resulting sharing in the blessing as found at 1 Cor 10:16-17.⁷⁵ Finally, Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist functions as the pinnacle of the chiasmic structure found in chapters 11 through 14 of the letter. At 1 Cor 11:1-2,⁷⁶ Paul also brings to mind the call to live in imitation of Christ and the traditions* he is passing on to the Corinthians. These links to texts both preceding and following the proto-eucharistic pericope demonstrate that Paul has basic themes (the transformation of the elements, sacrifice, thanksgiving, ecclesial unity, and knowledge)* in mind which he weaves throughout all his letters.⁷⁷

ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐδραῖος μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ, τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει” “The one who stands firm in his resolve, however, who is not under compulsion but has power over his own will, and has made up his mind to keep his virgin, will be doing well” 1 Cor 7:37. “Ἐὰν γὰρ εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστιν μοι καύχημα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ μοι ἐπίκειται· οὐαὶ γὰρ μοί ἐστιν ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίσωμαι” “If I preach the gospel, this is no reason for me to boast, for an obligation has been imposed on me, and woe to me if I do not preach it!” 1 Cor 9:16 Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153, 153 n.28.

⁷⁵ “τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν; ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σώμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἔσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν” “The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? Because the loaf of bread is one, we, though many, are one body, for we all partake of the one loaf” 1 Cor 10:16-17.

⁷⁶ “μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ. Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε καὶ, καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε” “Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ. I praise you because you remember me in everything and hold fast to the traditions, just as I handed them on to you” 1 Cor 11:1-2.

⁷⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 425, 432; Murphy-O'Connor, “First Corinthians,” 810.

3.1.6. Information on the Betrayer

The information on the betrayer cannot be placed in just one section due to the different ways the information is presented. Matthew, Mark, and John each tell of the coming betrayal outside his proto-eucharistic pericope (meaning the information belongs in this section which looks at links between the proto-eucharistic pericope and other texts within the individual book). However, Paul and Luke each place the information about the betrayal within his proto-eucharistic pericope (meaning the information belongs in the sections above on the particulars for each pericope). In the interest of reading canonically, we will deal with the details about the betrayer in one place as there are links within the individual books as well as links to other New Testament Scriptures outside the individual books. There are also links to the Old Testament which will be mentioned briefly here but dealt with in the relevant section (3.3.5. In Light of Old Testament Scriptures: Ecclesial Aspect).

Paul does not present a Last Supper account in his writings; his proto-eucharistic pericope begins by setting the scene to that night when Jesus was handed over (1 Cor 11: 23). Luke's mention of the betrayer comes within his proto-eucharistic pericope, immediately after Jesus' words and actions of institution ("the hand of the one who is to betray me is with me on the table" Luke 22:22).

These five references to the betrayal paint a picture of disunity in the early communities (involving the ecclesial aspect theme). We will discuss the accounts in detail, beginning with the staging of the information and then looking at the differences in how the information is relayed and how it was heard by the participants.

Immediately before their Institution Narratives, Matthew and Mark set the stage for the Last Supper meal: it is evening, the group are reclining at table, and Jesus foretells the betrayer's actions (Matt 26:20-25; Mark 14:17-21). John also reveals the betrayer's presence at the Last Supper (John 13:21-30), just after Jesus' washing of the disciples'

feet. Luke often uses a meal setting for debates, discussions, and teachings. His Last Supper account is no exception: the disciples debate amongst themselves the identity of the betrayer. After the Passion narrative, on the road to Emmaus two disciples were discussing the all-important events of recent days (Luke 24:13-35).⁷⁸

We consider how the information of the betrayer is given to the participants, how they respond to the news, and the depth of problem this is to the betrayer. In all four accounts (Paul does not present a Last Supper account), Jesus announces the coming betrayal in the midst of this important meal. In Matthew and Mark, the announcement occurs before the words of institution of the Eucharist; in Luke's gospel, it occurs as part of the proto-eucharistic pericope, after the words of institution. John's proto-eucharistic pericope is found several chapters before the Last Supper account, so there is great separation between the discussion of the betrayer and the portion of John's gospel which reflects on the Eucharist.

In Matthew and Mark, the sorrowful disciples address Jesus in turn with the question, "Surely, it is not I?" and in Matthew, Judas is the last one to ask using a phrase which anticipates a negative answer. Instead, he hears Jesus' response: "You have said so." In Luke, the account ends with the disciples questioning one another, rather than Jesus, about which one it could be. In John, Peter asks the Beloved Disciple to find out the identity of the betrayer from Jesus.

In Mark, Jesus states that it is one who is eating with him. In Matthew and Mark, Jesus states that the betrayer and he will dip into the dish together; in Luke, Jesus states, "the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table"; in John, Jesus says that he will hand a morsel, after dipping it, to his betrayer. Matthew and John identify the betrayer by name; Mark and Luke do not.

⁷⁸ Johnson, *Luke*, 149, 337, 340, 396; Karris, "Luke," 716.

In the three Synoptic accounts, Jesus states that it is the will of God that these events unfold, for which the betrayer will suffer the consequences. Matthew has the most damning consequence: “It would have been better for that man if he had not been born.” In all cases, the presence of the betrayer overshadows the account of the Last Supper; Jesus is sharing table-fellowship while knowing what would transpire at the hand of his betrayer. This would have shocked people of the time because table sharing was done with family and friends.

Did the betrayer receive that first Eucharist? The three Synoptic accounts do not report the betrayer’s leaving the supper while John does (John 13:30).⁷⁹ This revelation comes just after the washing of the feet and before the lengthy Last Supper Discourses. Only in Luke is it certain that the betrayer was present at that moment; however, Luke does not mention Judas by name and he also softens the consequences for the betrayer by leaving out the dire prediction: “it would be better for that man if he had never been born.” Luke also recounts the disciples debating the betrayer’s identity among themselves rather than addressing Jesus.

Throughout the Gospels, Jesus eats with sinners. The knowledge of his betrayer does not keep him from eating, even this most important meal, with his betrayer. It may be that the events were too near for Mark to mention the name everyone would have known. Matthew, with the passage of time, was able to name and to highlight the dire consequences of the betrayal. Luke and John appear to be showing that Jesus knew full well the identity of his betrayer; yet he was willing to share himself in the first Eucharist (in Luke) or to demonstrate a willing deep level of service (in John through the washing of the feet). In Mark 14:19 the disciples ask Jesus about the identity of the betrayer

⁷⁹ “καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψωμίον τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σατανᾶς. λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ὁ ποιεῖς ποίησον τάχιον. . . λαβὼν οὖν τὸ ψωμίον ἐκεῖνος ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς. ἦν δὲ νύξ” After Judas takes the morsel from Jesus, “Satan entered him. So Jesus said to him, ‘What you are going to do, do quickly.’ . . . So he took the morsel and left at once. And it was night” John 13:27,30.

whereas in Luke's account (v. 23) they discuss the matter among themselves indicating Luke's continuing parenetic intention.⁸⁰

The language Luke uses for the betrayal, and the fact that Jesus is handed over (Luke 22:22), which also appears in 1 Cor 11:23 (with a different form of the verb παραδίδωμι, see the appendices), is also seen in Mark 1:14; 14:10, 42, 44; and 15:1,15. These Marcan references are to John the Baptist's arrest, Judas's betrayal of Jesus, Jesus being handed over to Pilate, and Pilate handing Jesus over to be crucified.⁸¹

3.1.7. Each Proto-eucharistic Pericope within its Book: Conclusion

As each proto-eucharistic pericope was investigated, the specific theology of each author was revealed through the emphasis apparent in the way the pericope is related. Matthew presents an ecclesial version of the institution: he maintains a close link to Jesus by using his name and presents a celebration in keeping with their Jewish cult celebrations. Mark attempts to show Jesus' self-gift in death is not the last step, he reminds his community to look beyond that death to the new covenant, to understand the closeness between Jesus and his disciples. For Mark the self-sacrifice is more important than the communal-meal sharing. Luke's Jesus is well-aware he is to be betrayed and Luke warns his readers that any of them could betray the faith. Luke calls for self-examination even as he presents a more gentle Jesus with his disciples. John, with his Bread of Life discourse presents the most striking link to the manna which fed the Israelites in the desert. For him, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Eucharist is crucial for the believer to obtain eternal life. Finally, Paul's intention is to remind the Corinthians of the importance of correct celebration of their eucharistic meal.

This section, while looking at each proto-eucharistic pericope within its book as well as details of the betrayer, has uncovered all but one of the six themes. The "missing"

⁸⁰ Karris, "Luke," 716.

⁸¹ These cases indicate the action being done to the person. Jesus willingly is handed over.

theme is theme 6: typology which by definition exists between the Old and New Testaments. Evident are the following: theme 1: the elements change, are true food which provides both physical and spiritual nourishment; theme 2: there is a sacrificial aspect to Jesus' death and participants in the Eucharist are called to forgiveness and repentance; theme 3: thanksgiving is an important aspect to the Eucharist; theme 4: there is a call to unity with Christ within the church, the communities together form the church, and the kingdom of God is both here and not yet here; theme 5: the dimension of knowledge is shown in the aspects of continuity with the past and radical discontinuity with the changes wrought by the Last Supper and the Passion which is spoken of at the meal. With this review of the links between each proto-eucharistic pericope and verses within its book, we now move to an investigation of the references / allusions to other texts within the New Testament but across books.

3.2. In Light of New Testament Scriptures Outside the Individual Book

Having looked at ways each of the proto-eucharistic pericopes linked to passages within its own book, we now widen the investigation to explore links from any of the proto-eucharistic pericopes to other New Testament Scriptures outside of the book in which the pericope is found. This section will be organised primarily by the themes as uncovered in Chapter 1.⁸²

3.2.1. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Two General Motifs

We begin with two general motifs each encompassing more than one theme. First, meals in general includes elements found in theme 1, such as physical nourishment from

⁸² These links represent a compilation of material from many sources: for Matthew, Harrington, *Matthew*, 367–68; and Viviano, “Matthew,” 670. For Mark: Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 395–97; and Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373–76. For Luke: Karris, “Luke,” 715–16; and Johnson, *Luke*, 336–40. For John: Moloney, *John*, 223–25; Perkins, “John,” 962–63 and Köstenberger, *John*, 215–17. For Paul: Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 544–48; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 431–34; and Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153

food and possibly spiritual nourishment from the discussion; and also elements found in theme 4, such as the idea of unity.⁸³

Given that the proto-eucharistic pericopes all speak of eating and drinking, the social experience of meals in the cultures of the day (both Jewish and pagan) as well as the many times meals form a backdrop for important events in the New Testament would have been brought to the minds of the listeners. This meal, however, is strikingly different from other meals spoken of in the New Testament: details of the food and drink consumed by the participants are given along with the all-important actions and words of Jesus.⁸⁴ Paul states that it was the night before Jesus was handed over (1 Cor 11:23); Luke uses “the hour came” (Luke 22:14); and from Matt 26:20⁸⁵ comes the knowledge that the meal took place in the evening and was at least a festive meal from the information that they reclined at table.

The second general motif is that of the feeding miracles which, with their “take, bless / thank, break, give” language, include elements found in theme 1: physical nourishment; and in theme 3: thanksgiving. These pericopes are found in all four Gospels in two versions (that of feeding 4,000 and that of feeding 5,000).⁸⁶ These words evoke the Institution Narratives and are also said by Paul when he was on a ship headed to Italy. He encouraged the people to eat: “ he took bread, gave thanks to God in front of them all, broke it, and began to eat” Acts 27:35.⁸⁷

⁸³ In the culture of the time, a person only ate with friends and family.

⁸⁴ The only other meals for which we have this sort of information are the feeding miracles which were written to evoke memories of the Lord’s institution of the Eucharist.

⁸⁵ “ Ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα” “When it was evening, he reclined at table with the Twelve” Matt 26:20.

⁸⁶ The feeding miracle pericopes are found at: Matt 14:13-21; 15:32-39; Mark 6:30-44; 8:1-10; Luke 9:12-17; and John 6:1-15. Johnson, *Luke*, 149, 396.

⁸⁷ “εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν” “When he said this, he took bread, gave thanks to God in front of them all, broke it, and began to eat” Acts 27:35.

Having mentioned these two more general links, we now look at each of the themes identified in Chapter 1.

3.2.2. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Elements Change

As mentioned above, meals in general,⁸⁸ the feeding miracles, and Acts 27:33-37 (Paul and the shipwreck), all contain one or more aspect which fit into this first theme because it encompasses concepts such as (physical) food and drink, and implies spiritual nourishment, and fasting.

3.2.3. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Sacrificial Aspect

We now look at the links which present the sacrificial aspect of the proto-eucharistic pericopes. As well as sacrifice, words such as repentance, forgiveness, messianic banquet, and handed over, fit into this theme. That Jesus' sacrifice is vicarious is also seen in Acts 5:21; 8:24; 9:16; 15:26; and 21:13, 26.⁸⁹ Paul's writings include many

⁸⁸ Meals at Matt 9:10-13; 22:1-14; Mark 14:3-9; Luke 7:36-50; 14:15-24; 24:36-42 (road to Emmaus); John 12:1-8; 21:12-14; and 1 Cor 10:14-17 (abuses at Corinth).

⁸⁹ These references present Jesus' death as for others or refer to others' deaths as being in Jesus' name thus having a sacrificial nature. “ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκον. Παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ οὖν αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσαν τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀχθῆναι αὐτούς” “When they heard this, they went to the temple early in the morning and taught. When the high priest and his companions arrived, they convened the Sanhedrin, the full senate of the Israelites, and sent to the jail to have them brought in” Acts 5:21. “ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Σίμων εἶπεν, Δεήθητε ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὅπως μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ὧν εἰρήκατε” “Simon said in reply, ‘Pray for me to the Lord, that nothing of what you have said may come upon me’” Acts 8:24. “ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ ὅσα δεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος μου παθεῖν” “and I will show him what he will have to suffer for my name” Acts 9:16. “ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ” “who have dedicated their lives to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ” Acts 15:26. “τότε ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Παῦλος, Τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες καὶ συνθρύπτοντές μου τὴν καρδίαν; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ μόνον δεθῆναι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐτοίμως ἔχω ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. . . τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἀνδρας τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγνισθεῖς, εἰσήει εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ ἕως οὗ προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἢ προσφορά” “Then Paul replied, ‘What are you doing, weeping and breaking my heart? I am prepared not only to be bound but even to die in Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus’ . . . So Paul took the men, and on the next day after purifying himself together with them entered the temple to give notice of the day when the purification would be completed and the offering made for each of them” Acts 21:13, 26.

references to the efficacious nature of Jesus' death for others: e.g., 2 Cor 5:14-15, 21;⁹⁰ Gal 1:4; 2:15, 20; 4:24;⁹¹ Eph 5: 2, 25;⁹² Col 1:20.⁹³ As well, the Letter to the Hebrews contains similar language (9:20; 10:10,16-18).⁹⁴

⁹⁰ “ὅς καὶ ἰκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτέννει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ” “who has indeed qualified us a ministers of a new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the letter brings death, but the Spirit gives life” 2 Cor 3:6; and “ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι . . . τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ” “For the love of Christ impels us, once we have come to the conviction that one died for all; therefore, all have died. He indeed died for all, so that those who live might no longer live for themselves, but for him who for their sake died and was raised. . . . For our sake he made him to be sin who did not know sin, so that we might become the righteousness of God in him” 2 Cor 5:14-15, 21.

⁹¹ “τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν” “[Jesus] who gave himself for our sins that he might rescue us from the present evil age in accord with the will of our God and Father” Gal 1:4; “ Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ· . . . ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ” “We, who are Jews by nature and not sinners from among the Gentiles, . . . yet I live, no longer I, but Christ lives in me; insofar as I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God who has loved me and given himself up for me” Gal 2:15, 20; “ἅτινᾶ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῆ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς” “Now this is an allegory. These women represent two covenants. One was from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; this is Hagar. Hagar represents Sinai, a mountain in Arabia; it corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery along with her children” Gal 4:24-25.

⁹² “καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὄσμὴν εὐωδίας” “as Christ loved us and handed himself over for us as a sacrificial offering to God for a fragrant aroma” Eph 5:2; “Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς” “Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the church and handed himself over for her” Eph 5:25.

⁹³ “καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι’ αὐτοῦ] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς” “and through him to reconcile all things for him, making peace by the blood of his cross [through him], whether those on earth or those in heaven” Col 1:20.

⁹⁴ “λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός” “saying, ‘This is ‘the blood of the covenant which God has enjoined upon you.’” Heb 9:20; “ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμὲν διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐφάπαξ . . . **Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἡν διαθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, λέγει κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι.** ὅπου δὲ ἄφεσις τούτων, οὐκέτι προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας” “By this ‘will,’ we have been consecrated through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all . . . ‘This is the covenant I will establish with them after those days, says the Lord: ‘I will put my laws in their hearts, and I will write them upon their mind,’” he also says: ‘Their sins and their evildoing I will remember no more.’ Where there is forgiveness of these, there is no longer offering for sin” Heb 10:10,16-18.

Links to Rom 4:25; 5:8, 9; 8:32⁹⁵ are apparent from the language of the “divine passive” (παραδίδοται) seen in Paul’s vv. 23-24, Mark’s v. 24, and Luke’s v. 20; the idea that Jesus’ death was an efficacious self-sacrifice for others is also expressed. The language of 1 Cor 11:26 that one’s participation in Jesus’ death brings God’s love into the world fits with the language of Rom 8:39.⁹⁶

As mentioned above (when looking for links within 1 Corinthians), the neuter demonstrative pronoun is used twice to refer to Jesus’ own actions with the bread and wine. That Paul uses this pronoun elsewhere in the same manner bolsters the argument for this interpretation. This use is found at Rom 12:20, 2 Cor 1:17, Eph 2:8; 6:1, Phil 3:15, Col 3:20,⁹⁷ as well as in his first letter to the Thessalonians, first letter to

⁹⁵ “ὅς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν” “who was handed over for our transgressions and was raised for our justification” Rom 4:25; “συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν. πολλῶ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιοθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς” “But God proves his love for us in that while we were still sinners Christ died for us. How much more then, since we are now justified by his blood, will we be saved through him from the wrath” Rom 5:8-9; “ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται;” “He who did not spare his own Son but handed him over for us all, how will he not also give us everything else along with him?” Rom 8:32.

⁹⁶ “οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος οὔτε τις κτίσις ἐτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν” “nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord” Rom 8:39. Murphy-O’Connor, “First Corinthians,” 810.

⁹⁷ “ἀλλὰ ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ” “Rather, ‘if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink; for by so doing you will heap burning coals upon his head’” Rom 12:20; “τοῦτο οὖν βουλόμενος μήτι ἄρα τῇ ἐλαφρίᾳ ἐχρησάμην; ἢ ἅ βουλευόμαι κατὰ σάρκα βουλεύομαι, ἵνα ἢ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ Ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ Οὐ οὐ;” “So when I intended this, did I act lightly? Or do I make my plans according to human considerations, so that with me it is ‘yes, yes’ and ‘no, no’?” 2 Cor 1:17; “τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον·” “For by grace you have been saved through faith, and this is not from you; it is the gift of God” Eph 2:8; “Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν [ἐν κυρίῳ] τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν δίκαιον” “Children, obey your parents [in the Lord], for this is right” Eph 6:1; “Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν· καὶ εἴ τι ἐτέρως φρονεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει·” “Let us, then, who are ‘perfectly mature’ adopt this attitude. And if you have a different attitude, this too God will reveal to you” Phil 3:15; “Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν· καὶ εἴ τι ἐτέρως φρονεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει·” “Let us, then, who are ‘perfectly mature’ adopt this attitude. And if you have a different attitude, this too God will reveal to you” Phil 3:15; “Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν κατὰ πάντα, τοῦτο γὰρ εὐάρεστον ἔστιν ἐν κυρίῳ” “Children, obey your parents in everything, for this is pleasing to the Lord” Col 3:20. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153 n. 28.

Timothy, and the letter to Philemon.⁹⁸

3.2.4. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Thanksgiving Aspect

We saw in the introduction, above, that the feeding miracle pericopes and Paul's words before a meal on the ship sailing to Italy (Acts 27:35) contain the word bless or thank which would place them in theme 3: thanksgiving aspect.

3.2.5. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Ecclesial Aspect

The fourth theme, the ecclesial aspect, includes ideas such as unity (with God and with the community; the pericopes about the betrayer and his actions also belong in this theme), the messianic banquet, continuity and discontinuity as the community changes with the events of the Last Supper, the new covenant, eschatology, as well as the coming of and fulfillment in the kingdom of God. In all these, it is God's plan unfolding. From this it is apparent that general meals would fit into this theme because in the cultures of the time a person ate only with friends and family.

The idea of continuity and discontinuity, in other words, accepting the treasures of the past while allowing them to be expressed in a new way (Mark 14:25) is also found at

⁹⁸ “τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμός ὑμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας . . . ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε· τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς” “This is the will of God, your holiness: that you refrain from immorality, . . . In all circumstances give thanks, for this is the will of God for you in Christ Jesus” 1 Thess 4:3; 5:18; “τοῦτο καλὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ . . . ἔπεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ἐπίμενε αὐτοῖς· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν καὶ σεαυτὸν σώσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντάς σου” “This is good and pleasing to God our savior, . . . Attend to yourself and to your teaching; persevere in both tasks, for you doing so you will save both yourself and those who listen to you” 1 Tim 2:3; 4:16; “εἰ δέ τι ἠδίκησέν σε ἢ ὀφείλει, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα” “And if he has done you any injustice or owes you anything, charge it to me” Phlm 18. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 153 n. 28.

Matt 8:11-12; 22:1-10;⁹⁹ Luke 13:28-29; 14:15; 22:34-39.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Paul has received this tradition is evidenced by the language he uses in texts such as Phil 2:6-11;¹⁰¹ this confirms earlier sacramental traditions, and the credal texts of the church.¹⁰² Luke states that it is God's plan unfolding (v. 22) which also occurs in Acts 2:23; 10:42; 17:26, 31;¹⁰³ Rom 1:4;¹⁰⁴ and 1 Cor 15:3 (text above). That this celebration will be fulfilled in

⁹⁹ “λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων” “I say to you, many will come from the east and the west, and will recline with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob at the banquet in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom will be driven out into the outer darkness, where there will be wailing and grinding of teeth” Matt 8:11-12; the Parable of the Wedding Feast occurs at Matt 22:1-10; because the king's invitees would not attend, he issued invitations to all found on the streets, bad and good alike, in order that the banquet hall be filled.

¹⁰⁰ “ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ὄψησθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω. καὶ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ” “And there will be wailing and grinding of teeth when you see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God and you yourselves cast out. And people will come from the east and the west and from the north and the south and will recline at table in the kingdom of God” Luke 13:28-29; “Ἀκούσας δὲ τις τῶν συνανακειμένων ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ” “One of his fellow guests on hearing this said to him, ‘Blessed is the one who will dine in the kingdom of God’” Luke 14:15; the Last Supper meal in Luke ends with Luke 22:34-39.

¹⁰¹ “ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ παν ὄνομα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰσοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξουλογήσῃται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς” “[Christ Jesus,] who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father” Phil 2:6-11.

¹⁰² Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*, 234–35, 510, 695.

¹⁰³ “τοῦτον τῇ ὠρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκδοτον διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε” “This man, delivered up by the set plan and foreknowledge of God, you killed, using lawless men to crucify him” Acts 2:23. “καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν” “He commissioned us to preach to the people and testify that he is the one appointed by God as judge of the living and the dead” Acts 10:42. “ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν . . . καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἔλλει κρῖνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν” “He made from one the whole human race to dwell on the entire surface of the earth, and he fixed the ordered seasons and the boundaries of their

the kingdom of God (v. 18) is seen at Acts 10:41.¹⁰⁵

Given the oral nature of the cultures of the time, words and phrases were often utilised by the New Testament authors to remind hearers of past situations and the way God had worked for the community. Language and themes of looking forward to the new covenant with both its continuity and discontinuity also occur in Rev 2:7; 7:9-10; and 19:9.¹⁰⁶ Language similar to that of the Institution Narratives, about the new covenant's inauguration via Jesus' willing death is found at 2 Cor 3:6; 5:14-15, 21 (text above); Gal 1:4; 2:15, 20; 4:24 (text above); and in the Letter to the Hebrews (7:22; 8:8-10; 9:15; 10:16-18 (text above)).¹⁰⁷

regions, . . . because he has established a day on which he will 'judge the world with justice' through a man he has appointed, and he has provided confirmation for all by raising him from the dead" Acts 17:26, 31.

¹⁰⁴ "τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν," "but established as Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness through resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord" Rom 1:4.

¹⁰⁵ "οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλὰ μάρτυσιν τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμῖν, οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν" "not to all the people, but to us, the witnesses chosen by God in advance, who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead" Acts 10:41.

¹⁰⁶ "ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ" "Whoever has ears ought to hear what the Spirit says to the churches. To the victor I will give the right to eat from the tree of life that is in the garden of God" Rev 2:7; "Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἶδου ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν ἐστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες, Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ" "After this I had a vision of a great multitude, which no one could count, from every nation, race, people, and tongue. They stood before the throne and before the Lamb, wearing white robes and holding palm branches in their hands. They cried out in a loud voice: 'Salvation comes from our God, who is seated on the throne, and from the Lamb'" Rev 7:9-10; "Καὶ λέγει μοι, Γράψον· Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι. καὶ λέγει μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν" "Then the angel said to me, 'Write this: Blessed are those who have been called to the wedding feast of the Lamb.' And he said to me, 'These words are true; they come from God'" Rev 19:9.

¹⁰⁷ "κατὰ τοσοῦτο [καὶ] κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἕγγυος Ἰησοῦς" "to that same degree has Jesus [also] become the guarantee of an [even] better covenant" Heb 7:22; "μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς λέγει, Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰουδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος· ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς

John's Last Supper contains a "last testament" presentation which is also present in Luke's Institution Narrative. The five chapters of John (13–17) tell much more than does the short testamentary account in Luke (Luke 22:14-20) which focuses on the transition of authority in the community after Jesus' death.¹⁰⁸

A close link is apparent between John's proto-eucharistic pericope and 1 Corinthians 10. Likely both John and Paul drew on oral traditions in presenting their understanding of the events of the Last Supper.¹⁰⁹ Again, language of the shared cup is seen in 1 Cor 10:16; 12:13¹¹⁰ as well as in v. 20 of Luke's account.

Just as Luke 22:14-20 presents Jesus' farewell, Acts 20:17-30 presents Paul's farewell speech at Miletus. While there were cultural expectations for the content of farewell speeches, there was much latitude in this content as evidenced by the brief Lucan presentation in contrast to John's lengthy Last Supper discourses.

τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν·” “But he finds fault with them and says: ‘Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will conclude a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. It will not be like the covenant I made with their fathers the day I took them by the hand to lead them forth from the land of Egypt; for they did not stand by my covenant and I ignored them, says the Lord. But this is the covenant I will establish with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my laws in their minds and I will write them upon their hearts. I will be their God, and they shall be my people” Heb 8:8-10; “Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας” “For this reason he is mediator of a new covenant: since a death has taken place for deliverance from transgressions under the first covenant, those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance” Heb 9:15.

¹⁰⁸ Matthew and Mark deal with this transition outside the Last Supper accounts, at Matt 19:28 and Mark 10:42-45. Karris, “Luke,” 716.

¹⁰⁹ Borgen, “John and the Synoptics,” 87.

¹¹⁰ “τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;” “The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?” 1 Cor 10:16; “καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν” “For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, slaves or free persons, and we were all given to drink of one Spirit” 1 Cor 12:13.

The proto-eucharistic pericopes of Luke and Paul indicate that Jesus' blood is being of the new covenant which is spoken of in the letter to the Hebrews (7:22; 8:8-10; 9:15; 10:16-18; texts above). Paul's second letter to the Corinthians also speaks of the new covenant (2 Cor 3:6; 5:14-15, 21 (texts above)) and about the fact that it is Jesus' willing death which inaugurates it (2 Cor 5:14-15, 21 (texts above)). This idea is also found in his letter to the Galatians (1:4; 2:15, 20; 4:24 (texts above)).

3.2.6. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Knowledge

Knowledge as a theme by which to link pericopes stems from the idea that knowledge is given in the breaking of the bread. Clement and Origen both understand Christ's body and blood to signify his teaching (both discussed in chapter 1, above). Other aspects of knowledge as a theme are discussed here.

Evidence of the same continuity / discontinuity links is present as in theme 4: ecclesial aspect, above. From Mark 14:25, is a link to Matt 8:11-12; 22:1-10; Luke 13:28-29; 14:15; 22:34-39; Rev 2:7; 7:9-10; and 19:9 (all texts in theme 4, above). The changes to the community (ecclesial aspect) involve knowledge as the teachings show how the past, with its treasures, is to be changed for present and future generations.

The tradition that Jesus taught at the synagogue in Capernaum is seen in Luke 4:31 and 7:5¹¹¹ which agrees with John's ending of his proto-eucharistic pericope at v. 59.¹¹² While Matthew and Mark end their proto-eucharistic pericopes with the information that they sang psalms and then went out to the Mount of Olives, Luke gives this information only after further discourse at the Last Supper (Luke 22:39).¹¹³ Luke uses

¹¹¹ “Καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν.” “Jesus then went down to Capernaum, a town of Galilee. He taught them on the sabbath,” Luke 4:31; “ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτοῦς ὡκοδόμησεν ἡμῖν” Luke 7:5, Jesus is going to the synagogue which he is told was built by the centurion who has asked for a cure for his servant.

¹¹² Perkins, “John,” 963.

¹¹³ “Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ μαθηταί” “Then going out he went, as was his custom, to the Mount of Olives, and the disciples followed him” Luke 22:39.

the term ἡ ὥρα (Luke 22:14), thereby implying an understanding of time close to that found in John's gospel where the term is used to refer to the time at which Jesus will return to God because his mission is complete.¹¹⁴

The disciples disputing among themselves does not cease with their discussion of the identity of Jesus' betrayer (Luke 22:23); rather, it continues in Acts 6:9 and 9:29.¹¹⁵ From these texts a backdrop of debates and disputes among the followers of Jesus are seen to be common enough to preserve in the Scriptures they were gathering.

3.2.7. In Light of NT Scriptures Outside Individual Book: Conclusion

The above analysis presents links from words, phrases, or settings found in the proto-eucharistic pericopes to texts in the New Testament. The fact that the Institution Narratives are set at the Last Supper meal and involve the change of elements of bread and wine to body and blood present connections to other meals and to the feeding miracle pericopes. These connections highlight God's care for the people in their day-to-day life. The importance of meals and of food are common themes in the New Testament. The use of blood focusses the hearers' attention on the sacrificial aspects of Jesus' self-gift. The language of the proto-eucharistic pericopes includes blessing and thanksgiving which are also seen throughout the New Testament. The church is constituted through the events of the Last Supper and the following day and the New Testament presents these as the pinnacle for the early church. Much needed to be learned by the early church members as they sought to build upon their past and incorporate Jesus' life and work into their expression of faith. The only theme not uncovered in this analysis is that of typology

¹¹⁴ Karris, "Luke," 715.

¹¹⁵ "ἀνέστησαν δέ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας συζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ" "Certain members of the so-called Synagogue of Freedmen, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and people from Cilicia and Asia, came forward and debated with Stephen" Acts 6:9. "ἔλάλει τε καὶ συνεζήτει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς, οἱ δὲ ἐπεχείρουν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν" "He also spoke and debated with the Hellenists, but they tried to kill him" Acts 9:29.

which by definition cannot occur. Having seen how cohesively the message of the proto-eucharistic pericopes belongs in the New Testament, a similar survey of the Old Testament will be undertaken.

3.3. In Light of Old Testament Scriptures

Following the exploration of links from the proto-eucharistic pericopes to other New Testament passages, the same process will be employed with the links from any of the proto-eucharistic pericopes to any Old Testament text. While these links were explored from the words, phrases, and settings of the proto-eucharistic pericopes to the Old Testament, they will be presented under the same six themes which were identified in Chapter 1, and used in the New Testament links section above. Within these themes, the citations will be by book and chapter as ordered in the *Septuaginta* edited by Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart.¹¹⁶

It must be remembered that the early Christians belonged to a culture steeped in oral traditions and, for the Jewish members, their tradition included rabbinical explanations of Scripture following midrashic patterns of thought. Not only did Old Testament settings spring to their minds when they heard a similar scene played out as they heard these Scriptures proclaimed, but they would have also recognised certain words or clauses being used in specific ways to allude to stories from their ancestors.

Following the procedure of the previous section concerning links to the New Testament, this section will begin with two general motifs before proceeding with the six themes.

¹¹⁶ All citations will be taken from Rahlfs and Hanhart, *Septuaginta* unless otherwise indicated. These links represent a compilation of material from many sources: for Matthew, Harrington, *Matthew*, 368; and Viviano, "Matthew," 670. For Mark: Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 396–99; and Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 373–76. For Luke: Karris, "Luke," 715–16; and Johnson, *Luke*, 337–40. For John: Moloney, *John*, 223–25; and Köstenberger, *John*, 215–17. For Paul: Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 545–48; and Collins, *First Corinthians*, 432–33

3.3.1. In Light of OT Scriptures: Two General Motifs

The two general motifs which each encompass more than one theme are: that of meals in general and feeding miracle pericopes. For the idea of meals, the proto-eucharistic pericopes contain “take, bless / thank, break, give” language with the bread and similar actions with the cup evoking thoughts of Gen 14:18, 24¹¹⁷ with the bread and wine the priest Melchizedek presents and shares. Evident here is the expectation that food will be shared. As well, the ecclesial aspect (theme 4) is seen in Gen 6:18; 8:11; 9:8-17; 15:18 (more remotely the whole of chapter 15); 17:2-21; and 19:29.¹¹⁸ These texts speak of the binding covenants which God has undertaken with the people. The idea of a banquet is also present in Gen 26:26-33; 31:43-54.¹¹⁹

Secondly, while there is no direct equivalent of the feeding miracle pericopes in the Old Testament, there is the pericope of Elisha feeding the hundred men in

¹¹⁷ “καὶ Μελχισεδεκ βασιλεὺς Σαλημ ἐξήνεγκεν ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον· ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου” “Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought out bread and wine, and being a priest of God Most High” Gen 14:18; “πλὴν ὧν ἔφαγον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν συμπορευθέντων μετ’ ἐμοῦ, Εσχωλ, Αυναν, Μαμβρη, οὗτοι λήμψονται μερίδα” “Nothing for me except what my servants have used up and the share that is due to the men who joined me—Aner, Eshcol and Mamre; let them take their share” Gen 14:24.

¹¹⁸ “καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ· εἰσελεύση δὲ εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ σου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν υἱῶν σου μετὰ σοῦ” “But with you I will establish my covenant; you and your sons, your wife and your sons’ wives, shall go into the ark” Gen 6:18. “καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ περιστέρα τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ εἶχεν φύλλον ἐλαίας κάρφος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔγνω Νωε ὅτι κεκόπακεν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς” “In the evening the dove came back to him, and there in its bill was a plucked-off olive leaf! So Noah knew that the waters had lessened on the earth” Gen 8:11. In Gen 9:8-17 God establishes the covenant with Noah and his sons. “ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ διέθετο κύριος τῷ Ἀβραμ διαθήκην λέγων τῷ σπέρματί σου δώσω τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου” “It was on that occasion that the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: ‘To your descendants I give this land, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Great River [the Euphrates]’” Gen 15:18. Chapter 17 presents God’s covenant with Abram. Gen 17:2-21 covers the establishment of the covenant of circumcision. “καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκτριψαί κύριον πάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς περιούκου ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβρααμ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν Λωτ ἐκ μέσου τῆς καταστροφῆς ἐν τῷ καταστρέψαι κύριον τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς κατῴκει ἐν αὐταῖς Λωτ” “Thus it came to pass: when God destroyed the Cities of the Plain, he was mindful of Abraham by sending Lot away from the upheaval by which God overthrew the cities where Lot had been living” Gen 19:29.

¹¹⁹ Gen 26:26-33 presents the covenant between Abimelech and Isaac; and Gen 31:43-54 presents the covenant between Laban and Jacob.

2 Kgs 4:42-44.¹²⁰

With these two general motifs, links fit into theme 1: the elements change (which encompasses such things as physical food and drink and spiritual nourishment) and theme 4: ecclesial aspect (which encompasses unity and covenant). The next step is to organise the other links within relevant themes.

3.3.2. *In Light of OT Scriptures: Elements Change*

The first theme, titled “elements change,” encompasses words such as physical food and drink, body and blood as the physical bread and wine elements change, spiritual nourishment, and fasting. The proto-eucharistic pericopes allude to the Israelites’ experience in the desert found in Exodus 16 and the reminder of God’s generous provision of manna as they waited their entry into the Promised Land.

In Peder Borgen’s discussion of John 6:51-59, he maintains that the midrashic manner of the discourse is based on Exodus 16. Jerome H. Neyrey explains the nature of midrash to present three reasons for this link: first, traditionally homilies would begin with a text from the Pentateuch followed by supplemental quotation from the Prophets or Writings; secondly, the language of John 6:31-33 evokes more strongly Exod 16:15;¹²¹ and thirdly, Exodus 16 contains both food (the bread of John 6:31-51) and murmuring

¹²⁰ “καὶ ἀνὴρ διῆλθεν ἐκ Βαιθσαρισα καὶ ἤνεγκεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ πρωτογενημάτων εἴκοσι ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ παλάθας, καὶ εἶπεν Δότε τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἐσθιέτωσαν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ λειτουργὸς αὐτοῦ Τί δῶ τοῦτο ἐνώπιον ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν; καὶ εἶπεν Δὸς τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἐσθιέτωσαν, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Φάγονται καὶ καταλείψουσιν. καὶ ἔφαγον· καὶ κατέλιπον κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου.” “A man came from Baalshalishah, bringing the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and fresh ears of grain in his sack. And Elisha said, ‘Give to the men that they might eat.’ But his servant said, ‘How am I to set this before a hundred men?’ So he repeated, ‘Give them to the men, that they may eat, for thus says the Lord, ‘They shall eat and have some left’” 2 Kgs 4:42-44. Viviano, “Matthew,” 670; Witherington, *Mark: Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 376; Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 400; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 570.

¹²¹ “ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἶπαν ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ Τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεισαν, τί ἦν. εἶπεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς πρὸς αὐτούς Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν.” “When the people of Israel saw it, they said to one another, ‘What is it?’ For they did not know what it was. And Moses said to them, ‘It is the bread which the Lord has given you to eat’ Exod 16:15.

(John 6:41-43).¹²² However, Marten Menken posits that the midrash in John 6 is based on Ps 78:24.¹²³ Given the argument that any midrash typically pointed to a text from the Pentateuch and then to something in the Prophets or Writings, Menken's position is not tenable.

Hearing the proto-eucharistic pericopes may have brought Exod 12:14¹²⁴ with its mention of the memorial feast of the Passover to the minds of the hearers. Luke places the words Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα (“with earnest desire”) on Jesus' lips in Luke 22:15; this same expression is also used to speak of the grumbling about food in Num 11:4¹²⁵ and about their forgetfulness of God's provision of food in the desert Ps 105:14.¹²⁶

Jesus words “this is my body,” and “do this in remembrance of me” provide links to Lev 4:18, 25, 30, 34; 8:15; 16:1-34; 24:7;¹²⁷ Num 5:15; 10:9-10.¹²⁸ Texts at Lev 5:8

¹²² “διεγογγύζεν πᾶσα συναγωγή υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Μωϋσῆν καὶ Ἀαρῶν,” “And the whole congregation of the people of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness” Exod 16:2. “καὶ πρῶτὸ ὄψεσθε τὴν δόξαν κυρίου ἐν τῷ εἰσακοῦσια τὸν γογγυσμὸν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ· ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ἔσμεν ὅτι διαγογγύζετε καθ' ἡμῶν; καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς Ἐν τῷ διδόναι κύριον ὑμῖν ἐσπέρας κρέα φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτους τὸ πρῶτὸ εἰς πλησμονὴν διὰ τὸ εἰσακοῦσαι κύριον τὸν γογγυσμὸν ὑμῶν, ὃν ὑμεῖς διαγογγύζετε καθ' ἡμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ἔσμεν; οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ γογγυσμὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.” “and in the morning you shall see the glory of the Lord, because he has heard your murmurings against the Lord. For what are we that you murmur against us?” And Moses said, ‘When the Lord gives you in the evening flesh to eat and in the morning bread to the full, because the Lord has heard your murmurings which you murmur against him—what are we? Your murmurings are not against us but against the Lord’” Exod 16:7-8. Neyrey, *Gospel of John*, 124; Borgen, *Concept of Manna*, 40–42.

¹²³ “καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μαννα φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ εἰδωκεν αὐτοῖς.” “and he rained down upon them manna to eat, and gave them the grain of heaven” Ps 78[77]:24. Maarten. J. J. Menken, “The Provenance and Meaning of the Old Testament Quotation of John 6:13,” *Novum Testamentum* 30 (1988): 39–56.

¹²⁴ “καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμῖν αὕτη μνημόσουνον, καὶ ἐορτάσετε αὐτὴν ἐορτὴν κυρίῳ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν· νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἐορτάσετε αὐτήν” “This day shall be a memorial feast for you, which all your generations shall celebrate with pilgrimage to the Lord, as a perpetual institution” Exod 12:14.

¹²⁵ “Καὶ ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ καθίσαντες ἔκλαιον καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἶπαν Τίς ἡμᾶς ψωμιεῖ κρέα;” “Now the rabble that was among them had a strong craving; and the people of Israel also wept again, and said, ‘O that we had meat to eat!’” Num 11:4.

¹²⁶ “καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐπείρασαν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀνύδρῳ.” “But they had a wanton craving in the wilderness, and put God to the test in the desert” Ps 106 (105):14.

¹²⁷ “καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπιθήσει ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῶν θυμιαμάτων τῆς συνθέσεως, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου· καὶ τὸ πᾶν αἶμα ἐκχεεῖ πρὸς τὴν βᾶσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῶν καρπώσεων τῶν πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου” “He shall also put some of the blood on the horns of the altar of fragrant incense which is

and Deut 28:23¹²⁹ reveal a Semitic origin of the τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν phrase. These verses speak of the blood repeatedly used in various sacrifices offered for the people and of fasting.

Links also appear between the proto-eucharistic pericopes and Pss 74:8-9; 110:5¹³⁰ because of their mention of the cup of wine in the Lord's hands and mention of

before the Lord in the meeting tent. The rest of the blood he shall pour out at the base of the altar of holocausts which is at the entrance of the meeting tent" Lev 4:18. "καὶ ἐπιθήσει ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ δακτύλῳ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων· καὶ τὸ πᾶν αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκχεεῖ παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων" "The priest shall then take some of the blood of the sin offering on his finger and put it on the horns of the altar of holocausts. The rest of the blood he shall pour out at the base of this altar" Lev 4:25. Lev 4:30, 34 have only minor variations in the Greek text from Lev 4:25. "καὶ ἔσφαξεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλαβεν Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κύκλῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον· καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεεν ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτὸ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ" "Then Moses slaughtered it, and taking some of its blood, with his finger he put it on the horns around the altar, thus purifying the altar. He also made atonement for the altar by pouring out the blood at its base when he consecrated it" Lev 8:15. Lev 16:1-34 contains the regulations about the Day of Atonement including the scapegoat and fasting. "καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὸ θέμα λίβανον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλα, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἄρτους εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενα τῷ κυρίῳ" "On each pile pile put some pure frankincense, which shall serve serve as an oblation to the Lord, a token offering for the bread" Lev 24:7.

¹²⁸ "καὶ ἄξει ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα καὶ προσοίσει τὸ δῶρον περὶ αὐτῆς τὸ δέκατον τοῦ οἴφι ἄλευρον κρίθινον, οὐκ ἐπιχεεῖ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔλαιον οὐδὲ ἐπιθήσει ἐπ' αὐτὸ λίβανον, ἔστιν γὰρ θυσία ζηλοτυπίας, θυσία μνημοσύνου ἀναμιμνήσκουσα ἁμαρτίαν" "he shall bring his wife to the priest and shall take along as an offering for her a tenth of an ephah of barley meal. However, he shall not pour oil on it nor put frankincense over it, since it is a cereal offering of jealousy, a cereal offering for an appeal in a question of guilt" Num 5:15. "ἐὰν δὲ ἐξέλθητε εἰς πόλεμον ἐν τῇ γῆ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας ὑμῖν, καὶ σημανεῖτε ταῖς σάλπιξι καὶ ἀναμνησθήσεσθε ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ διασωθήσεσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς εὐφροσύνης ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς νομηνίαις ὑμῶν σαλπείτε ταῖς σάλπιξι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλοκαυτώμασιν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀνάμνησις ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν" "When in your own land you go to war against an enemy that is attacking you, you shall sound the alarm on the trumpets, and the Lord, your God, will remember you and save you from your foes. On your days of celebration, your festivals, and your new-moon feasts, you shall blow the trumpets over your holocausts and your peace offerings, this will serve as a reminder of you before your God. I the Lord, am your God" Num 10: 9-10.

¹²⁹ "καὶ οἴσει αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ προσάξει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας πρότερον· καὶ ἀποκνίσει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφονδύλου καὶ οὐ διελεῖ" "He shall bring them to the priest, who shall offer the one for the sin offering first. Snapping its head loose at the neck, yet without breaking it off completely" Lev 5:8. "καὶ ἔσται σοι ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς σου χαλκοῦς καὶ ἡ γῆ ἡ ὑποκάτω σου σιδηρᾶ" "The sky over your heads will be like bronze and the earth under your feet like iron" Deut 28:23.

¹³⁰ "ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κριτὴς ἐστίν, τοῦτον ταπεινοῖ καὶ τοῦτον ὑψοῖ. ὅτι ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο, πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξεκένώθη, πίνονται πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῆς γῆς" LXX Ps 74:8-9 "But from God who decides, who brings some low and raises others high. Yes, a cup is in the Lord's hand, foaming wine, fully

food and the covenant. In many of the Old Testament references to the cup, the connotation is negative (as seen in Ps 74:8-9 above). Thus the link is one of contrast, the cup in Jesus' hands brings salvation and forgiveness. John also includes a citation of Ps 41:9¹³¹ in John 13:18 (which is linked to John's proto-eucharistic pericope as noted above) which would have been familiar to the hearers.

The call to re-enact the events of the Last Supper may have reminded hearers of Joel 2:11-14 and Hab 2:16.¹³² The cup which they shared may have recalled for them the cup of God's wrath and the idea of fasting thereby providing links to Ezra 8:22-24 and Isa 51:17, 22.¹³³ There are words about true fasting which relate to this theme in Isa 58:2-4.¹³⁴ The last link in this theme is to Jer 16:7¹³⁵ with presentation of Jeremiah's life as a

spiced. When God pours it out, they will drain it even to the dregs; all the wicked of the earth must drink" Ps 75:8-9. "τροφήν ἔδωκεν τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν, μνησθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαθήκης αὐτοῦ" LXX Ps 110:5; "You gave food to those who fear you, mindful of your covenant forever" Ps 111:5.

¹³¹ "καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς εἰρήνης μου, ἐφ' ὃν ἤλπισα, ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου, ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ περνισμόν." "Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted his heel against me" (Ps 41:9 [40:10]). Raymond E. Brown, *John*, 283; Borgen, *Concept of Manna*, 93.

¹³² In Joel 2:11-14 the Lord asks the people to return to him with rent hearts, with fasting, weeping, and mourning. "πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σὺ καὶ διασαλεύθητι καὶ σείσθητι· ἐκύκλωσεν ἐπὶ σὲ ποτήριον δεξιᾶς κυρίου, καὶ συνήχθη ἀτιμία ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου" "You are filled with shame instead of glory; drink, you too, and stagger! On you shall revert the cup from the Lord's right hand, and utter shame on your glory" Hab 2:16.

¹³³ Fasting for the Jewish hearers had several aspects one of which was as a petitionary prayer. In Ezra 8:22-24 while on the journey to Jerusalem, the people fasted and prayed rather than directly asking the king for more troops and horsemen as they had told the king that they were in God's favour. "Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου ἀνάστηθι, Ἱερουσαλημ ἡ πιόυσα τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου· τὸ ποτήριον γὰρ τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδου τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐξέπιες καὶ ἐξεκένωσας . . . οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ κρίνων τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰδοὺ εἴληφα ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδου τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ οὐ προσθήσῃ ἔτι πιεῖν αὐτό." "Awake, awake! Arise O Jerusalem, You who drank at the Lord's hand the cup of his wrath; Who drained to the dregs the bowl of staggering! . . . Thus says the Lord, your Master, your God, who defends his people: See, I am taking from your hand the cup of staggering; The bowl of my wrath you shall no longer drink" Isa 51:17, 22.

¹³⁴ "ἐμὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ζητοῦσιν καὶ τνῶναί μου τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ὡς λαὸς δικαιοσύνην πεποιηκὼς καὶ κρίσιν θεοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλειπὼς αἰτοῦσίν με νῦν κρίσιν δικαίαν καὶ ἐγγίζειν θεῷ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν λέγοντες Τί ὅτι ἐνηστεύσαμεν καὶ οὐκ εἶδες; ἐταπεινώσαμεν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσ; ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν νηστειῶν ὑμῶν εὐρίσκετε τὰ θελήματα ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑποχειρίους ὑμῶν ὑπονύσσετε. εἰ εἰς κρίσεις καὶ μάχας νηστεύετε καὶ τύπτετε πυγμαῖς ταπεινόν, ἵνα τί μοι νηστεύετε ὡς σήμερον ἀκουσθήναι ἐν

warning and the Lord's withdrawal of his friendship with the people and mentions of food and drink.

3.3.3. *In Light of OT Scriptures: Sacrificial Aspect*

The next theme is that of the sacrificial aspect of the proto-eucharistic pericopes and its link to the Old Testament. Words such as sacrifice, repentance, forgiveness, messianic banquet, and handed over, fit into this theme. Mark and Luke connect the meal with previous meals including that of the sacrificial meal in Exod 24:3-8.¹³⁶ Unlike the

κραυγή τὴν φωνὴν ὑμῶν ;” “They seek me day after day and desire to know my ways, Like a nation that has done what is just and not abandoned the law of their God; They ask me to declare what is due them, pleased to gain access to God. ‘Why do we fast, and you do not see it? afflict ourselves, and you take no note of it?’” Isa 58:2-4

¹³⁵ For differences in chapter and verse numbering in Jeremiah see <http://www.world-destiny.org/Jeremiah%20Table%20of%20Order%20MT%20to%20LXX.html>, accessed October 29, 2010. “καὶ οὐ μὴ κλασθῆ ἄρτος ἐν πένθει αὐτῶν εἰς παράκλησιν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι, οὐ ποτιοῦσιν αὐτὸν ποτήριον εἰς παράκλησιν ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ” “They will not break bread with the bereaved to console them in their bereavement; they will not give them the cup of consolation to drink over the death of father or mother” Jer 16:7.

¹³⁶ “εἰσηθεν δὲ Μωυσης καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ λαῷ πάντα τὰ ρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα· ἀπεκρίθη δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς φωνῆ μιᾷ λέγοντες Πάντας τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος, ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα. καὶ ἔγραψεν Μωυσης πάντα τὰ ρήματα κυρίου. ὀρθρίσας δὲ Μωυσης τὸ πρωὶ ὑποκόμησεν θυσιαστήριον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος καὶ δώδεκα λίθους εἰς τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ· καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν τοὺς νεανίσκους τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ, καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ ἔθουσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου τῷ θεῷ μοσχάρια. λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσης τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατῆρας, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος προσέχεεν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. καὶ λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ εἶπαν Πάντα, ὅσα ἐλάλησεν πύριος, ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα. λάων δὲ Μωυσης το αἷμα κατεσκέδασεν του; λαοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ἴδου τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περι πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.” “Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord and all the ordinances; and all the people answered with one voice, and said, ‘All the words which the Lord has spoken we will do.’ And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord. And he rose early in the morning, and built an altar at the foot of the mountain, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And he sent young men of the people of Israel, who offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen to the Lord. And Moses too half of the blood and put it in basins and half of the blood he threw against the altar. Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, ‘All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.’ And Moses took the blood and threw it upon the people, and said, ‘Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you in accordance with all these words” Exod 24:3-8. Harrington, “The Gospel According to Mark,” 626; Karris, “Luke,” 716; Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 396; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 390; Benoit, “Eucharist,” 147; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 570–71.

first covenant, this new covenant is sealed with Jesus' blood rather than that of an animal which can only be proleptic.¹³⁷

The fact that Jesus' blood is ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Matt 26:28) evokes Lev 17:11.¹³⁸ The link evident between Jesus' words, "this is my body, . . . do this in remembrance of me," and Lev 4:18, 25, 30, 34; 5:8; 8:15; 16:1-34; 24:7; Num 5:15; 10:9-10; and Deut 28:23 also has a sacrificial aspect due to the verses' focus on the blood in the various sacrifices offered for the people. Because these links also have elements which place them into theme 1, their texts are given above.

The sacrificial aspect is seen in Ps 19:3¹³⁹ as the Psalmist speaks of holocaust offerings; the verb ἐκχέω (to pour out, to gush out; found in Mark 14:24 neuter, nominative participle form, τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον) is found in Ps 13:3¹⁴⁰ which speaks of bloodshed. The prophet Zechariah tells of the suffering royal Messiah in detail in chapters 9 through 14 (in particular see Zech 11:4; 13:7).¹⁴¹ As well, Jesus' blood is that of the

¹³⁷ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 427; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 570.

¹³⁸ "ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, καὶ ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτὸ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν· τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται." "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life" Lev 17:11. Viviano, "Matthew," 670.

¹³⁹ "μνηθεῖν πάσης θυσίας σου καὶ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμά σου πιανάτω διάψαλμα" LXX Ps 19:3; "May God remember your every offering, graciously accept your holocaust, *Selah*" Ps 20:4.

¹⁴⁰ "Πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός· [τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν, ἰδὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν· ὦν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει, ὄξεις οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέει αἷμα· σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν· οὐκ ἔστι φόβος Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν]." "They are all gone out of the way, they are together become good for nothing, there is none that does good, no not one. [Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes]" Ps 13 (14):3. Brenton, *LXX: Greek and English*.

¹⁴¹ "τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ Ποιμαίνετε τὰ πρόβατα τῆς σφαγῆς" "Thus said the Lord, my God: Shepherd the flock to be slaughtered" Zech 11:4 " Ῥομφαία, ἐξεγέρθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας μου καὶ ἐπ' ἄνδρα πολίτην μου, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ· πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χειρὰ μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας" "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who is my associate, says the Lord of hosts. Strike the shepherd that the sheep may be dispersed, and I will turn my hand against the little ones" Zech 13:7.

covenant as seen in Zech 9:11.¹⁴²

3.3.4. In Light of OT Scriptures: Thanksgiving Aspect

This theme encompasses specific words of blessing or thanksgiving linked to meals as in the proto-eucharistic pericopes. The call to re-enact the events of the Last Supper may have recalled 2 Chron 20:20-22 for the hearers. In this passage Jehoshaphat called for the people to trust in God and in the prophets sent; he appointed some to sing thanks at which point the invaders were vanquished. Links for thanksgiving are found at Zech 9:9¹⁴³ as the prophet calls for thanksgiving. Other such connections spring from the New Testament authors' emphasis on remembering what the Lord has done for the people throughout their history and with the symbolism of the cup of salvation and the punishment for sin that comes from God's wrath. These links are evident in texts such as Lam 4:21.¹⁴⁴ Finally, while the Psalter contains many psalms of thanksgiving, the hymns with which they ended the meal were most likely the Hallel Psalms (115-118).¹⁴⁵

3.3.5. In Light of OT Scriptures: Ecclesial Aspect

The fourth theme, the ecclesial aspect, includes ideas such as unity (with God and with the community; texts linked to the betrayer and his actions belong here because of the disunity revealed), the messianic banquet (also part of the theme of thanksgiving), continuity and discontinuity, the new covenant, eschatology, as well as the coming of, and

¹⁴² “καὶ σὺ ἐν αἵματι διαθηκῆς ἐξαπέστειλας δεσμίους σου ἐκ λάκκου οὐκ ἔχοντος ὕδωρ.”
“As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your captives free from the waterless pit” Zech 9:11.

¹⁴³ “Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιων· κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ιερουσαλημ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι, δίκαιος καὶ σώζων αὐτός, πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον”
“Rejoice heartily, O daughter Zion, shout for joy, O daughter Jerusalem! See, your king shall come to you; a just saviour is he, Meek and riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass” Zech 9:9.

¹⁴⁴ “Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου, θύγατερ Ιδουμαίας ἡ κατοικοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ γε ἐπὶ σὲ διελεύσεται τὸ ποτήριον κυρίου, καὶ μεθυσθήσῃ καὶ ἀποχεεῖς” “Though you rejoice and are glad, O daughter Edom, you who dwell in the land of Uz, To you also shall the cup be passed: you shall become drunk and naked” Lam 4:21.

¹⁴⁵ For example, Pss 9, 10, 18, 21, 28, 30, 31, 34, 41, 65, 92, 136 all have a theme of thanksgiving. The Hallel psalms were recited during feasts such as Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles.

fulfillment in, the kingdom of God. In all these, it is God's plan unfolding. From this it is apparent that general meals would also belong in this theme.

Hearing the proto-eucharistic pericopes may have evoked Exod 2:24; 3:8; 6:5; 7:4; 12:14; and 15:6¹⁴⁶ in the minds of the hearers. These verses speak of the covenant and of God's care for the Israelites. Luke speaks of the betrayer's hand on the table (v. 21); biblically the "hand" refers to power which provides another link to three of these verses: Exod 3:8; 7:4; and 15:6. Later in Exodus, particularly in chapters 19–24 (these chapters cover the covenant at Mount Sinai), are more verses which would have come to mind: Exod 19:5; 23:22; and 24:1-11.¹⁴⁷ Mark and Luke connect the meal with previous

¹⁴⁶ “καὶ εἰσήκουσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν στεναγμὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ” “he heard their groaning and was mindful of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob” Exod 2:24. “καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλήν, εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν Χαναανίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Ἀμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων καὶ Εὐαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων” “Therefore I have come down to rescue them from the hands of the Egyptians and lead them out of that land into a good and spacious land, a land flowing with milk and honey, the country of the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites” Exod 3:8. “καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσήκουσα τὸν στεναγμὸν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ὃν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καταδουλοῦνται αὐτούς, καὶ ἐμνήσθην τῆς διαθήκης ὑμῶν” “And now that I have heard the groaning of the Israelites, whom the Egyptians are treating as slaves, I am mindful of my covenant” Exod 6:5. “καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσεται ὑμῶν Φαραὼ· καὶ ἐπιβαλῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξάξω σὺν δυνάμει μου τὸν λαόν μου τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλῃ” “he will not listen to you. Therefore I will lay my hand on Egypt and by great acts of judgment I will bring the hosts of my people, the Israelites, out of the land of Egypt” Exod 7:4. “καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμῖν αὕτη μνημόσουνον, καὶ ἑορτάσετε αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν κυρίῳ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν· νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἑορτάσετε αὐτήν” “This day shall be a memorial feast for you, which all your generations shall celebrate with pilgrimage to the Lord, as a perpetual institution” Exod 12:14. “ἡ δεξιὰ σου, κύριε, δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύϊ· ἡ δεξιὰ σου χεῖρ, κύριε, ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς” “Your right hand, O Lord, magnificent in power, your right hand, O Lord, has shattered the enemy” Exod 15:6.

¹⁴⁷ “καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσητε τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς καὶ φυλάξητε τὴν διθήκην μου, ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἐμὴ γὰρ ἔστιν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ” “Therefore, if you hearken to my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my special possession, dearer to me than all other people, though all the earth is mine” Exod 19:5. “ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσητε τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς καὶ ποιήσης πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι, καὶ φυλάξητε τὴν διθήκην μου, ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἐμὴ γὰρ ἔστιν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον. ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ Ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ποιήσης πάντα, ὅσα ἂν εἴπω σοι, ἐχθρεύσω τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου καὶ ἀντικείμενοι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις σοι” “If ye will indeed hear my voice, and if thou will do all the things I shall charge thee with, and keep my covenant, ye shall be to me a peculiar people above all nations, for the whole earth is mine; and ye shall be to me a royal priesthood, and a holy nation: these words shall ye speak to the children of Israel, If ye shall indeed hear my voice, and do all the things I shall tell thee, I will be an enemy to thine enemies, and an adversary to thine

meals, including that of the sacrificial meal in Exod 24:3-8 (text above). As well, this new covenant is sealed with Jesus' blood.¹⁴⁸

Luke places the words Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα (“with earnest desire”) on Jesus' lips in Luke 22:15; these words are also used to speak of the homesickness for the father's house felt in Gen 31:30.¹⁴⁹ As well, the community's grumbling about food in Num 11:4 and their forgetfulness of God's provision of food in the desert Ps 105:14 would have come to mind. These texts have been given in theme 1, above. Luke's use of οὐαὶ (v. 22) calls to mind the prophets who in the LXX used it as an expression indicating disfavour or calamity (being described or desired) as in Isa 5:18-22.¹⁵⁰

Matthew evokes the Emmanuel prophecy in Matt 1:23 and raises the image of the messianic banquet of Isa 25:6.¹⁵¹ Another meal evoked with the meal setting is that of Isa 53:12¹⁵² with its hope for the messianic banquet in God's kingdom.¹⁵³ Jesus is the

adversaries” Exod 23:22. Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980). Exod 24:1-11 presents the ratification of the covenant at Mount Sinai.

¹⁴⁸ Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 427; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 570.

¹⁴⁹ “νῦν οὖν πεπόρευσαι· ἐπιθυμία γὰρ ἐπεθύμησας ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς σου· ἵνα τί ἔκλεψας τοὺς θεοὺς μου;” “And now you have gone away because you longed greatly for your father's house, but why did you steal my gods?” Gen 31:30.

¹⁵⁰ In Isa 5:18-22, the prophet begins his warning with οὐαὶ in v. 18.

¹⁵¹ “καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο. πίονται εὐφροσύνην, πίονται οἶνον, κρίσονται μύρον.” “On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined” Isa 25:6. Viviano, “Matthew,” 670.

¹⁵² “διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκύλα, ἀνθ' ᾧ παρέδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρέδόθη.” “Therefore I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul to death, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors” Isa 53:12.

¹⁵³ Harrington, “The Gospel According to Mark,” 626.

Servant of Yahweh from Isa 42:6;¹⁵⁴ consider also in this context, Isa 49:8.¹⁵⁵

The call to re-enact the events of the Last Supper could remind the hearers of Josh 9:3-26;¹⁵⁶ 1 Sam 4:3;¹⁵⁷ 2 Sam 18:18;¹⁵⁸ Neh 1:8; 9:17;¹⁵⁹ and Tob 1:12; 2:2.¹⁶⁰ The

¹⁵⁴ “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνη καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρός σου καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν” “I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness, I have taken you by the hand and kept you; I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations” Isa 42:6.

¹⁵⁵ “οὕτως λέγει κύριος Καὶρῶ δεκτῶ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν τοῦ καταστήσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ κληρονομήσια κληρονομίαν ἐρήμου,” “Thus says the Lord: ‘In a time of favor I have answered you, in a day of salvation I have helped you; I have kept you and given you as a covenant to the people, to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages;’” Isa 49:8. Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 396; Benoit, “Eucharist,” 147; France, *Commentary: Mark, Greek Text*, 570–71.

¹⁵⁶ Josh 9:3-26 presents the Gibeonite deception: the people of Gibeon approach Joshua to make an alliance while looking dishevelled and worn out; they then became vassals of Joshua “hewers of wood and drawers of water for the community and for the altar of the Lord, in the place of the Lord’s choice” Josh 9:26.

¹⁵⁷ “καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ εἶπαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Ἰσραὴλ Κατὰ τί ἔπταισεν ἡμᾶς κύριος σήμερον ἐνώπιον ἀλλοφύλων; λάβωμεν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκ Σηλωμ, καὶ ἐξελεθῆτω ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν” “When the troops retired to the camp, the elders of Israel said, ‘Why has the Lord permitted us to be defeated today by the Philistines? Let us fetch the ark of the Lord from Shiloh that it may go into battle among us and save us from the grasp of our enemies’” 1 Sam 4:3.

¹⁵⁸ “καὶ Ἀβεσσαλωμ ἔτι ζῶν καὶ ἔστησεν ἑαυτῶ τὴν στήλην, ἐν ἣ ἐλήμφθη, καὶ ἐστήλωσεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν, τὴν στήλην τὴν ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι εἶπεν Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶ υἱὸς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀναμῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὴν στήλην Χεῖρ Ἀβεσσαλωμ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης” “During his lifetime Absalom had taken a pillar and erected it for himself in the King’s Valley, for he said, ‘I have no son to perpetuate my name.’ The pillar which he named for himself is called Yad-abshalom to the present day” 2 Sam 18:18.

¹⁵⁹ For the differences in references to chapters and verses see <http://ecat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/16-2esdras-nets.pdf>, accessed October 24, 2010. “μήσθητι δὴ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐνετείλω τῷ Μωυσῆ παιδί σου λέγων Ἵμεῖς ἐὰν ἀνσυνθετήσητε, ἐγὼ διασκορπιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς” LXX 2 Esdras 11:8; “But remember, I pray, the promise which you gave through Moses, your servant, when you said: ‘Should you prove faithless, I will scatter you among the nations’” Neh 1:8. “καὶ ἀνένευσαν τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθησαν τῶν θαυμασίων σου, ὧν ἐποίησας μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκληρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν καὶ ἔδωκαν ἀρχὴν ἐπιστρέψαι εἰς δουλείαν αὐτῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ σὺ θεὸς ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπες αὐτούς” LXX 2 Esdras 19:17; “They refused to obey and no longer remembered the miracles you had worked for them. They stiffened their necks and turned their heads to return to their slavery in Egypt. But you are a God of pardons, gracious and compassionate, slow to anger and rich in mercy; you did not forsake them” Neh 9:17.

¹⁶⁰ “καθότι ἐμνημήμην τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ μου” “Because I remembered God with all my heart” Tob 1:12. “καὶ ἔθεασάμην ὄψα πολλὰ καὶ εἶπα τῷ υἱῷ μου Βάδισον καὶ ἄγαγε δὴν ἐὰν εὕρῃς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἐνδεῆ, δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ἴδου μενῶ σε” “The table was set for me, and when many different dishes were placed before me, I said to my son Tobiah: ‘My son, go out and try to find a poor man from among our kinsmen exiled here in Ninevah. If he is a sincere worshiper of God, bring him back with you, so that he can share this meal with me. Indeed, son, I shall wait for you to come

way in which these texts are linked is explained in each footnote. The term ἐξῆλθον (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26) was used in 2 Sam 15:16 LXX.¹⁶¹ The fact that the disciples headed to the Mount of Olives after the Last Supper evokes thoughts of David's flight from Absalom found in 2 Sam 15:30-31. The Mount of Olives is standing as a place of refuge and of praising God.¹⁶²

Negative ecclesial links are seen to Amos 1:9;¹⁶³ and Mal 2:10¹⁶⁴ with their mention of revocation of the Lord's word and the violation of the covenant. As well, Jesus' blood is that of the covenant as seen in Zech 9:11 (text above) and, in Zechariah 14, the apocalyptic judgement takes place on the Mount of Olives.¹⁶⁵

References to God's power and the unfolding of his will are seen in Ps 9:35; 30:15;¹⁶⁶ 77:11-12;¹⁶⁷ 104:8; 105:45;¹⁶⁸ 110:5 (text above); 115:14-15; and 131:12.¹⁶⁹

back” Tob 2:2.

¹⁶¹ “καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἀφῆκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς δέκα γυναῖκας τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸν οἶκον.” “So the king went forth, and all his household after him. And the king left ten concubines to keep the house.” 2 Sam 15:16.

¹⁶² “καὶ Δαυιδ ἀνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἀναβαίνων καὶ κλαίων καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπικεκαλυμμένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἀνυπόδετος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπεκάλυψεν ἀνὴρ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέβαινον ἀναβαίνοντες καὶ κλαίοντες. - καὶ ἀνηγγέλη Δαυιδ λέγοντες Καὶ Ἀχιτοφελ ἐν τοῖς συστρεφομένοις μετὰ Ἀβεσσαλωμ· καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ Διασκέδασον δὴ τὴν βουλήν Ἀχιτοφελ, κύριε ὁ θεός μου.” “But David went up the ascent of the Mount of Olives, weeping as he went, barefoot and with his head covered; and all the people who were with him covered their heads, and they went up, weeping as they went. And it was told David, ‘Ahithophel is among the conspirators with Absalom.’ And David said, ‘O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness’ 2 Sam 15:30-31.

¹⁶³ “Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις Τύρου καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀποστραφήσομαι αὐτήν, ἀνθ’ ὧν συνέκλεισαν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ Σαλωμων εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθησαν διαθήκης ἀδελφῶν.” “Thus says the Lord: For three crimes of Tyre, and for four, I will not revoke my word; Because they delivered whole groups captive to Edom, and did not remember the pact of brotherhood” Amos 1:9.

¹⁶⁴ “Οὐχὶ θεὸς εἷς ἔκτισεν ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ πατὴρ εἷς πάντων ὑμῶν; τί ὅτι ἐγκατελίπετε ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ βεβηλῶσαι τὴν διαθήκην τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν;” “Have we not all one Father? Has not the one God created us? Why then do we break faith with each other, violating the covenant of our fathers?” Mal 2:10.

¹⁶⁵ Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 399.

¹⁶⁶ “βλέπεις, ὅτι σὺ πόνον καὶ θυμὸν κατανοεῖς τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖράς σου· σοὶ οὖν ἐγκαταλέλειπται ὁ πτωχός, ὀρφανῶ σὺ ἦσθα βοηθῶν” LXX Ps 9:35 “But do you see; you do observe this misery and sorrow; you take the matter in hand. To you the helpless can entrust their cause; you

Ecclesial aspect links are evident to Jer 11:2-10; 22:9;¹⁷⁰ 25:15, 17, 29; and Jer 51:7.¹⁷¹ If the allusion to Isaiah 53 is played down by Luke's wording, ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν (Luke 22:19, 20), the link with the new covenant in Jeremiah 31 is strengthened in the comparison given ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (Mark 26:24).¹⁷² The καινὴ διαθήκη (1 Cor 11:25 and Luke 22:20; is

are the defender of orphans" Ps 10:14. "μνησθεῖν πάσης θυσίας σου καὶ τὸ ὄλοκαύτωμά σου πιανάτω διάψαλμα" LXX Ps 19:3 "May God remember your every offering, graciously accept your holocaust, *Selah*" Ps 20:4. "ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου οἱ καιροί μου· ῥύσασί με ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν μου καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταδιωκόντων με" LXX 30:16 "My times are in your hands; rescue me from my enemies, from the hands of my pursuers" Ps 31:16.

¹⁶⁷ "καὶ ἐπελάθοντο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν θαυμασιῶν αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς, ἐναντίον τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἃ ἐποίησεν θαυμάσια ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν πεδίῳ Τάνεως" LXX Ps 77:11-12 "They forgot his works, the wondrous deeds he had shown them. In the sight of their ancestors God did wonders, in the land of Egypt, the plain of Zoan" Ps 78:11-12.

¹⁶⁸ "ἐμνήσθη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαθήκης αὐτοῦ, λόγου, οὗ ἐνετείλατο εἰς χιλίας γενεάς" LXX Ps 104:8 "He remembers forever his covenant, the pact imposed for a thousand generations" Ps 105:8. "καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ καὶ μετεμελήθη κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ" LXX Ps 105:45; "For their sake he remembered his covenant and relented in his abundant love" Ps 106:45.

¹⁶⁹ "Τὰς εὐχάς μου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποδώσω, ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. Τίμιος ἐναντίον Κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ" LXX Ps 115:14-15; "I will pay my vows to the Lord in the presence of all his people. Too costly in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his faithful" Ps 116:14-15. "ἐὰν φυλάξωνται οἱ υἱοί σου τὴν διαθήκην μου καὶ τὰ μαρτύριά μου ταῦτα, ἃ διδάξω αὐτούς, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος καθιοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σου" LXX Ps 131:12; "If your sons observe my covenant, the laws I shall teach them, Their sons, in turn, shall sit forever on your throne" Ps 132:12.

¹⁷⁰ For differences in chapter and verse numbering in Jeremiah see <http://www.world-destiny.org/Jeremiah%20Table%20of%20Order%20MT%20to%20LXX.html>, accessed October 29, 2010. Jer 11:2-10 is a plea from God through the prophet Jeremiah for the people to be true to the covenant. "καὶ ἐροῦσιν Ἐνθ' ὧν ἐγκατέλιπον τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν θεοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις καὶ ἐδούλευσαν αὐτοῖς" "And the answer will be given: 'Because they have deserted their covenant with the Lord, their God, by worshipping and serving strange gods'" Jer 22:9.

¹⁷¹ "Οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Λαβὲ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρὸς μου καὶ ποτιεῖς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς, . . . καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου καὶ ἐπότισα τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς ἃ ἀπέστειλέν με κύριος ἐπ' αὐτά," LXX Jer 32:15, 17; "For thus said the Lord, the God of Israel, to me: Take this cup of foaming wine from my hand, and have all the nations to whom I will send you drink it. . . . I took the cup from the hand of the Lord and gave drink to all the nations to which the Lord sent me" Jer 25:15, 17. "καὶ ἔσται ὅταν μὴ βούλωνται δέξασθαι τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου ὥστε πιεῖν, καὶ ἐρεῖς Οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος Πιότες πίεσθε" LXX Jer 32:28; "If they refuse to take the cup from your hand and drink, say to them: Thus says the Lord of hosts: You must drink!" Jer 25:28. "ποτήριον χροσοῦν Βαβυλῶν ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου αὐτῆς ἐπίοσαν ἔθνη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐσαλεύθησαν" LXX Jer 28:7; "Babylon was a golden cup in the hand of the Lord which made the whole earth drunk; The nations drank its wine, with this they have become mad" Jer 51:7.

¹⁷² Marshall, *Commentary: Luke, Greek Text*, 801.

simply διαθήκη (i.e., not καινή) in both Mark 14:24 and Matt 26:28); the longer version evokes the eschatological hope of Jer 31:31¹⁷³ which is now recast in Christ's blood with the new covenant.¹⁷⁴ The hearers would have heard the references to the new covenant as a fulfillment of the covenant spoken of in Jeremiah 31.

Ecclesial connections also spring from the New Testament authors' emphasis on remembering what the Lord has done for the people throughout their history and with the symbolism of the cup of salvation and the punishment for sin that comes from God's wrath. These links are evident in texts such as: Ezek 21:23; 23:31-33; 33:3.¹⁷⁵

3.3.6. In Light of OT Scriptures: Knowledge

As discussed in the links from the proto-eucharistic pericopes to New Testament passages outside the book in which they are found, one aspect of knowledge follows the

¹⁷³ “ Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶν κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰουδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶν κύριος· ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, φησὶν κύριος Διδουὺς δώσω νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς· καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν· καὶ οὐ μὴ διδαξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων Γνώθι τὸν κύριον· ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἴλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι” Jer 38:31-34 LXX. “Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though I was their husband, says the Lord. But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people” Jer 31:31-34.

¹⁷⁴ Childs, *Biblical Theology: Theological Reflection*, 432; Karris, “Luke,” 716.

¹⁷⁵ Nebuchadnezzar is at the crossroads and the people of Jerusalem have broken their oath and will be attacked. Ezek 21:23-32. “ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου ἐπορεύθης, καὶ δώσω τὸ ποτήριον αὐτῆς εἰς χεῖράς σου. τάδε λέγει κύριος Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου πίεσαι τὸ βαθὺ καὶ τὸ πλατὺ τὸ πλεονάζον τοῦ συντελέσαι μέθην καὶ ἐκλύσεως πλησθήσῃ· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἀφανισμοῦ, ποτήριον ἀδελφῆς σου Σαμαρείας” “Because you followed in the path of your sister, I will hand you her cup. Thus says the Lord God: The cup of your sister you shall drink, so wide and deep, which hold so much, Filled with destruction and grief, a cup of dismay, the cup of your sister” Ezek 23:31-33. “καὶ ἴδῃ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐρχομένην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ σαλπίσση τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημάνῃ τῷ λαῷ” “and the watchman, seeing the sword coming against the country, blows the trumpet to warn the people” Ezek 33:3.

thought of Clement and Origen who understand Christ's body and blood as a way of speaking about his teachings.

In Zechariah 14, the apocalyptic judgement (encompassing themes 4 and 5) takes place on the Mount of Olives. Luke's use of οὐαὶ (v. 22) calls to mind the prophets who in the LXX used it as an expression indicating disfavour or calamity (being described or desired) as seen in Isa 5:18-22.¹⁷⁶

3.3.7. In Light of OT Scriptures: Typology

This theme reveals elements (people or things) in the Old Testament which prefigure elements (people or things) in the New Testament. There are typological links which were discussed above under other themes: the manna the Israelites were given in the desert and Elijah's miraculous feeding of the 100 men with 24 loaves of bread each are linked to the eucharistic bread. Elisha is linked to Jesus as both of them provide nourishment. Furthermore, the people would have heard the words of the covenant as a reference to Jeremiah and seen that prophecy fulfilled in Christ.

3.3.8. In Light of OT Scriptures: Conclusion

The links between words, phrases, and ideas in the proto-eucharistic pericopes and texts within the Old Testament have been presented under the six themes identified in the works of the Fathers. In each of these connections, the communities underpinning of New Testament texts with the Old Testament honoured their past as they recognised those Scriptures as fulfilled in Christ. In these five pericopes, Christ fulfills the Old Testament prophecies in the events of the Last Supper and the Bread of Life discourse. In this, the New Testament writers continue the process of rereading and reactualising which had been present since the formation of the Old Testament itself.

¹⁷⁶ In Isa 5:18-22, the prophet begins his warning with οὐαὶ in v. 18.

3.4. Canonical Context Conclusion

The rereading and reactualising uncovered by the analysis under the lens “the canonical context” reveal the respect with which the New Testament communities held not only their Jewish roots but as well the eucharistic traditions developing among them. The Hebrew Scriptures which they inherited formed the foundation upon which they understood the Christ event. They reactualised the texts to function within their own context. This reactualising of their heritage is both a fulfillment of and an expansion of that heritage. They did not merely repeat the Old Testament stories or those of other communities, but added to them and explained them in a new way. It is interesting to note that these examples reveal a continuation of the canonical process which began with the first texts of the Jewish people as they began to listen to God’s saving word in their lives.¹⁷⁷ We now move to the third and final framework: the canonical conversation.

4. CANONICAL CONVERSATION: THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE EUCHARIST

The New Testament texts which have been referred to throughout this project as the proto-eucharistic pericopes have their roots in three common sources: their scriptural heritage (the Hebrew Scriptures/Christian Old Testament), the events of the Last Supper, and the liturgical experiences of the early communities. The differences in the texts arise from the various liturgical expressions of the communities as they appropriated the texts, celebrated the Lord’s Supper, and finally wrote of their experiences in order to share them with other Christian communities and to preserve their tradition for later generations. Their written accounts had to remain faithful to their lived liturgical experience in order to maintain familiarity for the community.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 428.

¹⁷⁸ Petzer, “Style and Text,” 127–28.

Viewing the development of the texts through the lens of the canonical approach helps in understanding that the arguments concerning the earliest version of the Institution Narratives are complex and the answer cannot be determined definitively. More importantly, though, this question is not the correct one to ask because the canon does not present just one eucharistic pericope. The complexities of the Eucharist can only be probed by respecting two crucial thoughts: the authoritative text is the one received by the community, and each community crafted an account which presents the significance of the underlying event to the community. In effect each has its own “flavour” with its particular emphases.¹⁷⁹

The church ultimately received the earlier individual community traditions as one canon containing this combination of five texts. In order to understand the meaning of the Eucharist, the church saw that the differences in the underlying theologies and settings had to be held in tension. It is not just those individual communities who wrote of their experiences with the Eucharist for others’ edification. The whole church participated in the reading of many texts in liturgy and out; eventually these five texts were felt to present best the meaning of the Eucharist with all its complexities. These texts continued to find a respected place in liturgical praxis and eventually the church placed them within the recognised canon of Scripture.

The five accounts, when viewed together, present a more complete picture of the complexities of the Eucharist. The Gospels, which are not liturgy-based, have first place in our New Testament because they report the key events of Jesus’ life and action. The church placed Matthew’s gospel first among them because the author was thought to be an apostle and the “Jewishness” of his account neatly forms a bridge between the Old and New Testaments thereby encouraging a vision of Christianity as an organic growth from

¹⁷⁹ Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1717.

their religious heritage with its sacrifices. Matthew's institution narrative highlights the sacrificial nature of the events. The church placed Mark's gospel next; its institution of the Eucharist presents a more primitive rendition containing just the essential facts; for Mark, it is sacrificial.

The church placed Luke's gospel next with its orderly account arrived at by combining sources. Luke's institution narrative, the most complex of the four, contains both a simple last testament portion and a sacrificial portion. The church kept the three similar, synoptic accounts, together and placed John's so-called spiritual gospel last. John knowingly presents a gospel without an institution of the Eucharist but reveals his community's high regard for that liturgy within his Bread of Life discourse. John, in particular, understands the importance of the manna to the community's survival and provides a very concrete connection between it and the eucharistic bread.

The final proto-eucharistic account is found in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians and, as such, is the earliest written account. His intent is not to witness to the life and work of Jesus. In the section of concern to this project, Paul tells them how their Lord's Supper meals are to be celebrated. In effect, the church understands that the Epistles present a picture of the issues of concern to the early church. Within the Epistles, Paul has taken all that the Gospels will later tell about the Eucharist and explains to the Corinthians how it should look, liturgically.

It must be remembered that faith began, not with the familiar written texts and developed theologies, but with the community's recollection of their experience of the risen Christ. Furthermore, "early Christian commentators believed that the Bible spoke with a single (though nuanced) voice and they took apparent inconsistencies between biblical authors as an invitation to probe beneath the surface of the inspired words,"¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Wilken, "Interpreting the New Testament," 20.

which, after all, represents the one voice of the Holy Spirit. The manuscripts are the tradition of the church bearing witness to the original events and their impact on the forefathers of the faith. Each community appropriated a tradition, adapted it to current needs, and preserved it for the next generation. Each step honours what went before while shaping what is passed on to the future.¹⁸¹

5. A CANONICAL READING: CONCLUSION

This project has taken care not to repeat what one John Pless refers to as a common tendency in contemporary exegetical studies of the Lord's Supper. He identifies a propensity "toward a spiritualization of the Lord's Supper by connecting the primary content of the Supper with *anamnesis*, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, or eschatology, rather than the Words of Institution."¹⁸²

We now review the canonical approach as utilised in this project. In Chapter 4 the five pericopes were individually investigated with the tools of the historical-critical exegesis and all six themes identified in Chapter 1 were found in this analysis; the information gleaned from this step formed the backdrop for the canonical content step as the five pericopes were looked at in detail and in relationship to one another. The output of this process is summarised in Appendix XI and XII which present the common elements and the unique elements of the four Institution Narratives. Despite the inherent difficulty in presenting John 6:51-59 in parallel with the Institution Narratives, if any one of these five accounts had been omitted from the canon, vital information about the Eucharist would be missing. However, as seen in Chapter 2, this portion of the Bread of Life discourse "fits" with the Institution Narratives and was crucial to the project in order to include a significant community in the early church.

¹⁸¹ D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 209–11; Wilken, "Interpreting the New Testament," 16, 22

¹⁸² Pless, "Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies," 210.

Then, with the relationships between the five pericopes forming the backdrop, the next step was undertaken: the canonical context, which involved the analysis of the connections between the five proto-eucharistic pericopes and other verses and pericopes in Scripture. This investigation was presented under the six themes identified in Chapter 1. These six themes had been identified after reviewing the writings of the early church. All six themes were uncovered as the context of the pericopes was explored.

The final step, the canonical conversation, added another layer to the information gleaned from the previous steps. Gradually, by adding significant information at each level (details of each, details of the five proto-eucharistic pericopes together, details of the whole of Scripture), we arrived at a complex interpretation of the Eucharist while ensuring that no tension was disregarded in the process. The canonical approach seeks to include all messages of Scripture; it does not favour one message over another.

The development of the proto-eucharistic accounts began prior to the earliest surviving written account, Paul's letter to the Corinthians, which expresses Paul's lived liturgical experience as he tells the Corinthians how their Lord's Supper ought to be celebrated. Mark's account is written next as a simple report on Jesus' life and willing self-sacrifice for believers. Then, Matthew writes with elegant Greek as he takes Mark's account and "cleans it up" linguistically, liturgically, and theologically. Luke has written the most complex of the Institution Narratives within his self-proclaimed orderly gospel. John consciously presents a very different gospel. In his proto-eucharistic pericope he highlights the connection between the manna and the bread of life which is Jesus' flesh given for eternal life of believers.

The church chose to place all five pericopes in a very particular manner within the canon of Scripture. These five accounts, viewed canonically, reveal the expected development of texts over time under the influence of the different communities and demonstrate the communities' tendency to present their liturgical practice as well as

ensuring that the practice continues faithfully in the community.¹⁸³ Rather than a chronological order, the church placed the four Gospels first to highlight the importance of the whole of Christ's life and to bring the Resurrection to the fore while reading about the early church experiences. Christians read, not just the New Testament but the whole Bible, in the context of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

This study of the early church's understanding of the Eucharist through the lens of the proto-eucharistic pericopes is important for the individual's faith as "a proper exegetical understanding of the Lord's Supper will have profound and far-reaching effects on dogmatic formulations, liturgical practice, ecumenical encounters and pastoral care."¹⁸⁴ Given that the church offers a sacramental life with the Eucharist as the "source and summit," it behoves the believer to understand the many valencies contained within the liturgical celebration. At this liturgy, readings are proclaimed which highlight various themes as found in the gospel reading of the day. Only after this proclamation of the life and work of Jesus, does the liturgy move to the Eucharist itself. A deeper appreciation for the Eucharist can only be achieved through a study of the Scriptures which began the development of the rich theology of the Eucharist.

Before employing Brevard Childs's canonical approach, the history of biblical scholarship on the Eucharist revealed too many relevant pericopes to use for a systematic, focussed study. At the same time, though, this analysis did reveal six themes apparent in the writings of the early church. Through analysis of the language and settings of the Institution Narratives a categorisation of these eucharistic-allusive pericopes in the New Testament revealed five closely aligned pericopes which would represent the major communities of the period. Given the need for detailed analysis of five pericopes and their interrelationship, the canonical approach of Brevard Childs was chosen as the most

¹⁸³ McGowan, "Early Interpretive Communities," 75.

¹⁸⁴ Pless, "Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies," 203.

apt. The analysis per se began with the historical-critical analysis of the five individual accounts, studied how they are intertwined, presenting a complex picture of the Eucharist. Not only were the five accounts interrelated, they contained links within themselves to texts within each book, within each collection of books, within the New Testament, and within the Bible. After investigating these links, the language of the results were reviewed. At this point, the themes which had been found in the work of the Fathers were revealed and the information organised to highlight the existence of the very same themes.

From this, it is evident that the canonical approach, while not focussing on the Fathers, has respected the foundation laid by them while not returning to a pre-critical analysis. In fact, this process of taking the historical-critical data further, through the lenses of the canonical approach, has strengthened the input of the Fathers for Christians today. It also reveals that a biblical theology of the Eucharist cannot be found without exploring the links through the three lenses: canonical content, context, and conversation.

Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

As stated at the beginning of this project, the intention was to study the Eucharist in the New Testament using Brevard Childs's canonical approach. This approach would investigate a number of texts which would give as complete a picture as possible of the understanding of the Eucharist of the early church communities. In a project such as this exegetical study, a decision must be made concerning the number of pericopes which can be reasonably reviewed at one time in a manageable fashion.

2. REVIEW OF THE THESIS

The project began, in Chapter 1: Status Quæstionis: The Eucharist in the New Testament, with a review of the exegetical work which has been done on the many eucharistic-allusive texts of the New Testament. We began with this extensive look at the biblical scholarship with the expectation that scholars would have settled on a small number of pericopes closely connected to the experience of the Eucharist in the early church communities and as a way of ensuring that this project would add to the existing scholarship.

The resulting analysis revealed that this project will add pertinent information to the conversation about the Eucharist's place in the church. However, the expectation of uncovering a small number of relevant pericopes was not met. Rather, six themes: 1) body and blood: the elements of bread and wine undergo a change, becoming the body and blood of Christ and they nourish the recipient both physically and spiritually; 2) sacrificial aspect; 3) thanksgiving aspect (the very meaning of Eucharist); 4) ecclesial aspect which brings about not only union with other participants but also with Christ; 5) knowledge aspect; and 6) typology were apparent within the discussions by scholars throughout history. This chapter also underscored the need to remain tightly focussed on a

small number of pericopes which are reasonably inclusive of the early church communities. The extremely wide range of pericopes referenced by these writers is presented in Appendix III: Scripture References / Allusions in the Relevant Texts. Given that these writers did not, for the most part, intend to present a systematic, well-footnoted exposé on the Eucharist, a systematic way to narrow the number of texts to be used in the project was sought.

In Chapter 2: The Rationale for Choosing the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, we presented the author's logical, systematic method for categorising the many New Testament pericopes which touch on some aspect of the Eucharist. The choice of just five proto-eucharistic pericopes is explained and justified through the analysis of the language, setting, and characters of the texts. The inclusion of the Johannine pericope was justified through the analysis of the words for the eucharistic elements (σῶμα, σὰρξ, and αἷμα) and through a study which upheld its eucharistic nature. Finally, the beginning and ending verses for each pericope were determined by justifiable characteristics of time, characters, and theme. Appendix V: Categorising Eucharistic Pericopes of the New Testament contains a tabular and pictorial presentation of the first section of this chapter.

Only after reviewing the manner in which biblical scholarship on the Eucharist has been done and after identifying the pericopes to be used in this project could we identify an approach which is able to rise to the challenge presented by the study of five pericopes. In Chapter 3: Methodology, we explained the canonical approach of Brevard Childs revealing it as a valid exegetical stance to take in order to preserve the voices of the individual communities. We then outlined how the final two chapters of the project would unfold.

In Chapter 4: Historical-critical Analysis of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, we laid down the foundation by a study of each pericope, in chronological order of the generally accepted date of the writing of the New Testament book in which each pericope

is located, using the tools of historical-critical analysis. This involved a detailed look at each verse within the pericopes and revealed the presence of each of the six themes identified in Chapter 1. This data, concentrating on the details of each pericope, forms the input for a canonical reading.

In Chapter 5: A Canonical Reading of the Proto-eucharistic Pericopes, we followed the canonical approach, as presented in Chapter 3, to read the five pericopes under the three lenses: canonical content, canonical context, and canonical conversation. The first section (canonical content) continued to examine the details of each pericope, but here with reference to the other four pericopes. The initial material is organised by the generally accepted dating of the writing of the book because each author, redactor, and accepting community began with a meaningful text and reactualised it to meet their particular needs. The canonical content was further explored by investigating the changes to Jesus' words of institution and instructions, along with the changes to the eucharistic actions. Finally, the three threads of liturgical tradition were presented. With the five pericopes informing one another and yielding a more complex picture of the Eucharist than any one on its own, we then proceeded to the next framework, the canonical context.

The importance of the context of a text is highlighted in this framework. Because interpretation is altered by the surroundings in which a text is read, the canonical context studied each proto-eucharistic pericope within its book, and looked at ways in which the betrayer is presented in the texts. This portion of the framework was presented in canonical order. We did not stop with just the individual books because the context of a text is larger than that. At this point, rather than continue with canonical order of the books, we switched to the themes uncovered in Chapter 1. These six themes had been found throughout the history of writings on the Eucharist and our investigation revealed each of them in light of other New Testament texts and in light of Old Testament texts.

The final framework, the canonical conversation, builds upon the information revealed in the first two frameworks. This conversation honours the voices of the individual early church communities with neither the privileging of one voice nor the conflation of all voices. The common core is identified and each community's understanding is added to the analysis resulting in a complex image which includes the tensions between the voices. The church saw that the mystery of the Eucharist can only be revealed in part and the canonical conversation framework allows a reactualising of the biblical theology of the Eucharist for the contemporary church. This biblical theology of the Eucharist is summarised in the conclusion to the chapter

3. CONCLUSION

This Conclusion looks over the project which sought the exegetical underpinnings of the theology of the Eucharist in the New Testament. As stated in the Introduction, the five proto-eucharistic pericopes were explored with the lenses of the canonical approach of Brevard Childs. These five pericopes present, in scriptural form, the Eucharist as understood by the early church communities. The lenses of the canonical approach respect the differences of the authors and their individual communities while uncovering the common core. None of the individual stances were ignored because the context of Scripture as a whole was maintained.

As seen, the canonical approach presents a view of the Eucharist with all six themes identified in the writings of the early church included. The Eucharist: 1) is a meal in the physical sense which also has a spiritual aspect wherein the bread and wine become body / flesh and blood; 2) has a sacrificial aspect which includes such things as repentance and forgiveness (the changed elements are understood as an efficacious offering for sins); 3) involves thanksgiving (the very meaning of the Greek word εὐχαριστέω is to give thanks); 4) has an ecclesial aspect involving union with Christ and

with one another, an anticipation of the kingdom of God, and the idea of covenant (and the betrayer whose actions speak of the breaking of that union); 5) involves knowledge which is transmitted to the participants through their sharing with one another; and 6) has typological features wherein the manna and Elisha of the Old Testament prefigure the bread and Christ as we receive the Eucharist.

This project has demonstrated that the canonical approach of Brevard Childs is an excellent tool for uncovering the rich diversity of the Eucharist as understood by the early church.

APPENDIX I: GREEK TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

	Matt 26:26-30	
26	Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	And, while they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, broke it and gave it to the disciples saying, “Take, eat, this is my body.”
27	καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες,	And having taken a cup and given thanks, he gave it to them saying, “Drink from it, all of you,
28	τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	for this is my blood of the covenant concerning many, being shed for the forgiveness of sins.
29	λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ’ ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ’ ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.	And I say to you, I certainly will not drink from this fruit of the vine from now until that day when I may drink it with you anew in the kingdom of my Father.”
30	Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	And, having sung hymns, they went out to the Mount of Olives

	Mark 14:22-26	
22	Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	And while they were eating, he took bread, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to them and said, “Take, this is my body.”
23	καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.	And having taken a cup, he gave thanks, gave it to them, and they all drank from it.
24	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	And he said to them, “This is my blood of the covenant which is being shed for many.
25	ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	Truly, I say to you that I certainly will no longer drink from the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it anew in the Kingdom of God.”
26	Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	And, having sung hymns, they went out to the Mount of Olives.

	Luke 22:14-23	
14	Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ.	And when the hour came, he reclined at table and his apostles were with him.
15	καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν.	And he said to them, "With earnest desire, I longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer;
16	λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῆ ἔν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	For I say to you that I certainly will not eat until it is accomplished in the kingdom of God."
17	καὶ δεξιόμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν, Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς.	And he took a cup, gave thanks, and said, "Take this and share it among yourselves;
18	λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	for I say to you that I certainly will not drink the fruit of the vine from now until the kingdom of God comes."
19	καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	And he took bread, gave thanks, broke it, and gave it to them saying, "This is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me."
20	καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	And the cup, likewise, after they had eaten, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is being shed for you.
21	πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.	But, look; the hand of the one who is betraying me is with me at the table.
22	ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται.	Because the son of man, according to what is decreed, dies; besides, woe to that man through whom he was handed over."
23	καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτούς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἶη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν.	But they began to argue among themselves who of them might be the one who was about to commit this.

	John 6:51-59	
51	ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς· ἐάν τις φάγη ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτον ζήσκει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δέ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σὰρξ μου ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.	I am the living bread which came down from heaven, if anyone eats this bread he will live forever; and the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.
52	Ἐμάχοντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, Πῶς δύναται οὗτος ἡμῖν δοῦναι τὴν σάρκα [αὐτοῦ] φαγεῖν;	Then the Jews disputed among themselves saying, "How is this man able to give us his flesh to eat?"
53	εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἶμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.	And Jesus said to them, "Amen, amen, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.
54	ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.	The one who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life and I will raise him up on the last day.
55	ἢ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν βρῶσις, καὶ τὸ αἶμά μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν πόσις.	For my flesh is true food and my blood is true drink.
56	ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ.	The one who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him.
57	καθὼς ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ ζῶν πατήρ καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ὁ τρώγων με κακεῖνος ζήσκει δι' ἐμέ.	Just as the living father sent me and I live because of the father, so the one who eats me will live because of me.
58	οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, οὐ καθὼς ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσκει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.	This is the bread which has come down from heaven; not like the fathers ate and died, the one who eats this bread will live forever.
59	Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδασκῶν ἐν Καφαρναοῦμ.	He said all these things as he taught in the synagogue at Capernaum.

	1 Cor 11:23-26	
23	Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον	For I received from the Lord what I handed on to you: that the Lord Jesus, on the night when he was betrayed, took bread
24	καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	and he gave thanks, broke it, and said, “This is my body which is for you; do this in remembrance of me.”
25	ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	Likewise, after they had eaten, he also took the cup saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood; do this as often as you drink it in remembrance of me.”
26	ὡσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.	For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you announce the death of the Lord until he comes.

APPENDIX II: THEMES APPARENT IN RELEVANT TEXTS

#	Theme	#	Theme
1	body and blood; elements change; food and spiritual nourishment	4	ecclesial aspect; union with Christ
2	sacrificial aspect	5	knowledge
3	thanksgiving (Eucharist)	6	typology

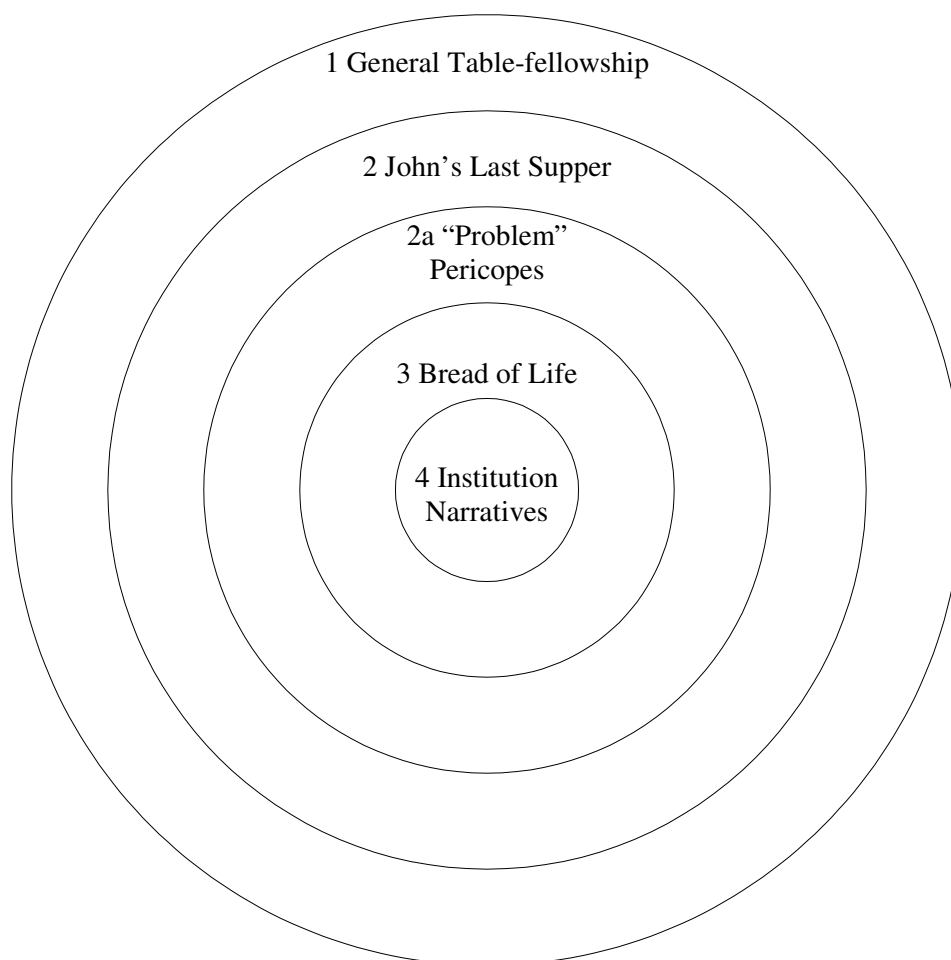
Father / Document	Dates	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ignatius of Antioch	d. ca. 110	✓	✓		✓		
Justin Martyr	ca. 100/110–ca. 165	✓	✓	✓	✓		
the <i>Didache</i>	ca. 140	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Irenaeus	ca. 140–202	✓	✓		✓		
Clement of Alexandria	ca. 150–211/216	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Tertullian	ca. 155/160–ca. 240/250	✓	✓				✓
Hippolytus	d. 235	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Origen	ca. 185–253/254	✓	✓			✓	✓
Cyprian of Carthage	d. 258	✓	✓		✓		
Cyril of Jerusalem	ca. 315–386	✓	✓				✓
Ambrose of Milan	ca. 333–397	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Theodore of Mopsuesia	d. 428	✓	✓				✓
Cyril of Alexandria	d. 444	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Leo the Great	Pope 440-461	✓	✓		✓		
Patristic Writers and Texts		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radbertus; Ratramnus	790–1088; d. ca. 868	✓			✓		
Berengar	999–1088	✓					
Peter Lombard	ca. 1100–1160	✓					
Thomas Aquinas	ca. 1225–1274	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bonaventure	1221–1274	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Medieval Writers		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

APPENDIX IV: USE OF THE PROTO-EUCHARISTIC PERICOPES IN RELEVANT TEXTS

Writer	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	1 Cor
Clement of Alexandria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tertullian					
Hippolytus	✓		✓		✓
Origen	✓			✓	✓
Cyprian of Carthage				✓	✓
Cyril of Jerusalem	✓			✓	✓
Ambrose of Milan			✓	✓	✓
Theodore of Mopsuesia	✓			✓	✓
Cyril of Alexandria	✓		✓	✓	✓
Leo the Great				✓	
Patristic Writers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radbertus; Ratramnus				✓	
William of St. Thierry;			✓	✓	✓
Thomas Aquinas			✓	✓	✓
Bonaventure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Medieval Writers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
J. Jeremias	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
X. Léon-Dufur	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S. B. Clark	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modern Writers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

APPENDIX V: CATEGORISING EUCHARISTIC PERICOPE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

1	Meals (for example) Feeding Miracles	Matt 9:10-13; 22:1-14; Mark 14: 3-9; Luke 7:36-50; 14:15-24; 24:36-42; John 12:1-8; 21:12-14 Matt 14:13-21 and lls; Matt 15:32-39 and lls
2	John's Last Supper	John 13-17
2a	Abuses at Corinth Road to Emmaus	1 Cor 10:14-17 Luke 24:30-31
3	Bread of Life Discourse	John 6:51-59
4	Institution Narratives	Matt 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26, Luke 22:14-23; 1 Cor 11:23-25



APPENDIX VI: STRUCTURE OF JOHN 6 AND OF THE BREAD OF LIFE DISCOURSE

The overall Structure of John Chapter 6 is based on scenic and linguistic considerations while the structure of the Bread of Life Discourse is based on the dialogue:¹

vv. 1-15	Feeding Miracle
vv. 16-21	Walking on Water Miracle
vv. 22-59	Bread of Life Discourse
	vv. 22-27
	vv. 28-29
	vv. 30-33
	vv. 34-40
	vv. 41- 51
	vv. 52-59
vv. 60-65	Consequences (part 1)
vv. 66-71	Consequences (part 2)

¹Johannes Beutler, "The Structure of John 6," in *Critical Readings of John 6* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff; Biblical Interpretation Series 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 123-4, 126.

APPENDIX VII: GREEK TEXTS SHOWING VOICES

KEY	JESUS	NARRATOR	PAUL	THE JEWS
Matt 26:26-30				
26	Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ	δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.		
27	καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ	αὐτοῦ πάντες,		
28	τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον	εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.		
29	λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου	ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ		
30	Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.			
Mark 14:22-26				
22	Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς	καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.		
23	καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ	πάντες.		
24	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον	ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.		
25	ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως	τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.		
26	Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.			

KEY **JESUS** **NARRATOR** **PAUL** **THE JEWS**

Luke 22:14-23

- 14 Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσαν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ.
 15 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν·
 16 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῆ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.
 17 καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν, Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς·
 18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.
 19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἔμην ἀνάμνησιν.
 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.
 21 πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.
 22 ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται.
 23 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτούς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἶη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν.

John 6:51-59

- 51 ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς· ἐάν τις φάγῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτον ζήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δέ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.
 52 Ἐμάχοντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, Πῶς δύναται οὗτος ἡμῖν δοῦναι τὴν σάρκα [αὐτοῦ] φαγεῖν;
 53 εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.
 54 ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.
 55 ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν βρωσις, καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν πόσις.
 56 ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ.
 57 καθὼς ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ ζῶν πατήρ καὶ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ὁ τρώγων με κακεῖνος ζήσῃ δι' ἐμέ.
 58 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, οὐ καθὼς ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
 59 Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδασκῶν ἐν Καφαρναούμ.

KEY **JESUS** **NARRATOR** **PAUL** **THE JEWS**

1 Cor 11:23-26

- 23 Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος
 Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον
- 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, **Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ
 ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.**
- 25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων, **Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ
 καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκεις ἐὰν πίνητε,
 εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.**
- 26 ὡσάκεις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε, τὸν
 θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

APPENDIX VIII: STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

Structure of the Gospel of John for the purpose of showing where the proto-eucharistic pericope is found.¹

1:1-18	The Prologue
1:19–12:50	The Book of Signs
1:19-51	The First Days of Jesus
2:1–5:54	From Cana to Cana
5:1–10:42	The Feasts of “the Jews”
5:1-47	Jesus and the Sabbath
6:1-71	Jesus and the Passover ²
6:1-15	Feeding of the Five Thousand
6:16-21	Walking on Water
6:22-40	Dialogue: Jesus is bread from heaven
6:41:51a	Dispute over Jesus’ origins
6:51b-59	The bread is Jesus’ flesh
6:60-66	Dispute: Jesus loses disciples
6:67-71	Peter’s confession
7:1–8:51	Jesus and Tabernacles: I
9:1–10:21	Jesus and Tabernacles: II
10:22-42	Jesus and Dedication
11:1–12:50	Jesus Turns Toward “The Hour”
13:1–20:29	The Book of Glory
20:30-31	Conclusion to the Gospel
21:1-25	Epilogue

¹Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (vol.4 of Sacra Pagina; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 23–24.

²Raymond E. Brown, et al., *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (2d ed.; New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 950.

APPENDIX IX: COMPARISON OF GREEK TEXTS OF MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE

Key: Matthew, Mark, and Luke Matthew and Mark Matthew and Luke Mark and Luke

Matt 26:26-30	Mark 14:22-26	Luke 22:14-23 (vv. 14-17 Luke only)
(v. 29)	(v. 25)	18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.
26 Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
27 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες,	23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.	20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων,
28 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.
29 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.	25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	(v. 18) (vv. 21-23 Luke only)
30 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	26 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	

APPENDIX X: COMPARISON OF GREEK TEXTS OF MARK, LUKE, AND PAUL

Key: **Mark, Luke, and Paul** **Mark and Luke** **Mark and Paul** **Luke and Paul**

Mark 14:22-26	Luke 22:14-23 (vv. 14–17 Luke only)	1 Cor 11:23-26
(v. 25)	18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἢ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	
22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε,	19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων,	23 Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον
τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἔμην ἀνάμνησιν.	24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἔμην ἀνάμνησιν.
23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἕξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.	20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων	25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων.
24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκις ἐὰν πίνετε, εἰς τὴν ἔμην ἀνάμνησιν.
25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	(v. 18)	
v. 26 Mark only	vv. 21-23 Luke only	v. 26 Paul only

APPENDIX XI: COMPARISON OF GREEK TEXTS FOR COMMON FEATURES OF MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, AND PAUL

Key: Matt, Mark, Luke, Paul

Matt 26:26-30	Mark 14:22-26	Luke 22:14-23 (vv. 14-17 Luke only)	1 Cor 11:23-26
(v. 29)	(v. 25)	18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	
26 Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	23 Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
27 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, 28 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. 24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
29 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.	25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	(v. 18) (vv. 21-23 Luke only)	
30 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	26 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.		v. 26 Paul only

APPENDIX XII: COMPARISON OF GREEK TEXTS FOR UNIQUE AND COMMON FEATURES OF MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, AND PAUL

Key: **Matt** **Mark** **Luke** **Paul** **Matt, Mark, Luke, and Paul**

Matt 26:26-30	Mark 14:22-26	Luke 22:14-23 (vv. 14-17 Luke only)	1 Cor 11:23-26
(v. 29)	(v. 25)	18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	
26 Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, Λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	23 Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
27 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἕξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, 28 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἕξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. 24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
29 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ' ὅρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.	25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	(v. 18) (vv. 21-23 Luke only)	
30 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	26 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.		v. 26 Paul only

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