

## ANAMNESIS IN THE EUCHARIST

The author, David Gregg, introduces his theme with a picture as follows . . .

### THE FRONT COVER

The Arch of Titus, featured on the front cover may seem a strange starting point for a treatise on the place of anamnesis' in the Eucharist. But it is chosen for two reasons.

Firstly, it vividly symbolizes the triumph of the Graeco-Roman world, in 70 A.D., over the last outpost of a relatively pure Semitic culture. It therefore provides a parable of the way in which some of the Semitic antecedents of the Eucharist have seemingly been subordinated, sometimes almost to the point of extinction, in the history of Western interpretation of the rite. It is the writer's present purpose to re-examine the relevant Semitic evidence underlying one aspect of Eucharistic Theology, namely the 'anamnesis', in the hope of contributing towards the re-instatement of this evidence to the primacy it ought to enjoy in Liturgical Theology.

But secondly, and more intriguingly, the particular items depicted on this bas-relief, the spoils from Herod's magnificent temple, provide a striking testimony to the prominence of the whole notion of 'remembering' (Hebrew root *zkr*) in Jewish religion. The foremost legionaries carry the golden table of the shewbread, on which stood the 'bread of the presence', with its frankincense, burnt up week by week as its 'memorial portion' (Hebrew *azkarah*) (cf. Lev. 24.7). Across this can be seen the silver trumpets, the blowing of which constituted a 'commemorative act' (Hebrew *zikkaron*) before the Lord, at the time of festival, new moon and sacrifice (cf. Num. 10.10). Behind, and most prominent of all, comes the golden lampstand, the *menorah*, which became, and still is, the chief symbol of memorial on Jewish tomb-stones, the preserver of the 'memory' (Hebrew *zekher*) of the dead person (cf. e.g. Is. 112.6). Thus, in this one tableau, we find depicted the three principal forms of *zkr* which will be at the heart of our study.

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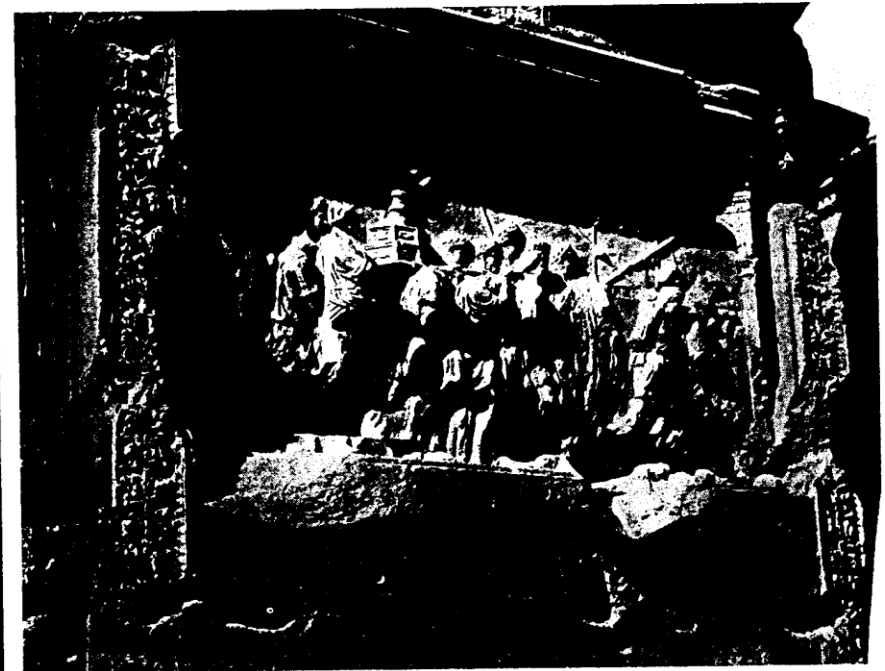
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# ANAMNESIS IN THE EUCHARIST



By

DAVID GREGG

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank many who have looked over my work and offered their criticisms and suggestions, not least my new colleagues on the Board of Mission and Unity. However, I should emphasize not only that I take full personal responsibility for everything in this 'Liturgical Study', but also that it is the fruit of study I did whilst minister of Lindal with Marton, Cumbria, where I served until the end of 1975. The fact that I am now on the staff of a Board of General Synod is irrelevant to the work here published, and in no sense represents any judgment of the Board, or of its officers, on any of the issues here handled. The work issues from my research in connection with a London M.Phil.

David Gregg

17 March 1976

**Note:** The 'Arch of Titus' on the outside front cover is explained by the author on the outside back cover. Hebrew and Greek words have been transliterated, but accentuation has only been used where two words would otherwise look alike.

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## 1. THE 'ANAMNESIS' DEBATE

### Definitions

At the outset, let us briefly define our terms. By 'Eucharist' we mean the whole sacramental act of worship by which Christians respond to the ordinances of the Last Supper. We do *not* mean simply the 'thanksgiving' element within that whole. By 'Liturgy' we mean any written prescribed order for the words and actions of the eucharist. By 'Anamnesis' we mean that element within the eucharist which corresponds to the 'remembering' aspect in the original. We must then further distinguish between the 'Anamnesis rubric', by which we mean the formula recorded in the New Testament as '*touto poieite eis ten emen anamnesin*' ('do this in remembrance of me') (1 Cor. 11.24, 25, cf. Luke 22.19), with its qualifying clause '*hosakis ean pinete*' (as often as you [pl.] drink it'), inserted in connection with the cup (1 Cor. 11.25), and the 'Anamnesis' in the liturgy, which is the technical term for the verbal formula by which is articulated the mode and content of the worshippers' response to the dominical command, and which may sometimes include a further element known as the 'Oblation', an articulation of an act of 'offering'. The 'Anamnesis rubric' will be studied in relation to such questions as, 'What did Jesus command?' and 'What does this command signify?' Later we will examine the various liturgical 'Anamneses' in relation to such questions as, 'How has the church sought, historically, to obey this command?' and 'How faithfully does the current ecumenical "consensus" on this point reflect obedience to the original?'

### The Classic Positions

To set the scene for this present study we will attempt to classify briefly the chief schools of interpretation which have emerged over the course of Christian history in this field. In a short paper it is inevitable that an element of unwarranted polarization (with the possible danger of caricature) will occur, but, at least in 'popular' understanding, the following three possibilities may be distinguished.

- (a) *The 'Sacrificial' theory.* This is the notion that Jesus commanded some sort of sacrificial 'offering' to be made in each eucharist. In its extreme form it has involved ideas of the re-immolation of Christ himself as the climax of the eucharist. It finds its historical epitome in Aquinas<sup>1</sup>; and its classical formulation in Canons II, III and IV of the Council of Trent. In modern times its more literalistic and Thomist excesses have been eschewed, but under this general heading we may still subsume such theories as those which see the essence of the eucharist as an earthly correspondence to what Christ is held to be doing continually in heaven, namely offering himself on behalf of his Church<sup>2</sup>, or those which conceive that, in the eucharist, the whole Christ (meaning head and members i.e. both the Lord himself and his present disciples) offers the 'Whole Christ'.<sup>3</sup> The shibboleth for this viewpoint is the inclusion of an oblation in the liturgical anamnesis which, implicitly or explicitly, 'offers' something material to God.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Summa Theol.* III, 79, 5.

<sup>2</sup> cf. e.g., F. C. N. Hicks, *The Fullness of Sacrifice*.

<sup>3</sup> cf. e.g., E. L. Mascall in *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1961 pp.287 ff.

- (b) *The 'Appropriation' theory.* By this we mean those theories which have seen obedience to this command of Christ primarily, or even solely, in terms of man's response to what God does, or has done, for him. Under this heading we would have to include all those who view the eucharistic action mainly as a visual aid to stimulate their mental recollection of Christ's sacrifice, or who believe that it is chiefly the faithful reception of the bread and the wine, as tokens of their receiving the benefits of Christ's death, which constitutes obedience to the anamnestic imperative. Historically it is this human 'appropriation' aspect which may be held to embrace both Zwingli's *nuda signa* and Cranmer's receptionism, though it has been recently argued that this is an inadequate view, at least of the latter.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, even if largely in reaction to the 'Sacrificial' theory, it is evident that the notion of human 'appropriation' as the most faithful response to the anamnesis rubric still holds the minds and hearts of large sections of Protestant Christianity today.<sup>2</sup> The hallmark of this view is generally the complete absence of any liturgical 'anamnesis', and distribution as quickly as possible after the Words of Institution.
- (c) *The 'Memorial' theory.* The third broad category is characterized by a belief in the intrinsic efficacy of performing a commemorative act. It views obedience to the anamnesis rubric in terms of re-presenting the symbolic actions of the Last Supper in order to bring something about. For some this means something seemingly akin to conjuring up Christ's presence in the midst.<sup>3</sup> To others it means a making present, or 'actualizing' of, Christ's sacrifice.<sup>4</sup> Yet others see it as 'an objective commemoration of the Saviour and his sacrifice to God the Father.'<sup>5</sup> The historical antecedents of this view are not very obvious, though some trace it to the primitive church, and Richard Baxter gives it a respectable Protestant parentage.<sup>6</sup> What is clear is that it is looked

<sup>1</sup> cf. R. T. Beckwith and J. E. Tiller, *The Service of Holy Communion and its Revision* (Marcham Manor, Abingdon 1972) pp.43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> so e.g., P. E. Hughes in *A Critique of Eucharistic Agreement* (S.P.C.K., London 1975): 'The eating of the bread and the drinking of the wine are done in remembrance of his atoning death on the cross. By this eating and drinking the believer, in communion with his fellow believers, not only commemorates what took place at Calvary but also partakes of the benefits of that saving event.' (p.58).

<sup>3</sup> so, A. Richardson *An Introduction to the Theology of The New Testament* (S.C.M., London 1958) p.369 and, apparently, F. J. Leenhardt, quoted by Max Thurian in his essay 'L'anamnèse du Christ' in the Leenhardt festschrift *L'Évangile, Hier et Aujourd'hui* (1968) as saying, 'Dans la sainte cène du Seigneur, les croyants rencontrent le Christ sacrificeur . . . Le Christ sacrificeur et victime est là, présent parmi eux . . .' (p.264).

<sup>4</sup> so, O. Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship* (E. T., London 1962) and cf. D. Stanley in *Concilium* IV.3 (1967) pp.23-26 and art. 'Anaphora' in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (S.C.M. London 1972).

<sup>5</sup> E. H. Peters in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1948 p.249. cf. J. Jeremias *Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (E. T. London 1966 pp.237 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> 'He hath ordained . . . that by faith and prayer they might, as it were, offer him up to God—that is, might show the Father that sacrifice, once made for sin, in which they trust.' Quoted by R. T. Beckwith in *The Churchman* Vol. 83 p.120.

upon by many of its advocates as the most hopeful *via media* between the adherents of the 'Sacrificial' and 'Appropriation' Schools.<sup>1</sup> One of its chief liturgical manifestations, arising out of an assertion by some that the 'anamnesis' commemorates the whole of Christ's work and experience,<sup>2</sup> is the inclusion in the liturgical anamnesis of a comprehensive and undifferentiating reference to (variously) Christ's incarnation, life, passion, death, descent, resurrection, ascension, heavenly session and parousia.

### The Emerging Ecumenical Consensus

We turn now to a short survey of the current state of the ecumenical liturgical debate. The years since the second world war have seen remarkable, and, let it be said at once and unreservedly, very-warmly-to-be-welcomed, advances in Christian understanding, and the healing of breaches of a much older 'war' which has disgraced the name of Christ for many centuries. If it seems necessary, in this small essay in the quest for 'truth', to call in question certain details of this new-found détente, it is intended only in the spirit and context of profound thankfulness for the massive strides which have made such subsidiary criticism relevant, or even possible.

Beginning from an Anglican standpoint, we may begin with the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1958, whose now famous dictum, '... the time has come to claim that controversies about Eucharistic Sacrifice can be laid aside . . .' (2.83), although now seen as somewhat premature, (because of its insistence on retaining the category of 'Sacrifice' as pivotal)<sup>3</sup>, nevertheless presaged a new era for the Church of England in ecumenical agreement. Lengthy and earnest discussions with others have now led to the two major statements which are at present 'on the table'. The first, *An Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine*, produced by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission in 1971, has been commended for study by General Synod.

The second, *One, Baptism, One Eucharist, and a Mutually Recognized Ministry*, (Geneva, 1975) is the end product of many years work in the Faith and Order movement of the World Council of Churches.

### Scope of this paper

We shall therefore want to address ourselves to various questions arising out of these statements:

- (a) It will be fairly obvious from a perusal of them that the interpretation of the anamnesis rubric which these statements incorporate belongs to the 'memorial' school, which we have defined as 'characterized by

<sup>1</sup> so, e.g., C. B. Naylor in *Eucharistic Theology, Then and Now* (ed. R. E. Clements, London 1968). p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.106 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It gave rise for instance to such disclaimers as *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, ed. J. I. Packer (C.B.R.P., London 1962)—see espec. p.1., and cf. also, e.g. Appendix 4 to C. O. Buchanan et al. *Growing into Union* (S.P.C.K., London 1970), and R. T. Beckwith and J. E. Tiller *op. cit. passim.* (on p.37 the authors say 'Even when these words were written, there were reasons for thinking the claim premature, for the sub-committee had before it two reports . . . which showed that disagreements about the eucharistic sacrifice and its expression in liturgy were still very much alive.')

a belief in the intrinsic efficacy of performing a commemorative act'.<sup>1</sup> The ARCIC report says, 'The eucharistic memorial is . . . the Church's effectual proclamation of God's mighty acts.' The WCC report says, 'The *anamnesis* . . . is the Church's effective proclamation of God's mighty acts.' Furthermore both reports claim that it is this interpretation which offers the best way forward in the quest for Christian unity in this matter:

**ARCIC:** 'The notion of *memorial* as understood in the passover celebration at the time of Christ . . . has opened the way to a clearer understanding of the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and the eucharist.'

**WCC:** 'It is persuaded that a sufficient measure of agreement has already been reached to make fresh strides towards unity possible.'

So it is obviously crucial to ask whether the Semitic evidence does, in fact, support the 'memorial' view, rather than the 'sacrificial' or the 'appropriation' view.

- (b) Arising out of this, the statements are also unanimous in their claim that this view involves some sort of 'making present' in the Eucharist of either Christ himself or his sacrifice:

**ARCIC:** 'The elements are not mere signs; Christ's body and blood become really present and are really given.'

**WCC:** 'Christ himself . . . is present in this *anamnesis*.'

It is this 'making present' (i.e. bringing about Christ's presence by the *anamnetic* act.) that has become something of a catchword for the modern 'memorial school,' and we shall want to ask if this is a helpful and accurate way to particularize the 'memorial' theory, if we *do* find that the theory itself is valid.

- (c) The statements also both seem to imply that they conceive of the *anamnesis* as having both a *Godward* and a *Manward* direction:

**ARCIC:** 'In the eucharistic prayer the Church continues to make a perpetual memorial of Christ's death, and his members, united with God and one another, give thanks . . . entreat . . . participate . . . enter into the movement of his self-offering.'

**WCC:** 'The *anamnesis* is not only a calling to mind . . . The Church, proclaiming before God the mighty acts . . . beseeches him . . .'

<sup>1</sup> cf. *A Lutheran-Roman Catholic Statement* (Missouri 1967) para. 2(a):

'Yet in this memorial we do not recall past events: God makes them present through the Holy Spirit . . .'

*Agreement between Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Les Dombes 1972) para 14. 'It is the Spirit which, invoked over the congregation, over the bread and wine, makes Christ really present to us . . .'

*The New Eucharistic Prayers and Prefaces*. (London 1969) on the new Roman Catholic Texts.

' . . . the "Paschal Mystery"—Christ's giving up his body and pouring out his blood for the life of the world—is not simply an event of the past. It is a living reality which is made present by the Church's own life of faith.'

Thurian *op. cit.* p.266:

'Ainsi, le Concile du Vatican II fait usage du mot "memorial" . . . pour exprimer la présence du sacrifice du Christ, crucifié et ressuscité, dans l'eucharistie.'

Since the 'Sacrificial' school envisages a purely *Godward* fulfilment of the *anamnesis* rubric, and the 'Appropriation' school an exclusively *Manward* one, this memorialist concept of mutuality will need to be critically assessed in the light of our findings.

- (d) There seems to be a tendency in both statements to equate 'eucharist' and 'anamnesis' as almost interchangeable—to view 'anamnesis' as pervading the whole of the eucharistic rite, and co-extensive with it:

**ARCIC:** 'Christ instituted the eucharist as a memorial (*anamnesis*) . . .'

**WCC:** 'Christ instituted the eucharist as the *anamnesis* . . .'

In addition the WCC takes an even more enlarged view of the scope of the *anamnesis*: 'The *anamnesis* of Christ is the basis and source of all Christian prayer: . . . the *anamnesis* of Christ is the very essence of the preached word as it is of the eucharist . . .'

We shall be questioning whether the significance of the *anamnesis* rubric can really be extended in this way.

- (e) Both statements relate the concept of 'offering' to the 'anamnesis':

**ARCIC:** ' . . . his members . . . enter into the movement of his self-offering.'

**WCC:** 'With contrite hearts we offer up ourselves, in union with our Saviour as a living and holy sacrifice . . .'

This will afford us the opportunity to ask what notion of 'offering' (if any) is appropriate in response to the *anamnetic* command, and whether it is properly expressed by these statements, and how (if at all) this aspect fits into the total movement of the eucharistic rite.

- (f) The use of the word 'perpetual', in connection with 'memorial' in the ARCIC quotation in (c) above, raises the whole question of whether the word 'memorial' in English is the best rendering of *anamnesis*. When we have explored more fully what the word really means, we shall have to ask whether 'memorial' is a good English rendering, and whether such adjectives as 'perpetual' can properly apply to it.

- (g) A much more fundamental point is highlighted by the unqualified assertion in both these statements<sup>1</sup>, that the proper object of the *anamnesis* goes far beyond the twin foci of the *death* and the *parousia* of the Lord attested by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11.26:

**ARCIC:** 'The eucharistic memorial is . . . the Church's effectual proclamation of God's mighty *acts*.' (Plural!) and 'Christ instituted the eucharist as a memorial (*anamnesis*) of the *totality* of God's reconciling action in him.'

**WCC:** 'Christ instituted the eucharist, sacrament of his body and blood with its focus upon the cross and resurrection, as the *anamnesis* of the whole of God's reconciling action in him. Christ himself with all that he has accomplished for us and for all creation (in his incarnation, servanthood etc. etc.) . . . proclamation of God's mighty *acts*.'

<sup>1</sup> cf. also the Les Dombes Statement, para. 9. 'Christ instituted the eucharist as a memorial (*anamnesis*) of his whole life and above all of his cross and resurrection.' and Thurian *op. cit.* p.271, 'Le mémorial de la sainte cène fait mention de la passion, de la résurrection et de l'ascension du Christ . . .'

When these are set alongside not only Paul's statement but other passages *within* the ARCIC statement which make the (apparently) contradictory assertions that:

'... God has given the eucharist ... as a means through which the *atonement work of Christ on the cross* is proclaimed and made effective in the life of the Church.'

and

'In the Eucharistic Prayer the Church continues to make a perpetual memorial of *Christ's death*.'

It emerges that a crucial question for our study will be concerned with what *is* the proper focus of the 'anamnesis'—to what did Christ intend it to refer? Should we restrict our attention to the cross alone, or is the wider application justified, or even demanded? And, if it is appropriate to make reference to the other 'mighty acts' as well, should the different references be taken up in different ways, or is an all-embracing and undifferentiating 'catalogue' more fitting?

- (h) Finally, and arising out of this, the statements seem to talk about the resurrection of Christ as a past and completed event, in the same category as his death:

**ARCIC:** 'Christ's redeeming death and resurrection took place once and for all in history.'

**WCC:** 'Christ himself *with all that He has accomplished* ... (in his incarnation, ... suffering, sacrifice, resurrection, ascension and Pentecost) ...'

It will be part of our quest, in setting the *anamnesis* in its theological relationship to the eucharist as a whole, to ask if such an assertion is consistent with the Semitic evidence, or whether there is some other compelling framework which would make this identification of cross and resurrection, as both past, completed events, difficult to sustain.

This paper, then, is a first attempt on the part of the writer to set out some of his 'gleanings' from research into the sort of questions raised above. His hope is that any valid points he may be thought to make, from his study of some of the aspects of the Semitic background to the *anamnesis* rubric, may strengthen the influence of the biblical evidence in the search for a deeper and more united understanding of the truth, in this limited but important aspect of ecumenical liturgical study.

## 2. THE 'ANAMNESIS' IN CONTEXT

Before proceeding to the rubric itself, it would seem important to set out, in fairly brief compass, some of the assumptions that have been made, and some of the prior conclusions that have been arrived at, in prescribing the context of this study. It will obviously not be possible to argue out every detail of these preliminary postulates, but it is to be hoped that sufficient indication will be given, and enough documentation offered, to enable the individual points to be pursued to the reader's satisfaction.

### Philosophical presuppositions

Briefly stated, they are those of the Biblical Theology movement.<sup>1</sup> An addiction to Anselm's dictum 'Credo ut Intelligam' is also admitted, and also to that of Porteous, '... neutrality would be unscientific'.<sup>2</sup> There is, therefore, with Gavin,<sup>3</sup> a preference for the unitive Sacramentalism of the Semitic thought-world, rather than the dual categories of physics and metaphysics of the Aristotelian dichotomy.

These have all led to a basic expectation that the chief antecedents of the formula we are to study will be found in the Old Testament rather than in the Classical World,<sup>4</sup> and that the twin poles of 'memory' and 'expectancy' will be as definitive for the New Testament faith as they were for the Old.<sup>5</sup>

### Critical Questions

By this we are referring to certain assumptions made about the actual text of the rubric, and in which context we may best study it. We accept Metzger's qualified arguments in favour of the authenticity of the longer text of Luke 22,<sup>6</sup> and therefore regard the rubric as occurring three times in the NT altogether,<sup>7</sup> with the extra clause *hosakis ean pinete* inserted into the third of these. We shall, however, concentrate our studies on the occurrences in 1 Corinthians 11, as being the earlier and more liturgically-

<sup>1</sup> The thesis of G. E. Wright in his *The God Who Acts* (London 1952) has had a formative influence, leading me to a rejection of both the Myth-Ritual approach, and the plea to eschew traditional categories in favour of those of modern philosophy, as exemplified, for instance, in Prof. Macquarrie's *Christian Unity and Christian Diversity* (London 1975) pp.66-78.

<sup>2</sup> N. W. Porteous in *Living the Mystery* (Oxford 1967) p.30.

<sup>3</sup> F. Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments* (1933) Lecture I.

<sup>4</sup> The often-cited parallels in the 'Mystery' cults are almost certainly *imitations* of the Last Supper and NOT antecedents of it. So Justin Martyr, '... the evil demons have imitated this (the Eucharist) and ordered it to be done also in the mysteries of Mithras' (*First Apology* 66.4) and cf. R. McL. Wilson in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (Nelson, London 1962) para. 623a/b.

<sup>5</sup> So W. D. Davies, '(the) thought (of 1st-cent. Judaism) was largely controlled by the memory of the event in the past which gave the Law, the Exodus, and by an anticipation for the future which was largely determined by the character of the past,' (*Peake's Commentary* para. 619a).

<sup>6</sup> B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (United Bible Societies, London 1971) pp.173ff.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. in Luke 22.19, and 1 Cor. 11.24 and 25.

orientated (let alone undisputed) account.<sup>1</sup> We consider the rubric to be original to the Last Supper, which we regard as having actually taken place much as recorded in the New Testament.<sup>2</sup>

### Linguistic considerations

Since the language in which we have the rubric is *Koine* Greek, the importance of the evidence of the Septuagint (hereafter called 'LXX') is obvious, especially since any Old Testament allusions by Paul would depend for their impact on some knowledge of it. But are we to believe that Greek was the original language of the rubric? Certainly it seems likely that Jesus knew and used Greek, but his 'native' tongue would be Palestinian Aramaic.<sup>3</sup> However, since it is now strongly argued that the common language of Judaea in the first century was still Hebrew,<sup>4</sup> and since, in any case, the liturgical language<sup>5</sup> and the medium of Rabbinic teaching<sup>6</sup> was also Hebrew, it is the writer's conviction that the language used for this 'Rabbinic' pronouncement, in the context of the Passover Seder, in the heart of the land of Judaea, was almost certainly Rabbinic Hebrew.<sup>7</sup> This will give further reason for according primacy to the Semitic, and especially the Hebraic, evidence in our quest.

Semantically there has been a conscious attempt to apply the canons of J. F. A. Sawyer set out in *Semantics and Biblical Research* (London 1972). In particular, his plea that 'Semantic statements must be primarily synchronic' has dictated a concentration on writings contemporary to the New Testament, or extant at that time, and an attempt to evaluate how they were understood *at that time*. This is especially important in relation to the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament (hereafter called 'MT'). Of the Apocrypha we have paid special attention to the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, as having not only the provenance of Jerusalem, but also being the nearest contemporary writing available in large part in both Hebrew and Greek. We have studied the relevant Mishnaic sections and their Talmudic settings, the Palestinian Targumim and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Pseudepigrapha, and the writings of Philo and Josephus, have supplied additional Greek evidence from a Semitic provenance. We have paid considerable attention to the Syriac versions of both OT and NT, as the earliest *Christian* evidence offering insights into the *Semitic* mind as to 'equivalents' between the two, (though bearing in mind their rather later dating). With similar

caution, we have recognized the relevance of the Jewish Passover 'Haggadah'. The Samaritan Passover Liturgy has, however, seemed fairly safe to ignore.<sup>1</sup> The Easter sermon, *Peri Pascha*,<sup>2</sup> of the Syrian bishop Melito (c. 190 A.D.), and the eucharistic references in the writings of Justin Martyr (c. 165 A.D.), provide important secondary evidence, as the earliest Christian treatments of our subject from a Semitic and a Hellenistic source respectively.

### Hermeneutical Matters

It seems undeniable that it is the setting of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread that will supply the major hermeneutical key to the Last Supper, whatever view one may take of the precise nature of that meal. The writer is happy to accept the weight of opinion that identifies the Last Supper with the Passover meal,<sup>3</sup> but feels that very little is at stake hermeneutically, so long as it is granted that the Great Festival<sup>4</sup> should be the major theme that governs our understanding of the Supper, as it is set forth in the New Testament. 'For our passover also has been sacrificed, *even* Christ: therefore let us keep the feast.' (1 Cor. 5.7). So wrote Paul, and we take his aphorism as our primary framework. We particularly note the place of the Passover in *inaugurating* the Old Covenant Community, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread as the New Year Festival of Renewal,<sup>5</sup> and the relationship *between the two!* In evaluating the evidence of the Seder Service and the Haggadah however, the crucial changes post-70 A.D. must be borne in mind,<sup>6</sup> as must the evidence of the considerable variation in Passover practice prior to that date.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand it will not do simply to confine ourselves to the Passover. As Alan Richardson observed, '... the Eucharist in the Church took the place of *all* the Jewish sacrifices and feasts.'<sup>8</sup> And, as Professor Hooke has observed, it is the *whole* of the Jewish cultus (e.g. Covenant, Circumcision, Sabbath, Priesthood, Sanctuary etc. etc.) that forms the milieu of the NT writings.<sup>9</sup> This is especially relevant to any study in 1 Corinthians. No wonder that the eucharist has emerged as a prime focus for Christian soteriology, ecclesiology, eschatology and Christology. It is a complex and diverse symbol drawing on many strands of Biblical Theology, and we shall hope not to obscure this richness and diversity by our pre-occupation with only *one* facet of the whole.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We concur with the argument that the absence of the formula in Matthew and Mark shows their prior concern with narrative, rather than liturgy. (e.g. G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* (ET. London 1929) p.179).

<sup>2</sup> cf. C. F. D. Moule *Worship in the New Testament* (Lutterworth, London 1961) pp.18-46 and G. Dalman *op. cit.* Part 4.

<sup>3</sup> cf. J. Jeremias *op. cit.* pp.196 ff. for this whole question.

<sup>4</sup> cf. J. M. Grintz, art. 'Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple' in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960) pp.32-47 and J. A. Emerton, art., 'The problem of Vernacular Hebrew in the First Century A.D.' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973) pp.1-23.

<sup>5</sup> As evidenced in the survival of the Passover 'Haggadah'.

<sup>6</sup> As evidenced in the Mishnah.

<sup>7</sup> So James Barr, art. 'Which language did Jesus speak?' in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* Vol. 53 (1970) p.17 and M. Black, *An Aramaic approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford 1967) p.238.

<sup>1</sup> so J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (London 1963) pp.251 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This bears striking resemblance to the Haggadah, as pointed out by S. G. Hall in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1971 pp.29-46.

<sup>3</sup> The current *locus classicus* for the arguments is J. Jeremias, *op. cit.* Chapter I.

<sup>4</sup> R. de Vaux, *Studies in the O.T. Sacrifice*, (Oxford 1962) argues that by NT times Passover had become the *central* feast of the Jewish calendar (pp.1-26).

<sup>5</sup> These points are emphasized by B. S. Childs in *Exodus* (S.C.M. London 1974) Ch. VIII.

<sup>6</sup> cf. T. H. Gaster, *Passover—its History and Tradition* (London 1958).

<sup>7</sup> cf. J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover* (Oxford 1963) p.241 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.* p.371.

<sup>9</sup> *Peake's Commentary*, para. 112a etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Pace* R. le Déaut (*La Nuit Pascale*, Analecta Biblica, Rome, 1963), the Targumic theme of the Binding of Isaac (the 'Aqedah') can hardly be a major hermeneutical key. It seems rather to be a post-NT Jewish device to counter Christianity.

### 3. THE 'ANAMNESIS' RUBRIC

We may conveniently set out most of what we want to say about the rubric by looking separately at its component parts. We will consider the demonstrative *touto*, then the imperative *poieite*. We will take *eis . . . anamnesin* together and, finally, the emphatic *ten emen*. We will treat the parenthetical *hosakis ean pinete* (as Paul does), as a subsidiary to *poieite*. We have already stated our main reasons for concentrating on the account in 1 Cor. 11, but we may add the observation that it occurs there in the wider context of Paul's attempt to deal precisely with the good ordering of that church's worship.

But before embarking on this detailed study, we ought to ask if there are any Semitic parallels to the formula as a whole.<sup>1</sup> This would be particularly valuable in support of the notion of a Hebrew original, and might be an important pointer to its correct exegesis. So it is worth noting that the sequence we have in the rubric, (a direct object + a form of *poiein* + *eis* + an accusative from the root *mimneskein*) is found twice in LXX in the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, at 45.9<sup>2</sup> and 50.16.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore we do, happily, possess the Hebrew original at these two places. We shall refer more specifically to the place of this vital evidence when we discuss *eis . . . anamnesin*, but we mention it here to underline further the validity of giving precedence to the rubric's Semitic antecedents.

#### 'Touto'

The demonstrative obviously forms the rubric's chief link with its context, the meal itself. The first thing to note is that we have *touto*, and not *houtōs*—'this' rather than 'thus'—and we must resist Jeremias's suggestion that it is phrases with *houtōs* plus *poieite* that constitute Hebraic antecedents for the rubric.<sup>4</sup> *Touto* would seem here to indicate 'that which I have just demonstrated to you', while *houtōs* could equally well mean 'in the way I am showing you now', or 'in the way I am about to show you.'—i.e. we take *touto* here as a pronoun pointing *back* to a precedent, (as it does in the previous verses in each case) and not as an imprecise adverb. Furthermore *houtōs* would require exact imitative repetition, and would make the Last Supper the *Model*, rather than the *Source*, of the Christian eucharist.<sup>5</sup> Dalman is quite emphatic on this point when he says *touto* means 'the action just performed.'<sup>6</sup>

It has sometimes been urged, by those who interpret the rubric as commanding a sacrifice, that *touto* may refer to the 'bread' and to the 'cup'.<sup>7</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias (*op. cit.* pp.249 ff.) mentions only the two separate phrases.

<sup>2</sup> '[The Lord compassed Aaron's robe with bells] . . . to make a sound that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people.'

<sup>3</sup> '[The Sons of Aaron sounded the trumpets] . . . They made a great noise to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High.'

<sup>4</sup> As are all the examples he gives. *op. cit.* p.249.

<sup>5</sup> A possibility cogently rejected by Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Dacre/Black, London 1945) p.48.

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p.176.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (1876) p.624.

the bread, at least, this would seem to require *touton*, following, rather than preceding, *poieite*.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of the Syriac at this point is somewhat ambivalent, but on the whole would point to the feminine demonstrative pronoun *zo* in Rabbinic Hebrew, and certainly seems to eliminate any possibility that *touto* was understood to refer to the bread or to the cup.<sup>2</sup>

If, then, *touto* refers to 'the action just performed', what may we say of this? Here we need to make a critical scrutiny of Dix's assertion that the 'four-fold' action (The 'Offertory', the 'Prayer', the 'Fraction', and the 'Communion') of the Liturgy is a legitimate conflation of the seven-fold action in the original Last Supper.<sup>3</sup> First we may applaud his emphasis that the eucharist bears the analogous relationship to the original Last Supper that recurrent Passover meals bear to *their* original source.<sup>4</sup> But then we must contest his mathematics! His scheme seems to give no separate place to the 'interpretative words', which are, in many ways, the most distinctive element in the whole. If we follow up this lead, it gives us a *nine*-fold action in the original (taking bread—giving thanks—breaking the bread—saying the interpretative word—the 'communion' of the bread—taking the cup—giving thanks—saying the interpretative word—the 'communion' of the cup) presumably reduceable to a five-fold action. (Taking—giving thanks—breaking the bread—saying the interpretative words—communion of both elements.) But we ought then to note that it is only the first *four* of these that *precede* the rubric, and these constitute the action to be repeated *eis ten emen anamnesin*. The 'communion' is *not* included!<sup>5</sup> *Touto*, on this interpretation, covers the *Aorist* forms *elaben*, *eucharistesas*, *eklasen* and *eipen* only.<sup>6</sup> Despite the conflation with which we are so familiar in English liturgical texts, the rubric is nowhere recorded as *following* the imperative 'Take, eat . . .' in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. A. Plummer, *St. Luke* (ICC) (Edinburgh 1901) p.497.

<sup>2</sup> For the cup, the Vulgate rendering is unambiguous—*HIC CALIX*, but *HOC FACITE*.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* pp.48-102.

<sup>4</sup> There is a pertinent contrast between the Passover customs of the Jews and those of (modern) Samaritans, who seek to *imitate* as exactly as possible the Passover rites of the Exodus itself. See art. 'Passover' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem 1971).

<sup>5</sup> cf. R. T. Beckwith and J. E. Tiller *op. cit.* p.43.

<sup>6</sup> This division between the other acts (to which 'Do this'—and therefore ' . . . in remembrance of me' also—properly apply) and the act of communion is important to the theological argument which follows. Paul has not recorded any command 'Take, eat', nor even recorded a distribution, when he quotes Jesus as saying 'Do this', and it is arguable that *hosakis ean pinete* itself points to an action which is different from *touto poieite*. The whole eucharistic action then becomes 'anamnetic actions' plus 'act of communion'. Nevertheless, despite this distinction, which is strongly dependent upon the Pauline account, the totality of the eucharistic action in practice is not to be disintegrated, nor too sharply compartmentalized. Conflating Paul with Matthew and Mark (and noting that Luke does include *edoken* as well), we may have difficulty in allotting to Jesus a self-consciously restricted scope for the meaning of *anamnesis*. The argument here is that it would not *be* self-conscious if the true meaning can be obtained—for Jesus would have used it quite unself-consciously in just that meaning. And we have to go to Paul for the account of Jesus' usage.

<sup>7</sup> B. Metzger, (*op. cit.* p.562) also refutes this from a textual point of view.

## 'Poieite'

The present-continuous plural imperative from the root *poiein* gives rise to a number of important points. These centre chiefly on the significance of the root verb. On the LXX evidence the immediate and obvious Hebrew equivalent would be *asah*, and, despite the fact that nearly fifty other Hebrew roots are found as occasional or rare equivalents for this exceedingly common Greek word, only one, *'abad*, can be credibly canvassed as a possible alternative to *'asah*, in a *cultic* context such as we are studying. But the contrast between the two is instructive. The chief distinction seems to lie in the fact that *'abad* allows for the notion of some voluntary or contributory activity on the part of the 'doer', whilst *'asah* seems to indicate *the necessary performance of a mechanical function*.<sup>2</sup> If this distinction is valid, it throws an interesting light on the contrast between Hebrew and Pagan sacrifices, since *'asah* is a general verb used for performing sacrificial acts.<sup>3</sup> It would seem to suggest a concept of 'going through the (appointed) motions' only, in contrast to the Pagan notion of the sacrificer actually contributing or donating something to the God. The translation (and interpretation!) 'offer' for *poieite* here, on this reckoning, appears entirely gratuitous.<sup>4</sup> One feels that the onus is very firmly on those who still seek to justify it<sup>5</sup> to establish a possible alternative Hebrew (or

<sup>1</sup> cf. all the MT/LXX contexts where *poiein* is used for *'abad* viz. Ex. 13.5, Num. 4.23, 26, 35, Deut. 13.30. 2 Chron. 34.33. Is. 19.21. It is noteworthy that none of these uses concern 'making a sacrifice'.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Ex. 20.9. 'Six days shall you labour (Heb. *'abad*) and do (Heb. *'asah*) all your work', and Num. 4.26. 'Whatsoever shall be done (*'asah*) with them, therein shall they serve (*'abad*)'. And cf. the examples given in n.3 below.

The Syriac is even more meticulous about this distinction as can be seen in its rendering of Exod. 32.35. 'And the Lord smote the people, because *they made* the calf, which *Aaron made*'. The Hebrew has *'asah* in both places, but the Syriac uses the root *plch* (its usual equivalent for *'abad*) for the first, presumably because it is voluntary and therefore culpable, and *'bd* (its regular equivalent for *'asah*) for the second, presumably because Aaron was the mere mechanic, and therefore non-culpable!! (N.B. It may be remarked that the Syriac *'bd* appears to be cognate to the Hebrew *'abad*, but, as in both Biblical and Palestinian Aramaic, it is demonstrably NOT equivalent in meaning.)

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Ex. 29.36, 38, 39, 41. Lev. 5.10, 6.15 (=22) 9.7 (and, in Ex. 12.48 and 34.22=To 'do' the Passover).

<sup>4</sup> The English versions of the Bible seem unnecessarily controvertible on this point. (cf. references given above) and cf. C. Neill and J. M. Willoughby, *The Tutorial Prayer Book* (C.B.R.P., London, 1959) p.216 and Y. Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice* (S.P.C.K. London 1930) p.43.

<sup>5</sup> For a variety of such views, of various (diminishing?) intensity cf. W. E. Scudamore, *op. cit.* p.623; D. Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (London 1909) Vol. 1 p.9 ff.; J. L. Houlden *et al.* arts. 'We offer unto Thee this bread and cup' in *Theology* Vol. 69 (1966) and R. J. Halliburton, ch. - 'The Canon of Series 3' in ed. R. C. D. Jasper, *The Eucharist Today* (S.P.C.K., London 1974), especially pp.113-116. (It would appear, in addition, that one of the attractions for some of using the word 'celebrate' in the liturgical anamnesis is because it derives from 'CELEBRARE', which corresponded to an earlier 'OFFERRE' in medieval times. So P. F. Bradshaw, Ch. 'Celebration' *ibid.* pp.130 ff. But it is also arguable that Bradshaw has to suggest this slightly more loudly than the evidence would allow, as he is obviously engaged on reconciling somewhat traditionalist Anglo-Catholics to the Series 3 Canon.)

Aramaic) original to substantiate it.<sup>1</sup> *'asah*, by far the most likely original,<sup>2</sup> does not warrant such an interpretation.

The evidence concerning the root *poiein* in the rubric seems to point clearly to the straightforward meaning 'Perform this action' for the phrase *touto poieite*.

Here we may regard the verb as a familiar one to describe not only the performing of a cultic act but also the performing of a prophetic symbolic act.<sup>3</sup> Indeed Wheeler Robinson goes so far as to link these together as of the same order, and goes on to cite the crucifixion of Christ as both the supreme *cultic* act and the culminating *prophetic symbolic* act of human history.<sup>4</sup> It may be fitting therefore to consider the eucharistic act as in the same *genre*, particularly as it includes the interpretative word.<sup>5</sup>

The use of the *present-continuous* tense introduces the keynote of *continuation* and *renewal* to the sacrament. It gives opportunity to draw attention to the eucharist as the *ongoing* sacrament of the New Covenant, for which baptism is the initiatory sacrament. It therefore invites analogy with the Sabbath observance of the Old Covenant which stood in similar relationship to circumcision. The ceremony of the Shewbread, the continuing acknowledgement of God's sovereignty, and of his provision for, and preservation of, his people, seems particularly suggestive,<sup>6</sup> and Whiteley has drawn attention to the occurrence of the *trapeza kuriou* in 1 Cor. 10.21 as a possible conscious allusion by Paul to this link.<sup>7</sup> He also, however, draws attention to the wider sacrificial system, to suggest that the eucharist, like the OT sacrifices, serves to *maintain* the covenant relationship.<sup>8</sup>

The use of the *plural* highlights the essentially 'corporate' nature of this dominical institution, taking up Paul's previous references to 'we, who are

<sup>1</sup> An original *'abad* would almost certainly have appeared in Greek as a form of the root *latreuein*, for instance. cf. A. Richardson, *op. cit.* p.297. Greek also has *thuein*, *thuazein*, *prospHEREin* and *anapherein* for a more specifically *sacrificial* imperative. So E. H. Peters art. 'St. Paul and the Eucharist' in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 10 (1948) p.248.

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac, with its more precise rendering of the 'nuances' (see n.2 opposite), seems almost conclusive. It uses the root *'bd* (=Heb. *'asah*) in every rendering of the rubric in the NT.

<sup>3</sup> cf. J. Dupont, art. 'Ceci est mon corps,' 'Ceci est mon sang' in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 80, pp.1025-41.

<sup>4</sup> H. W. Robinson, art. 'Hebrew Sacrifice and Prophetic Symbolism' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 43 (1942) pp.129-139.

<sup>5</sup> '[Sacrifices and Prophetic Symbolic Acts] . . . both require the interpretative word to make them articulate.' *ibid.* p.135.

'[At the Last Supper] . . . he was effecting in a symbol that sacrifice of himself which he was about to accomplish in fact.' *ibid.* p.137.

<sup>6</sup> cf. M. Tsevat, art. 'The Basic meaning of the Biblical Sabbath' in *Zeitschrift für die all. Wissenschaft* (1972) pp.447-459.

<sup>7</sup> D. E. H. Whiteley, *The Theology of St. Paul* (Blackwells, Oxford 1964) p.178.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p.180.



many, are one body . . . all share one bread' (10.17) and 'when *you* come together in the congregation' (11.18). We will find this *corporate* aspect of the sacrament crucial in understanding the qualifying clause inserted into the rubric over the cup—*hosakis ean pinete*, to which we will now turn.

### 'Hosakis ean pinete'

The phrase seems best understood as an answer to the natural question arising from the continuous imperative, 'When/On what occasions/How often shall we perform this act?' It is, in fact, the decisive clue to some of the prospective 'problems' of the sacrament as a whole.

One of the things which seems to emerge from the welter of conflicting theories about the nature of Jewish festive meals, during the days of apparently fluctuating practices pre-70 A.D., is the observance of a weekly communal festive meal, at the start of the Sabbath, at which the Cup of the Berakhah, the symbol of the Covenant fellowship, was drunk.<sup>1</sup> G. F. Bahr has gone to some lengths to show that Hebrew festive meals followed a traditional and widespread pattern, into which the Passover Seder readily fits.<sup>2</sup> And Dix is at pains to establish that it was to the Cup of the Berakhah that Jesus attached the second rubric.<sup>3</sup> The suggestion then is that, by the addition of this qualifying phrase, Jesus ensured that the Sacrament he was instituting would be repeated at each communal festive weekly meal of the fellowship of his disciples<sup>4</sup>—an interpretation which 1 Cor. 11.26 seems clearly to bear out. 'As often as you eat *this* (particular) bread, and drink *the* cup (the Cup of Blessing='Berakhah'. cf. 10.16) . . . ' If Jesus had intended a private daily communion he would have attached the rubric to the bread alone. If he had intended an annual anniversary memorial banquet, he would presumably have attached it to the Passover lamb. The fact that he attached it to the actions with the bread *and* the wine,<sup>5</sup> and carefully underlined the use of the Cup of Blessing as the 'time-factor', provides an essential hermeneutical clue. And (we concur with Dix<sup>6</sup>) Jesus intended, by the double repetition of the rubric, to bring *together* the action with the bread and the action with the cup (separated by up to an hour in the Passover Seder) to institute a single united corporate commemorative act.

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud, Pesahim 106.9, (attached to the Mishnah passage concerning the four cups of wine to be drunk at the Passover) says that the Sabbath was *distinguished* (Heb. root *zkr*!!) by a cup of wine.

<sup>2</sup> G. J. Bahr, art. 'The Seder of Passover and the Eucharistic Words' in *Novum Testamentum* Vol. 12 (1970).

<sup>3</sup> G. Dix, *op. cit.* p.59.

<sup>4</sup> cf. G. Dalman, *op. cit.* pp.179/180.

<sup>5</sup> The employment of these *common* elements also admits the connection of the eucharist with the common meals of the gospels, and the suggestive link with, e.g., the feeding of the five thousand, the supper at Emmaus, the wedding at Cana etc. etc. cf. D. M. Mackinnon, essay 'Sacrament and Common Meal' in ed. D. E. Nineham, *Studies in the Gospels* (Oxford 1967).

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p.60.

### 'Eis . . . anamnesin'

We come now to what may well be regarded as the heart of the matter. Certainly this small phrase has occasioned a vast literature, and we shall need to abbreviate drastically all the points that could be made, in view of the small compass available to us.

Again, as with *poieite*, we will begin by looking for the corresponding Hebrew root. Here, fortunately, our task is vastly simplified. No rival to *zkr* ('remember') seems even remotely worthy of serious consideration, so we may start with that premise, and shortly we will attempt to elucidate its basic significance. But, since we have a *noun* form in the rubric, we must first consider what precise equivalent nominal form from the root *zkr* would give the most credible Hebrew antecedent to our text. And here we are faced with a central perplexity of our exegetical task. A perusal of the noun forms from this root, translated by *anamnesis* in the LXX and other Greek versions, yields no less than *four* possibilities—*azkarah*, *hazkir*, *zeker* and *zikkaron*, and these will we now examine in turn.

1. *azkarah*. This feminine noun is generally regarded as a form from the Hiphil which has taken the characteristic Aramaic *aleph* in place of the *he*.<sup>1</sup> It may be considered closely related, therefore, to *hazkir* (q.v.).

It appears to designate a specifically *material* object, used cultically to 'cause something to be remembered', (hence its Hiphil connections), most characteristically the 'handful' taken from the cereal offerings and burnt by fire.<sup>2</sup> Once only in the LXX it is translated by *eis . . . anamnesin*—at Lev. 24.7. (Where the R.V. translates the MT, 'And thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be to the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord.') In the MT *this* occurrence of *azkarah* has three unique features: here alone it has *l*<sup>o</sup> preceding it, here alone it lacks the pronominal suffix, and here alone it designates frankincense rather than the 'handful'. It may be any or all of these that misled the translator into using *eis . . . anamnesin* here, but it is obvious, from his whole rendering of this verse that he completely misunderstood the MT at this point.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere it is always the direct object with the feminine pronominal suffix, *eth-azkarathah*, that occurs, translated consistently by *to mnemosunon autes*.

The word also occurs twice in the Hebrew of the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, at 38.11 and 45.16—both times to render the 'handful', and both times translated in LXX by *mnemosunon*. It is also found in the

<sup>1</sup> So J. Pedersen, *Israel*. (O.U.P., Oxford 1940) Vols. III/IV p.702, and cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar* (O.U.P., Oxford 1910) para. 85b.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. 2.2, 9, 16; 5.12; 6.8. Num. 5.26.

<sup>3</sup> T. K. Abbott, *Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (Longmans, London, 1891) gives a full and convincing treatment of this point, on pp.123 ff.

Mishnah with this import.<sup>1</sup> It is variously interpreted by commentators as 'token',<sup>2</sup> 'pledge',<sup>3</sup> 'memorial of the offerer'<sup>4</sup> and 'that which recalls to memory that which it stands for'.<sup>5</sup> *The Encyclopaedia Judaica*<sup>6</sup> points out that it formed a part of the 'dedicatory offerings' which only accompanied joyful sacrifices and never sombre ones, and formed the link between atonement and communion. Although it seems firmly disqualified as a likely antecedent to our rubric, on the grounds that it is a very exact technical term designating a *material* object, we shall bear this latter point in mind when assessing the wider significance of the *anamnesis* in the eucharist as a whole.

2. *hazkir*. This is, in essence, the Hiphil infinitive of *zkr*, and nearly all of its occurrences in the MT and Sirach are clearly verbal, and are translated by verbal forms in the LXX.<sup>7</sup> The only exceptions to this are the titles of Psalms 38(37) and 70(69), where the form *lehazkir* is rendered by *eis anamnesin*, and in Sirach 50.16, where the same form is rendered by *eis mnemosunon*. These occurrences, taken together, might suggest a link between *hazkir* and *zikkaron*, since the Sirach reference concerns the blowing of the Trumpets, designated a *zikkaron* in Numbers 10.10, as in several Rabbinic and other references.<sup>8</sup> The Psalms could have been intended to accompany this ceremonial. Alternatively, and more likely though, the actual contents of the Psalms in question have suggested to some that the reference is to the *azkarah*,<sup>9</sup> so perhaps these may be occurrences of the (pre-exilic?) Hiphilic antecedent of *azkarah*,<sup>10</sup> carefully preserved as the familiar titles of revered liturgical pieces.<sup>11</sup> As a *noun*-form, however,

- <sup>1</sup> e.g. *Menachoth* 2.1. Although later usages in the Talmudic literature show that the *azkarah* eventually came to designate the mention of the Divine Name. But the frequent occurrence of the Aramaic equivalent *adkrh* in the Targumim, to render the concept of the 'handful', suggests that it was *this* (original) sense which the word chiefly conveyed in 1st century Palestine.
- <sup>2</sup> G. R. Driver, art. 'Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch' in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1956 pp.99-100.
- <sup>3</sup> R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Darton, Longman & Todd, London 1961) p.422.
- <sup>4</sup> G. von Rad *Old Testament Theology* (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh 1962) Vol. I p.257.
- <sup>5</sup> Rashi's Commentary on Lev. 24.7 (ET by M. Tosenbaum and A. M. Silberman, London 1932). A further selection of interpretations may be found in various lexica etc.
- <sup>6</sup> In art. 'Sacrifice'.
- <sup>7</sup> The full list of these 'verbal' occurrences is 1 Sam. 4.18, 2 Sam. 18.18, 1 Ki. 17.18, 1 Chron. 16.4, Ezek. 21.29, Amos 6.10, and Sirach 49.9.
- <sup>8</sup> See below p.21.
- <sup>9</sup> So, J. W. Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms* (1904) p.228, who takes the addition *perisabbatou* in the LXX title to Ps.37 to point to the Shewbread Ceremony, though the contents of both Psalms might seem equally (or more?) suitable to accompany the 'poor man's' guilt offering (Lev. 5.12).
- <sup>10</sup> cf. R. D. Wilson, art. 'The Headings of the Psalms' in *Princeton Theological Review* (1926) pp.1-37, 353-395. The interchangeability of the *he* and the *aleph*, (cf. p.17 above) is further shown by the form *hazkarah* which occurs several times in the Talmud. (Keth. 104a, Taan. 2b, Y.Ber. III 6c etc.). Liturgical pieces are notorious for their 'conservatism'.
- <sup>11</sup> An interesting parallel in English is the preservation of titles like 'Magnificat' 'Te Deum' etc. in the Book of Common Prayer. Even patent errors of translation may be doggedly preserved there—cf., e.g., the Vulgate title *LEVAVI OCULOS* for Ps. 121, immediately (and more correctly) rendered 'I will lift up mine eyes'!

*hazkir* is an extremely rare aberration in writings contemporary to the NT, and very enigmatic. It would seem to be either an unlikely archaism or an unnecessary obscurity as the antecedent for *anamnesis* in the rubric.

3. *zekher*. This noun, at least, is of certain meaning in Hebrew, and in common usage. It designates that aspect of God or man by which he is known and remembered—that is to say his reputation, renown and, after a man's death especially, the memory of what he was.<sup>1</sup> It is commonly found as a parallel to '*shem*'—the 'name' by which he is identified.<sup>2</sup> It always refers to something that is non-material, but continuing, abiding and never-ceasing, unless and until it is actively blotted out.<sup>3</sup>

On purely theoretical grounds this idea has obvious attractions as a possible antecedent to the rubric—a speculation very attractively epitomised in S. B. Frost's article entitled 'The memorial of the childless man',<sup>4</sup> in which he interprets the Lord's Supper as a taking up of the prophecy of Is. 53.10, 'he shall see his seed.' The point has also been powerfully elaborated by Dr. Marjorie Sykes,<sup>5</sup> specifically making the equation that *anamnesis* is the equivalent of *zekher*. Petuchowski<sup>6</sup> has even adduced the use of *zekher* in the 'Hillel' pericope from the Passover Haggadah<sup>7</sup> in an attempt to substantiate this theory—despite Dalman's apparent pre-empting of this particular line of argument.<sup>8</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> so J. Pedersen, *op. cit.* p.256 and cf. Ps. 112.6. Prov. 10.7. Is. 26.14. Hos. 14.8.
- <sup>2</sup> Ex. 3.15. Job 18.17. Ps. 135.13. Is. 28.8.
- <sup>3</sup> Ex. 17.14. Deut. 25.19. 32.26. Ps. 9.5, 6. Is. 26.14. An amusing aside on this basic meaning of *zekher* is provided in the Talmud, in a discussion about the need for great care in teaching. Deut. 25.19 records God's edict that every *memory* (*zekher*) of the Amalekites should be blotted out, but 1 Ki. 11.16 records that Joab only killed every *male* (Heb. *z'har*). The story concocted by the Rabbis concerning this apparent discrepancy is that Joab was taught the wrong meaning of Deut. 25.19 by his rabbi. When Joab discovered this he is reputed to have threatened to kill the unfortunate miscreant for his carelessness! (Baba Bathra ch. II).
- <sup>4</sup> In *Interpretation* Vol. 26 (1972) pp.437-450. This argument is strongly reminiscent of the celebrated ch. 44 of the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, 'Let us now praise famous men . . .'. cf. note 2 on p.20 overleaf.
- <sup>5</sup> Art. 'The Eucharist as "Anamnesis"', in *Expository Times* 71 (1960) pp.115-118. Her argument hinges on the parallelism with 'making mention of the name' and, although many of her points are valuable for the wider aspects of the Eucharist, one feels obliged to observe that naming the name of Jesus does NOT constitute the *anamnesis* element in the Last Supper.
- <sup>6</sup> Art. 'Do This in Remembrance of Me', in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957) pp.293-298.
- <sup>7</sup> see, e.g. N. N. Glatzer (ed.) *The Passover Haggadah*, (Schocken Books, New York 1969) pp.56-7.
- <sup>8</sup> *op. cit.* p.178 where Dalman emphasizes that the 'sandwich' is described as in memory of the Temple, not in memory of Hillel. This is therefore *not* a precedent for remembering a person at all. And, in any case, as Petuchowski tacitly acknowledges, the whole pericope is so manifestly of much too late a date to be relevant for our purposes, though it does show that *zekher* retained its same basic meaning long after 70 A.D.

But linguistically *zekher* must be declared the *least* likely possibility of all. There is no occurrence in the LXX of *anamnesis* being used to translate it. Either *mnemosunon* or *mneme* is almost invariably used.<sup>1</sup> The only slight linguistic argument in favour would have to rely on the three stray occurrences in the post-NT versions of the Greek O.T. at Ex. 3.15, Ps. 6.6 and Ps. 135.13. The contrary evidence, from multitudinous occurrences, is quite overwhelming.<sup>2</sup> And hermeneutically this extends into the NT itself, where each of the three occurrences of *mnemosunon* seems best understood as utilizing an aspect of the *zekher* notion outlined above.<sup>3</sup> We may, it seems, confidently reject *zekher* as the original for *anamnesis* at the Last Supper. But again, as with *azkarah*, we will return to it when considering the wider facets of the *zkr* emphasis in the eucharist as a whole.

4. *zikkaron*. We come finally to the most general of the nouns from the *zkr* group, and (if only, at this stage, by a process of elimination) the most obvious original for *anamnesis* in our rubric.<sup>4</sup> It is a masculine noun with a wide complexity of uses, which we must attempt to analyse, but its typical *substantive* import in the MT<sup>5</sup> seems to be that it designates 'something' which directs the attention of those who perceive it (i.e. constitutes a *COMMEMORATION*) to a prior reality from which the *zikkaron* itself derives.<sup>6</sup> This 'something' may be a cultic object, the material substance of which forms the essential link with the 'prior reality' which it commemorates.<sup>7</sup> Or it may be a cultic act, done to commemorate an event.<sup>8</sup> Or it may be a written record, preserving (and therefore commemorating) words spoken, lists of names, or facts of history.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the refs. already given, cf. Ps. 30.4. 34.16. 97.12. 102.12. 109.15. 145.7. Ecc. 9.5. Hos. 12.6.  
<sup>2</sup> The evidence from the near-contemporary Wisdom of Ben Sirach is particularly striking, cf. 10.17. 38.23. 44.9. 45.1. 46.11. 49.13—all of which translate an original *zekher* with *mnemosunon*.  
<sup>3</sup> Matt. 26.13 (=Mark 14.9) and Acts 10.4. And cf. also 1 QM 13.8 from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the other two occurrences of *zekher* in the Haggadah (Glatzer, *op. cit.* pp.18 and 78) for the same general meaning of the word.  
<sup>4</sup> A common choice for translators of the NT into Hebrew. (cf., e.g., J. Salkinson and C. D. Ginsburg, *Habberit Hahadashah* (Vienna 1886) *ad. loc.*)  
<sup>5</sup> It is also found *adjectivally* at Ex. 28.12. 39.7. Num. 5.15 etc.  
<sup>6</sup> This final point is very vital. A stone from Hadrian's Wall would constitute a material *zikkaron* of it, but a plastic souvenir of it, or a replica wall built somewhere else, would not! There is always an intrinsic continuity between a *zikkaron* and the thing which it commemorates.  
<sup>7</sup> e.g. Num. 17.5 (EVV 16.40), where the altar-cover is made out of the censers of the impious to be a commemoration of the consequences of their blasphemous act. and cf. Ex. 30.16. Num. 31.54. Josh. 4.7. Zech. 6.14 (16).  
<sup>8</sup> e.g. Ex. 12.14, where the observance of the feast constitutes a commemoration of the deliverance, and Num. 10.10, where the blowing of the trumpets commemorates the worshippers. and cf. Ex. 13.9. Lev. 23.24.  
<sup>9</sup> e.g. Ex. 17.14, where God's rejection of the Amalekites is to be commemorated in writing, and Ex. 28.12 and 28.29 where it is the *written names* which constitute the *zikkaron*. And cf. Mal. 3.16. Esther 6.1.

We must also ask if it is possible to isolate *one* of these three possibilities, namely the cultic object, the cultic act, or the written record, as being itself the more likely nuance of *zikkaron*, as the origin of *eis . . . anamnesin* in the rubric.

Firstly, we observe that the only occurrence of *anamnesis* for *zikkaron* in the LXX of the MT is at Num. 10.10, where it refers to the cultic act of blowing the silver trumpets.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, we find that this same emphasis on the *zikkaron* as the cultic act is the most prominent element in the Hebrew writings most nearly contemporary with the NT. Nearly all the references found are to the observing of festivals,<sup>2</sup> the sounding of bells,<sup>3</sup> or the blowing of the trumpets.<sup>4</sup>

The occurrence at Sirach 45.9,11 is particularly significant as it is found in a construction which closely approximates to the whole of our own rubric.<sup>5</sup> When taken together with the similar construction in 50.16, where the blowing of the trumpets is referred to (though there *ʾhazkir* is used), it seems to supply powerful supportive evidence for the likelihood of the concept of a cultic act underlying the NT use of this same construction.

Thirdly, with Thurian<sup>6</sup> and others, we would attach considerable weight to the occurrence of the following passage in the Passover Haggadah, at the very place where the Cup of the Berakhah is being 'blessed':

'Our God and God of our fathers, may there rise, and come, and come unto, be seen, accepted, heard, recollected and remembered, the remembrance of us and the recollection of us, and the remembrance of our fathers, and the remembrance of the Messiah, son of David, thy servant, and the remembrance of Jerusalem, thy holy city, and the remembrance of all thy people, the house of Israel. May their remembrance come before thee, for rescue, goodness, grace, mercy, and compassion, for life and for peace, on this Festival of Unleavened Bread.'

<sup>1</sup> For the other occurrence in the LXX of *anamnesis*, at Wisdom 16.6, the reference is to the holding up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness. But, since there is no underlying Hebrew here, it is not possible to identify a particular Hebrew equivalent. It is interesting to note in passing, however, how often the *zikkaron* incorporates a 'protective' element i.e. it emphasizes the holiness of God and seems to serve to stay his wrath against sin. (cf. Ex. 30.16. Num. 17.5. 31.54. Mal. 3.16, and also the MT of Ex. 29.35 that lies behind the use of *zikkaron* in Sirach 45.9-11). This would accord well with Paul's remarks in 1 Cor. 11.27 ff. about the consequences of eating the Lord's Supper unworthily.  
<sup>2</sup> DSS. IQS 10.5. and the Cave 4 Calendar.  
<sup>3</sup> Sirach 45.9, 11.  
<sup>4</sup> DSS. IQM 3.7, 7.13, 16.4 and 18.4. The occasional use of *zikkaron* for written records is also found (1 QH 1.24. CDC 20.19), and this became the all-pervading sense of the word after 70 A.D. (cf. Ber. 6.9. Ta'anith 2 and R. Hash. 4.5 in the Mishnah, which refer also to certain scripture verses as *zikkronoth* to be recited on specified occasions to elicit the Lord's remembrance of his people), as one might expect when the cult had been destroyed, and neither cultic objects nor cultic acts were available any longer.  
<sup>5</sup> cf. p.12 above.  
<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p.270.  
<sup>7</sup> cf. N. N. Glatzer, *op. cit.* p.63.

At every occurrence of *remembrance* here the word *zikkaron* is found in the Hebrew text. We might dissent from Thurian's remark that, 'On peut imaginer le Christ disant cette prière lors du repas où il institua l'eucharistie', on the grounds that it is far from certain that it dates back, in this form, quite that far.<sup>1</sup> But it does provide strong evidence that, in Mishnaic Hebrew, and in the context of the Passover Meal, and at a most suggestive point, the word *zikkaron* indicated a commemorative cultic *act*—because the passage seems to be summarizing all that has gone before it throughout the Seder service, which whole service is itself the distinctive commemorative act for the due observance of the Festival day.

Here, fourthly, we may interpolate a significant and distinctive feature of *Mishnaic* Hebrew. Segal observes that the ending '-ōn', especially with a sharpening of the second radical (and he gives *zikkaron* as an example) had come to indicate an 'abstract noun', and that 'Concretes with this ending are found only in a few denominatives with a diminutive significance'.<sup>2</sup> This accords closely with what we have found concerning the significance of *zikkaron* in literature contemporary with, and subsequent to, the NT. It would seem to diminish still further the likelihood of *zikkaron* indicating a cultic *object* in our text.<sup>3</sup>

Fifthly, if we are right about *touto* being an action, then *zikkaron* in the sense of a commemorative *act*, is clearly the only noun form from *zkr* that *could* fit our formula! And when we consider that the command is to *go on doing* (something) over and over again, it is doubly clear that neither a cultic *object*, nor a *written record*, is at all appropriate as the relevant nuance for *zikkaron* here, because neither could be done *repeatedly*.

On all these grounds we feel that the cumulative evidence for *zikkaron*, in the sense of a commemorative cultic *act*, as the most likely Hebrew original for *anamnesis*, seems impressive.

However, if this be granted, we must now ask why the formula has *eis . . . anamnesin*, rather than *eis . . . mnemosunon*, since *mnemosunon* is used far more extensively in the LXX to render *zikkaron*. Or are we to agree with Thurian<sup>4</sup> and (apparently) Jeremias,<sup>5</sup> and others, that the two are completely interchangeable? We think not.

<sup>1</sup> The references to Jerusalem particularly, in the prayer of which this is part, seem to be post-A.D. 70, and, if we are right in suggesting that the various *zikkronoth* have as their antecedents the various acts of commemoration in the Seder, the *zikkaron* of Jerusalem would most naturally seem to refer to the constant preoccupation with 'when the Temple still stood'. (*ibid.* pp.47, 57 etc.).

<sup>2</sup> M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (O.U.P., Oxford 1970) pp.119ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac is not much help on the antecedent of *anamnesis*. Although it uses a form in the rubric, namely *dukron*, which is exactly analogous to *zikkaron*, this same form is used to render *all* the noun forms from *zkr* in the Syriac version of the OT, as well as *mnemosunon* in the NT.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.* p.265. 'Le mot grec *anamnesis* ou son équivalent *mnemosunon*, qui traduisent indifféremment *zikkaron* ou *azkarah*, sont également rendus par "memorial".'

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.* pp.251 ff.

In the first place, we have already observed that *eis . . . mnemosunon* corresponds more closely to *ʿzēkher* in its usage both in Sirach and the NT.<sup>1</sup> We may add to this the observation that, out of the eight occurrences of *zikkaron* prefixed with *ʿ* in the MT,<sup>2</sup> only once, when it occurs in a context in parallel to 'name' (Ex. 28.29), is the preposition *eis* prefixed to *mnemosunon*. We are obliged to feel that *eis mnemosunon* would be actually misleading as a Greek translation of *ʿzikkaron* in our text.<sup>3</sup>

But there is also a more positive side to this. Just as both *azkarah* and *zēkher* designate things that have a certain intrinsic continuing, abiding *permanency* about them, unless and until they are deliberately destroyed or consumed or blotted out, so *mnemosunon* implies this same element of continuity. *Anamnesis*, on the other hand, characteristically designates something that is momentary and discontinuous—something that has no abiding existence of its own. This emerges very clearly from the classic discussions of the difference between the two words in the writings of Philo,<sup>4</sup> and is borne out by an examination of the occurrences from the root *anamimneskein* in the NT, which characteristically describe an act of recollection of something 'forgotten',<sup>5</sup> compared to the many uses of *mimneskomai* which seem to refer to something continually kept in mind.<sup>6</sup> This notion of *ad hoc* recollection also seems to cover the significance of the only other occurrence of *anamnesis* in the NT, at Hebrews 10.3 'But in these sacrifices there is a remembrance made of sins year after year',<sup>7</sup> and also links suggestively with an observation of W. D. Davies:

'While the worship at the Temple signified the *perpetual* presence of Yahweh among his people, other activities of the religious life of the 1st-century Jew were connected with his *interventions* at different periods in the history of Israel. This is particularly true of certain Festivals which were observed, namely *Passover*, etc. . . . The aim of such festivals was to make events in Israel's history . . . live again.'<sup>8</sup>

There is a distinct sense of *renewal*, of remembering *again*, about *eis . . . anamnesin*, which made it far more appropriate to use to render *ʿzikkaron*.

Finally, in this section, we turn to the pivotal question of the significance of the root *zkr* itself. We shall take as our principal mentors J. Pedersen<sup>9</sup> and B. S. Childs.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. *mnemosunon* used in exactly this same sense in Enoch 8.4. 97.7. 99.3 (twice). 103.4. Pss. of Solomon 2.17. 13.11. Test. Job 24.2. 40.4. 43.5, 17. Test. XII Patr.—Joseph 7.5.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 12.14; 13.9; 28.12, 29; 30.16. Num. 10.10. Josh. 4.7 and Zech. 6.14.

<sup>3</sup> Especially since *eis mnemosunon* is characteristic of a memorial of the DEAD!!!

<sup>4</sup> *Legum Allegoriae* III 91-93, *De Congressu Q.E.G.* 39-42, *De Virtutibus* 176.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Mk. 11.21. 14.72. 1 Cor. 4.17. 2 Tim. 1.6.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Mt. 27.63. Luke 1.54, 72. John 2.22(?). 12.16. Acts 10.31. 1 Cor. 11.2. 2 Tim. 1.4. Heb. 2.6. 8.12. 10.17. 13.3. 2 Pet. 3.2.

<sup>7</sup> Otherwise this occurrence seems of only marginal significance for our task since

(a) It occurs without *eis*.

(b) It is most clearly parallel to 1 Ki. 17.18 (= *Hazkir*) and to Num. 5.15, where the MT, LXX and Targumim *all* have verbal forms.

<sup>8</sup> *Peake's Commentary* para. 618d.

<sup>9</sup> *In Israel, Its Life and Culture*. (O.U.P. Oxford 1926, 1940).

<sup>10</sup> *In Memory and Tradition in Israel* (S.C.M. London 1962).

When modern western man talks about 'memory' or 'remembrance' he does so in a framework of thought vastly different from that of the ancient Semite or Homeric Greek. Because he is heir to a philosophical framework in the dichotomous tradition of Plato, Aristotle and Posidonius,<sup>1</sup> sharply differentiating between 'matter' on the one hand and 'spirit' on the other, he is inclined to equate the words solely with *mental recollection*.<sup>2</sup>

By contrast, the philosophical framework which is the milieu of the Semitic evidence embraces the totality of reality in a single unified whole, so that *zkr* involves a revitalizing of this totality. As Pedersen puts it, 'When the soul remembers something, it does not mean that it has an objective memory image of some thing or event, but that this image is called forth in the soul and assists in determining its direction, its action . . . (The Israelite) cannot at all imagine memory, unless at the same time an effect on the totality and its direction of will is taken for granted.' (pp.106-7). And since God himself is the chief and all-pervading 'soul' in this totality, any act of *zkr* is bound to involve both God and man, no matter who does the remembering. There will be, in every commemorative act, dynamic consequences, as both God and man grasp the whole and act accordingly. There can be no 'remembering' *in vacuo*. There is always a volitional implication, a 'remember-and-do-something-as-a-result'. Childs brings this out when he says, 'God's remembering always implies his movement towards the object of his memory . . . The essence of God's remembering lies in his acting toward someone because of a previous commitment.' (p.34) and '(for Israel) to remember is to grasp after, to meditate upon, indeed to pray to God.' (p.65). These two aspects are clearly brought together in the *zikkaron*. 'The *zikkaron* stimulates God's memory and his acts of memory are synonymous with his acts of intervention. The *zikkaron* also stimulates Israel's memory, which produces participation in the sacred order' (p.68). Dr. Sykes puts this tellingly into the context of the Eucharist, when she says, 'The act of remembering the Covenant brings alive as a present reality all the significance and power of this act of God's redeeming grace. How naturally does this link up with the bringing to remembrance of the New Covenant established by Christ's blood.'<sup>3</sup>

There is a problem here however. How is the gap between the past and the present to be crossed? For *God* this is no problem, since he experiences an omnipresence which transcends this.<sup>4</sup> But what about man? The key-word

<sup>1</sup> Mediated into the Christian tradition especially by such authors as Philo (cf. *Peake's Commentary* para. 624d.), Nemesius of Emesa (so Childs *op. cit.* p.27), Thomas Aquinas, Zwingli etc.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Childs, *op. cit.* p.28. 'There is no real dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew mentality in respect to memory. The point is that the Old Testament, certain North-West Semitic inscriptions, and Homer share in assigning to the words of memory an unreflective, broad semantic value. This usage has been greatly restricted by the Greek philosophers (because of their reflective, rational interests) to denote only the mental process of recalling.' Josephus, in his use of the word *anamnesis*, typically exemplifies this latter view. cf. *Jewish War* III.351, 394 *Antiquities* IV. 189. 191; XI. 82; XIV. 218, 318, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* p.118.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Childs, *op. cit.* pp.74 ff.

in modern thinking on this matter is 'actualize'.<sup>1</sup> It is held that man can cross the gap by a cultic actualization of a past event. But Childs pertinently warns against two erroneous rival theories here, which are both germane to the *anamnesis* discussion. On the one hand we must beware of the Myth/Ritual approach, which stands loose to the *historical* basis of the cult, and seeks recapitulation and renewal by means of the re-enacting of the sacred drama of the myth, irrespective of its grounding in any historical event.<sup>2</sup> We should note that, in the Haggadah for instance, the worshippers are told, 'In every generation let each man look on himself as if he came forth out of Egypt.'<sup>3</sup> It is very much a matter of 'We are as if *there*,' NOT 'It is as if *here*', (and the omission of 'as if' would make matters worse).

As Childs says, 'For Israel the structure of reality was historical in character and not mythical . . . The cult actualized within Israel her solidarity with the forefathers, with those who had actually participated in the Exodus' (p.82).

On the other hand, there is the other extreme of viewing the past as merely static event. He says, 'We feel that those who emphasize the historical element in the process of actualization have tended to ignore the dynamic quality of an historical event. It enters the world of time and space at a given moment, yet causes a continued reverberation beyond its original entry. The biblical events can never be static, lifeless beads which can be strung on a chronological chain . . . We conclude that Old Testament actualization cannot be correctly identified with a return to a former historical event.' (p.83). He goes on to give a definition which we should like to adapt and adopt as the proper way to explain this aspect of the *anamnesis* in our study. *A real event occurs as the moment of redemptive time from the past initiates a genuine encounter in the present.* (cf. p.84).

The whole *zkr* notion is, as we have observed, very central and of rich complexity in Biblical Theology as a whole. The very nature of Biblical religion as historically based makes this inevitable. We have tried, in this section on *eis . . . anamnesin*, to identify the particular aspect of this richness which is most relevant in this place, and would therefore propose, as a summary of our findings so far, that the rubric means: *'Take, give thanks, break the bread and say the interpretative words, at each weekly festive communal meal, as the commemorative act in which you initiate a genuine encounter in the present by means of a moment of redemptive time from the past.'*

#### 'Ten emen'

So we come to the decisive phrase which marks off the commanded commemorative act as the specifically *New Covenant* sacrament it was instituted to become—the phrase which anchors the rite firmly in history. It gives the vital clues to two remaining questions, 'What is to be commemorated?' (i.e. With what 'moment of redemptive time from the past' are we here concerned?) and, in the light of our answer to that, 'Who is

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p.74. The concept has its obvious attractions (and pitfalls) for the modern existentialist, experiential philosophers!

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Glatzer *op. cit.* p.49 and Mishnah Pesahim X.5.

At every occurrence of *remembrance* here the word *zikkaron* is found in the Hebrew text. We might dissent from Thurian's remark that, 'On peut imaginer le Christ disant cette prière lors du repas où il institua l'eucharistie', on the grounds that it is far from certain that it dates back, in this form, quite that far.<sup>1</sup> But it does provide strong evidence that, in Mishnaic Hebrew, and in the context of the Passover Meal, and at a most suggestive point, the word *zikkaron* indicated a commemorative cultic *act*—because the passage seems to be summarizing all that has gone before it throughout the Seder service, which whole service is itself the distinctive commemorative act for the due observance of the Festival day.

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<sup>1</sup> The references to Jerusalem particularly, in the prayer of which this is part, seem to be post-A.D. 70, and, if we are right in suggesting that the various *zikkronoth* have as their antecedents the various acts of commemoration in the Seder, the *zikkaron* of Jerusalem would most naturally seem to refer to the constant preoccupation with 'when the Temple still stood'. (*ibid.* pp.47, 57 etc.).

<sup>2</sup> M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (O.U.P., Oxford 1970) pp.119ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac is not much help on the antecedent of *anamnesis*. Although it uses a form in the rubric, namely *dukron*, which is exactly analogous to *zikkaron*, this same form is used to render *all* the noun forms from *zkr* in the Syriac version of the OT, as well as *mnemosunon* in the NT.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.* p.265. 'Le mot grec *anamnesis* ou son équivalent *mnemosunon*, qui traduisent indifféremment *zikkaron* ou *azkarah*, sont également rendus par "memorial".'

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.* pp.251 ff.

In the first place, we have already observed that *eis . . . mnemosunon* corresponds more closely to *ʿzēkher* in its usage both in Sirach and the NT.<sup>1</sup> We may add to this the observation that, out of the eight occurrences of *zikkaron* prefixed with *ʿ* in the MT,<sup>2</sup> only once, when it occurs in a context in parallel to 'name' (Ex. 28.29), is the preposition *eis* prefixed to *mnemosunon*. We are obliged to feel that *eis mnemosunon* would be actually misleading as a Greek translation of *ʿzikkaron* in our text.<sup>3</sup>

But there is also a more positive side to this. Just as both *azkarah* and *zēkher* designate things that have a certain intrinsic continuing, abiding *permanency* about them, unless and until they are deliberately destroyed or consumed or blotted out, so *mnemosunon* implies this same element of continuity. *Anamnesis*, on the other hand, characteristically designates something that is momentary and discontinuous—something that has no abiding existence of its own. This emerges very clearly from the classic discussions of the difference between the two words in the writings of Philo,<sup>4</sup> and is borne out by an examination of the occurrences from the root *anamimneskein* in the NT, which characteristically describe an act of recollection of something 'forgotten',<sup>5</sup> compared to the many uses of *mimneskomai* which seem to refer to something continually kept in mind.<sup>6</sup> This notion of *ad hoc* recollection also seems to cover the significance of the only other occurrence of *anamnesis* in the NT, at Hebrews 10.3 'But in these sacrifices there is a remembrance made of sins year after year',<sup>7</sup> and also links suggestively with an observation of W. D. Davies:

'While the worship at the Temple signified the *perpetual* presence of Yahweh among his people, other activities of the religious life of the 1st-century Jew were connected with his *interventions* at different periods in the history of Israel. This is particularly true of certain Festivals which were observed, namely *Passover*, etc. . . . The aim of such festivals was to make events in Israel's history . . . live again.'<sup>8</sup>

There is a distinct sense of *renewal*, of remembering *again*, about *eis . . . anamnesin*, which made it far more appropriate to use to render *ʿzikkaron*.

Finally, in this section, we turn to the pivotal question of the significance of the root *zkr* itself. We shall take as our principal mentors J. Pedersen<sup>9</sup> and B. S. Childs.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. *mnemosunon* used in exactly this same sense in Enoch 8.4. 97.7. 99.3 (twice). 103.4. Pss. of Solomon 2.17. 13.11. Test. Job 24.2. 40.4. 43.5, 17. Test. XII Patr.—Joseph 7.5.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 12.14; 13.9; 28.12, 29; 30.16. Num. 10.10. Josh. 4.7 and Zech. 6.14.

<sup>3</sup> Especially since *eis mnemosunon* is characteristic of a memorial of the *DEAD*!!!

<sup>4</sup> *Legum Allegoriae* III 91-93, *De Congressu Q.E.G.* 39-42, *De Virtutibus* 176.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Mk. 11.21. 14.72. 1 Cor. 4.17. 2 Tim. 1.6.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Mt. 27.63. Luke 1.54, 72. John 2.22(?) . 12.16. Acts 10.31. 1 Cor. 11.2. 2 Tim. 1.4. Heb. 2.6. 8.12. 10.17. 13.3. 2 Pet. 3.2.

<sup>7</sup> Otherwise this occurrence seems of only marginal significance for our task since

(a) it occurs without *eis*.

(b) It is most clearly parallel to 1 Ki. 17.18 (= *Hazkir*) and to Num. 5.15, where the MT, LXX and Targumim *all* have verbal forms.

<sup>8</sup> *Peake's Commentary* para. 618d.

<sup>9</sup> *In Israel, Its Life and Culture*. (O.U.P. Oxford 1926, 1940).

<sup>10</sup> *In Memory and Tradition in Israel* (S.C.M. London 1962).

When modern western man talks about 'memory' or 'remembrance' he does so in a framework of thought vastly different from that of the ancient Semite or Homeric Greek. Because he is heir to a philosophical framework in the dichotomous tradition of Plato, Aristotle and Posidonius,<sup>1</sup> sharply differentiating between 'matter' on the one hand and 'spirit' on the other, he is inclined to equate the words solely with *mental recollection*.<sup>2</sup>

By contrast, the philosophical framework which is the milieu of the Semitic evidence embraces the totality of reality in a single unified whole, so that *zkr* involves a revitalizing of this totality. As Pedersen puts it, 'When the soul remembers something, it does not mean that it has an objective memory image of some thing or event, but that this image is called forth in the soul and assists in determining its direction, its action . . . (The Israelite) cannot at all imagine memory, unless at the same time an effect on the totality and its direction of will is taken for granted.' (pp.106-7). And since God himself is the chief and all-pervading 'soul' in this totality, any act of *zkr* is bound to involve both God and man, no matter who does the remembering. There will be, in every commemorative act, dynamic consequences, as both God and man grasp the whole and act accordingly. There can be no 'remembering' *in vacuo*. There is always a volitional implication, a 'remember-and-do-something-as-a-result'. Childs brings this out when he says, 'God's remembering always implies his movement towards the object of his memory . . . The essence of God's remembering lies in his acting toward someone because of a previous commitment.' (p.34) and '(for Israel) to remember is to grasp after, to meditate upon, indeed to pray to God.' (p.65). These two aspects are clearly brought together in the *zikkaron*. 'The *zikkaron* stimulates God's memory and his acts of memory are synonymous with his acts of intervention. The *zikkaron* also stimulates Israel's memory, which produces participation in the sacred order' (p.68). Dr. Sykes puts this tellingly into the context of the Eucharist, when she says, 'The act of remembering the Covenant brings alive as a present reality all the significance and power of this act of God's redeeming grace. How naturally does this link up with the bringing to remembrance of the New Covenant established by Christ's blood.'<sup>3</sup>

There is a problem here however. How is the gap between the past and the present to be crossed? For *God* this is no problem, since he experiences an omnipresence which transcends this.<sup>4</sup> But what about man? The key-word

<sup>1</sup> Mediated into the Christian tradition especially by such authors as Philo (cf. *Peake's Commentary* para. 624d.), Nemesius of Emesa (so Childs *op. cit.* p.27), Thomas Aquinas, Zwingli etc.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Childs, *op. cit.* p.28. 'There is no real dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew mentality in respect to memory. The point is that the Old Testament, certain North-West Semitic inscriptions, and Homer share in assigning to the words of memory an unreflective, broad semantic value. This usage has been greatly restricted by the Greek philosophers (because of their reflective, rational interests) to denote only the mental process of recalling.' Josephus, in his use of the word *anamnesis*, typically exemplifies this latter view. cf. *Jewish War* III.351, 394 *Antiquities* IV. 189. 191; XI. 82; XIV. 218, 318, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* p.118.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Childs, *op. cit.* pp.74 ff.

in modern thinking on this matter is 'actualize'.<sup>1</sup> It is held that man can cross the gap by a cultic actualization of a past event. But Childs pertinently warns against two erroneous rival theories here, which are both germane to the *anamnesis* discussion. On the one hand we must beware of the Myth/Ritual approach, which stands loose to the *historical* basis of the cult, and seeks recapitulation and renewal by means of the re-enacting of the sacred drama of the myth, irrespective of its grounding in any historical event.<sup>2</sup> We should note that, in the Haggadah for instance, the worshippers are told, 'In every generation let each man look on himself as if he came forth out of Egypt.'<sup>3</sup> It is very much a matter of 'We are as if *there*,' NOT 'It is as if *here*,' (and the omission of 'as if' would make matters worse).

As Childs says, 'For Israel the structure of reality was historical in character and not mythical . . . The cult actualized within Israel her solidarity with the forefathers, with those who had actually participated in the Exodus' (p.82).

On the other hand, there is the other extreme of viewing the past as merely static event. He says, 'We feel that those who emphasize the historical element in the process of actualization have tended to ignore the dynamic quality of an historical event. It enters the world of time and space at a given moment, yet causes a continued reverberation beyond its original entry. The biblical events can never be static, lifeless beads which can be strung on a chronological chain . . . We conclude that Old Testament actualization cannot be correctly identified with a return to a former historical event.' (p.83). He goes on to give a definition which we should like to adapt and adopt as the proper way to explain this aspect of the *anamnesis* in our study. *A real event occurs as the moment of redemptive time from the past initiates a genuine encounter in the present.* (cf. p.84).

The whole *zkr* notion is, as we have observed, very central and of rich complexity in Biblical Theology as a whole. The very nature of Biblical religion as historically based makes this inevitable. We have tried, in this section on *eis . . . anamnesin*, to identify the particular aspect of this richness which is most relevant in this place, and would therefore propose, as a summary of our findings so far, that the rubric means: 'Take, give thanks, break the bread and say the interpretative words, at each weekly festive communal meal, as the commemorative act in which you initiate a genuine encounter in the present by means of a moment of redemptive time from the past'.

#### 'Ten emen'

So we come to the decisive phrase which marks off the commanded commemorative act as the specifically *New Covenant* sacrament it was instituted to become—the phrase which anchors the rite firmly in history. It gives the vital clues to two remaining questions, 'What is to be commemorated?' (i.e. With what 'moment of redemptive time from the past' are we here concerned?) and, in the light of our answer to that, 'Who is

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p.74. The concept has its obvious attractions (and pitfalls) for the modern existentialist, experiential philosophers!

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Glatzer *op. cit.* p.49 and Mishnah Pesahim X.5.

to do the remembering?' (i.e. Who is to respond, and in what way, to the 'genuine encounter in the present' thus occasioned?). *Ten emen* indicates that the commemorative act is to be of Jesus himself, presumably in contrast to the Passover *zikkaron* of the Old Covenant.<sup>1</sup> But in what sense does he mean? The whole context of the institution is very clearly a *covenantal* one. And the immediately preceding interpretative words, to which the rubric is so closely linked, incontrovertibly focus primarily on his impending death to establish this covenant, just as the Passover commemorates the slain lambs in Egypt and their redeeming blood. The attention of Paul's Christian readers has just been directed to the altars of the pagan world around them. He is in the act of urging upon them a greater *solemnity* in the light of what they are doing. He himself sums up the whole matter in the words 'For as often as you eat this bread, and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's *death* till he come'. That the act of commemoration commanded here focuses on the DEATH of Jesus Christ is not only the unanimous testimony of all the early patristic evidence,<sup>2</sup> but it is the impressive consensus of almost the whole range of modern theological commentary on the matter.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the point would hardly seem necessary to labour at such length, except that it seems to have such a curiously light hold on modern liturgiology,<sup>4</sup> despite the fact that one is unable to elicit any serious attempt at a biblically-based theological rationale for any diffusing of this focus at all.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. J. P. Martin, art. 'Belonging to History' in *Interpretation* 17 (1963) pp.188-192.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chs. 41, 71, 117. Melito, *Peri Pascha, passim*. F. E. Brightman says, '... for the ante-Nicene period I do not recall any instance of any other way of defining the Paschal commemoration' p.267 of art. 'The Quartodeciman Question' in *Journal of Theological Studies* XXV (1924)—though this is of only limited application, in relation to *that* controversy.

<sup>3</sup> A list of references would be tedious, but would include the writings of Jeremias, Brietho, Baillie, De Vaux, Barrett, Moule. Von Allmen (albeit reluctantly!), Peters, Higgins, MacKinnon, Richardson, Dalman, Sykes, Dix, Stone etc. etc.

<sup>4</sup> All the following modern liturgies, for instance, include a non-differentiating collective reference to Christ's death, resurrection and ascension, (at least), in their anamneses: Vatican II revision of the Roman Missal, Church of England Series 3 Communion, the World Council of Churches Eucharistic Texts for their Nairobi Assembly, Church of North India 1974, Church of South India 1972, Liturgy for Africa 1964, etc. etc.

And cf. Thurian, *op. cit.* p.271. 'Le mémorial de la sainte cène fait mention de la passion, de la résurrection et de l'ascension du Christ.' and R. J. Halliburton, ch. on 'The Canon of Series 3' in R. C. D. Jasper (ed.) *The Eucharist Today* (London 1974) p.110. 'What is it that we remember, and what are we doing when we make this act of remembrance? The first of these is comparatively simply answered; we remember the whole of God's saving work which he wrought in Christ, in his passion, death, resurrection and ascension ...'

<sup>5</sup> Even Canon J. A. Baker, a staunch opponent of confining the reference in the anamnesis to the cross, admits that this *is* the teaching of the NT, though he goes on to say, 'We are not obliged to ... endure the iron restriction of a "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world". We have good reason to believe that the interpretation which this represents was applied to the rite not by him (=Jesus) but by one school of thought among his followers; and that he himself simply implied that his body and blood were "for us".' Essay in I. T. Ramsey (ed) *Thinking about the Eucharist* (SCM London 1972) p.57. It is doubtful whether this sort of frank attempt to drive a wedge between Jesus himself and the apostolic witness of the NT will really commend itself, as a way forward to eucharistic agreement, to those many conservative Christians who still subscribe to the concept of Apostolic Doctrine (Acts 2:42)!

But, if we are right in this, what of our second question? It is to be hoped that our arguments about the basic notion of *zkr* will have demonstrated that a debate about whether the anamnesis is primarily or exclusively Godward or Manward will be seen to be inappropriate.<sup>1</sup> The *zikkaron*, as a *covenantal* cultic act is essentially *mutual*. God, for his part, will see the appeal of his covenant, under the appointed covenant sign, to the covenanted act of sacrifice on which their covenant relationship, and any renewal of it, depends, and he will 'remember his covenant' and may be expected to fulfil his promised covenant obligations. And the church, for its part, will be assured of the Lord's forgiveness and goodwill, when it sees the same sign of what Christ has done to secure the covenant for them, and will be moved to renew its covenant obligations, to expect the covenant blessings, and to seek the 'means of grace' which their actual *communion* of the bread and the wine is about to bring to them.

So it is our conviction that when the once-only sacrifice of his beloved Son is commemorated before the Father, the whole basis of the New Covenant is exposed in a profound covenant cultic event, and *both* parties will respond appropriately. We may, then, summarize our interpretation of the whole rubric as:

*'Take, give thanks, break the bread, and say the interpretative words, at each weekly festive communal meal, as the commemorative act in which you initiate a genuine encounter in the present by means of a moment of redemptive time from the past, namely the moment of my atoning, New Covenant-establishing death.'*

<sup>1</sup> Over the years many commentators have firmly lined themselves up on one side or the other in this debate, with a variety of theories: e.g.

Emphasizing the *Godward* aspect:

Jeremias *op. cit.* p.237 ff.

Dix *op. cit.* p.246 etc.

Houlden et. al. *op. cit.* p.434.

Scudamore *op. cit.* p.626

Richardson *op. cit.* p.368

Emphasizing the *Manward* aspect:

Dalman *op. cit.* p.180

W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (SPCK London 1948) p.252

E. M. B. Green *op. cit.* p.113 n.1

A. R. Millard ch. XVI in (ed.) W. Gasque and R. Martin, *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Paternoster London 1970) p.247

J. J. von Allmen, *The Lord's Supper* (Lutterworth London 1969) p.28.

H. Kosmala, art. 'Das tut zu meinem Gedächtnis' in *Novum Testamentum* 4. (1960) pp.81-94.

We hope enough has been said to show, on the one hand, that the notion of *God* remembering need NOT entail the idea of 'Eucharistic Sacrifice', nor need there be any suggestion that *anamnesis* is some sort of cure for a blasphemously attributed '*amnesia*' on God's part. (This corresponds to a delightful piece of 'folk etymology' that what we have here is the double negative *an-a-mnesis*—forget-(me)-not, rather than the technically sound, but less evocative, *ana-mnesis*, implying remembering *again* or *anew*).

On the other hand, the church may 'remember' *without* the eucharist being reduced to a bare 'Zwinglianism'. And it may also 'remember' without necessarily underwriting the erroneous 'existentialist' actualization theories eschewed by Childs.



#### 4. THE 'ANAMNESIS' IN EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

In the little space remaining we will, if we may, allow ourselves the liberty of some personal reflections on all that has gone before. We have tried so far to be as objective and factual as possible, but we would urge that what follows should not be viewed on the same plane. If there are some better or more edifying ways of appropriating the evidence adduced from the Semitic sources, in the current ecumenical liturgical debate, we are completely open to that. We just ask that this vital evidence is taken up *in some way*, and is *not just ignored*. For our part we believe that there are at least two areas for theological comment at this point—the pervasiveness of the *zkr* notion in the eucharist as a whole, and the relationship of the *anamnesis* to the eucharist as a whole.

##### The pervasiveness of *zkr*

We have already seen, from the Arch of Titus<sup>1</sup> and from our study of the noun forms, how central 'memory' was in the culture we have been studying. Haran, in a fascinating essay<sup>2</sup>, has shown that every single detail of the Tabernacle worship was rooted in the *zkr* notion. So we should not be surprised that attempts have been made to attach every possible nuance of this to the anamnesis rubric itself, and we have tried to show that only *one* particular nuance, that of *the commemorative act*, is apposite for that. But we must now admit that, in the wider context of the eucharist in its totality, the whole range of nuances may well find a suggestive application somewhere. If the cultic *objects*, the bread and the wine, for instance, are held to correspond to the *azkarah*, as representative *material* tokens of Christ's body and blood, this would lend considerable weight to the idea, first articulated by Justin, that they signify the *reality* of the incarnation, albeit that he might suffer *in the flesh* for us.<sup>3</sup>

And if the instituting of the eucharist is seen in terms of bequeathing a 'record' of what Christ has done to establish the New Covenant, taking up the 'passive' sense of *zikkaron*,<sup>4</sup> it may suggest a parallel to the Tables of the Law in the Ark of the Covenant. Likewise, there is a sense in which the 'end-product' of the eucharist *is* to perpetuate the *zekher* ('memory') of Jesus, and to establish his 'seed', to 'prolong his days'.<sup>5</sup>

But, with all this, we must re-iterate that we hold firmly to the view that truth is not served by attaching any of these interpretations to the anamnesis rubric itself. We would feel that it is the confusing of the *anamnesis* with the material *azkarah* that has basically led to the 'sacrificial' theory, and the confusing of it with the abstract *zekher* that has basically led to the 'appropriation' theory. So although the notion of *zkr* permeates the sacrament as a whole, in a variety of ways, it is specifically the performing of *the commemorative act*, whereby the Holy Spirit links the worshipping church with the cross of Jesus, which constitutes obedience to the anamnestic command.

<sup>1</sup> As portrayed here on the outside front cover and described on the outside back cover.

<sup>2</sup> M. Haran, art. 'The Complex of Ritual Acts performed inside the Tabernacle' in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem 1961) pp.272-302.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho*. ch. 70. *N.B.* Because the elements at each eucharist do *not* have an *intrinsic* connection with Christ's actual body and blood, they do *not* constitute a material *zikkaron*. (cf. n.4 on p.21 supra).

<sup>4</sup> cf. n.9 on p.20 supra.

<sup>5</sup> cf. p.19 and footnotes.

#### The place of the Anamnesis in the Eucharist as a whole

We must now ask how is this emphasis on the cross to be related to the sacrament as a whole? How are we to incorporate the celebration of the *resurrection* into our rite? How are we to do justice to the *eschatological* aspect?

We have already affirmed our predilection for Paul's motif of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and it is to this we now return. We note that the due observance of the Passover was a prior necessity before the joyful Feast of Unleavened Bread could begin. Before the blessings could be enjoyed, the God-given means of deliverance had to be solemnly commemorated. Before the celebration of the ongoing provisions and mercies of the covenant, came the commemorative act of its historical inception. And this is a regular pattern in Biblical Theology. It marks the relationship between the Sinai covenant-making and the covenant-maintaining sacrificial system; within that system, it is found in the prior need for atonement *before* the peace-offerings can be enjoyed; it requires the ritual of circumcision *before* the enjoyment of the Sabbaths. And this, in the New Covenant, is reflected instructively in the relationship between baptism and the eucharist. And, within baptism, we find this same motif in the rhythm of the rite itself. The candidate must first *go down* into the water, and identify with Christ *in his death*, before he can *come up* out of the water and enter into the new life of his resurrection. But here we would note a crucial point. Our mode of participation in the *death* of Christ, in baptism, is quite different to our mode of participation in his *resurrection*. The former is emphatically a once-and-for-all (aorist!!) experience, but the latter is ongoing and continuing. And it is the writer's conviction that, in 1 Cor. 5.7, 8, Paul marks the eucharist with exactly the same structure. It is the chief significance of the *anamnesis* rubric that it identifies those aspects of the whole rite which relate to the prior commemoration of the *death* of Christ which must of necessity *precede* our participation in the enjoyment of the fruits of the resurrection.<sup>2</sup> The 'Bread of the Presence' must first be perceived as the 'Bread of Affliction'; the 'Cup of the Berakhah' must first be perceived as the 'Cup of God's Wrath'. Thus, and only thus, can the *cultic act* which recalls the atonement become the *prophetic symbolic act* that hastens the parousia. The taking, blessing, breaking, and explaining, of the bread and the wine, focus on the finished, covenant-establishing sacrifice of Christ. Only on that basis, duly commemorated in his appointed way, can his church enter into its *communion* in the life-giving, strengthening and sustaining anticipation of the Messianic Banquet. Only by obedient adherence to this conscious pattern can it truly 'proclaim the Lord's death until he come.'

<sup>1</sup> cf. p.(16) supra.

<sup>2</sup> It is thus our conviction that there is no basic conflict between the (so-called) Pauline emphasis on the *atonement* in the eucharist, and the (so-called) Johannine emphasis on the *life-giving* aspects of the rite, but that they are complementary.

## 5. THE 'ANAMNESIS' IN MODERN ECUMENICAL LITURGY

The anamnesis rubric affects four 'headings' in the liturgy to-day:

### (a) The Words of Institution

Almost all liturgies actually quote the rubric (twice) during the recital of the 'narrative' in the context of the Thanksgiving prayer. In the light of our study we might ask whether this is desirable;<sup>1</sup> whether the whole narrative would not be better used (following the pattern of other services such as baptism and marriage), as an introductory dominical 'warrant' for what is about to be done;<sup>2</sup> whether one is justified in using a 'conflation' of the NT evidence which may be misleading;<sup>3</sup> and whether use ought not invariably to be made of 1 Cor. 11.26, to preserve the emphasis imposed by this telling epexegetis.<sup>4</sup>

We may also here conveniently raise the question as to how the rubric should be rendered into *English*. It would seem to follow from what has been said in this paper that 'MEMORIAL', which seems to convey the idea of a material *object*, permanently incorporating memory, may well correspond too closely to the *azkarah* or the 'material' *zikkaron*; that 'MEMORY' is nearer to the abstract *zekher*; and that 'REMEMBRANCE' is misleading because it points chiefly to a *mental* act of recollection—i.e. to the Aristotelian sense of *anamnesis*. We would propose that 'This do as the COMMEMORATION of me' would come nearest to an accurate English rendering of the basic Hebraic idea of a *physical sacramental act*.

### (b) The Congregational Acclamation

Ideally, we would look for this immediately following the taking, thanksgiving, breaking the bread, and speaking the interpretative words, as marking the transition from the *anamnetic* aspect of the eucharist to the *communion* aspect. As a corporate response it appropriately takes up the theme of the eucharist as the weekly communal act of the people of the New Covenant, indicated by the '*hosakis*' clause. But we would urge that it should be more firmly differentiating in its reference to the death, resurrection and parousia than the familiar 'Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again.' and that the formula, 'His death we *proclaim*: His resurrection we *confess*: His coming we *await*' based as it is on a primitive Eastern tradition, and of wide modern currency, is much to be preferred.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Remembering Benoit's celebrated dictum, 'On ne récite pas une rubrique, on l'exécute' (in *Révue Biblique* (1939) p.386).

<sup>2</sup> On this whole question of the liturgical use to which language is put, see A. C. Thiselton, *Language, Liturgy and Meaning*. (Grove Liturgical Study No. 2, Nottingham 1975).

<sup>3</sup> cf. n.7 on p.13 supra.

<sup>4</sup> Many liturgies take great liberties with this verse as an attempt to justify their anamnetic excesses. One of the most flagrant is found in the Stowe Missal, where a later hand, obviously aware of the unconscionable incongruity of responding to Paul's own version (rendered in the first person) with the traditional, elaborate, '*Unde et Memores*' has baldly amended it to '*... passionem meam predicabitis resurrectionem meam adnuntiabitis adventum meum sperabitis donec iterum veniam ad vos de coelis.*' It is our strong contention that you cannot happily juxtapose 1 Cor. 11.26 with something which means 'wherefore we proclaim the Lord's death and resurrection, and ascension etc. ...'

<sup>5</sup> It is a source of perplexity to the writer that *all* the new Roman vernacular alternatives render the Latin, '*Mortem tuam annuntiamus, et tuam resurrectionem confitemur, donec venias,*' as 'Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again'!

### (c) The 'Anamnesis'

It will be apparent by now that the writer is happiest with the concept, enshrined in one way by Cranmer, that obedience to the original rubric is best achieved by *doing* it, and not by *reciting* it. He urges that there is no necessity, and no really appropriate way, to verbalize an 'anamnesis' in the liturgy at all. But, if it is argued that this is just not 'politics' as an option, in the cerebral, Western-dominated, world of modern ecumenical liturgy, may he at least enter the following plea? There is a whole range of possibilities, all with perfectly legitimate liturgical parentage, and wide current provenance, available as alternatives here. In regressive order of 'propriety', in the light of this study, they are: (a) those that refer to Christ's death only; (b) those that refer to his death *and* to the parousia; (c) those that give a general reference (i.e. to 'him', or to 'our redemption'); (d) those that give a composite reference to various aspects of his total existence, but confine the focus of any verb of '*proclamation*' or '*commemoration*' to his death only; (e) those that give a composite and completely indiscriminate reference to all these aspects. This last alone stands out as *completely inimical* to the findings of the Semitic evidence.

### (d) The 'Oblation'

Historically the expression of an element of 'offering' in the liturgical anamnesis, in supposed obedience to the anamnetic command, has taken many forms, and embraced many ideas. It has been expressed in terms of offering Christ himself, or 'a bloodless sacrifice', or the bread and the wine, or a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving', or the worshippers themselves. Michael Green<sup>1</sup> and J. L. Houlden<sup>2</sup> have both recently discussed this fully and with their analysis we would largely concur. We have tried to show, however, that *any* expression of 'offering' anything as a *response* to the command, 'This do . . .', is quite unjustifiable,<sup>3</sup> and should therefore have no place in a liturgical anamnesis (though certain concepts such as the offering of money, praise, thanksgiving or 'our whole selves' may well find a proper place *elsewhere* in the eucharist.) One cannot help but suspect that the vestigial remains associating the notion of 'offering' with the anamnesis in the WCC and ARCIC statements, are the consequence of retaining the category of 'sacrifice' in some sense in connection with the *anamnesis*. We are inclined to trace this to the continuing influence of the argument which we have already partly challenged,<sup>4</sup> that sees no distinction between *anamnesis* and *mnemosunon* or *zikkaron* and *azkarah*. If the distinction here made is right<sup>5</sup>, then that argument must be rejected.

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.* pp.107 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 6. in (ed.) J. T. Ramsey, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> cf. pp.20 ff. supra 14

<sup>4</sup> cf. p.20 supra. 22

<sup>5</sup> The erroneous argument runs (a) *anamnesis*/*mnemosunon*=*zikkaron*/*azkarah*: (b) *zikkaron*= 'a sacrificial memorial' (cf. the use of *mnemosunon* in the NT, and to translate *azkarah* in the OT!!) THEREFORE (c) *anamnesis*= 'a sacrificial memorial'!!! (so M. Thurian *op. cit.*: (a) p.265 (b) and (c) p.270, and espec. n.5). Thurian insists on using the word 'mémorial' for *anamnesis*, having rejected 'souvenir'. Why not use the root 'commémorer'?

in conclusion we may now return to the issues<sup>1</sup> raised by the emerging Ecumenical 'consensus'. We offer the following (of necessity, brief) 'check-list' of our responses<sup>2</sup>, bearing in mind the prior context, 'What did Jesus command, and how faithfully does the "consensus" reflect obedience to that command, in the light of the Semitic evidence?'

- (a) **'Sacrificial', 'Appropriation' or 'Memorial'?** Clearly the evidence basically supports the 'memorial' view, but with the qualifications which emerge below. (*passim*, but especially pp.20, 23).
- (b) **'Making present'?** This is misleading because it suggests the existentialist 'actualization', *he is as if here*, rather than the Semitic *we are as if there*. (pp.23, 31)' (If the notion is one of making Christ *himself* present, why is he not addressed directly? If the notion is one of making his 'body and blood', or his 'sacrifice' present, cf. the meaning of *touto poieite* (pp.12-13, 15).
- (c) **'Godward', 'Manward', or 'Covenant mutuality'?** 'Mutuality' seems to be intrinsic to the basic meaning of *zkr*. (pp.17, 19, 23-25). 27
- (d) **Interchangeability of 'Anamnesis' and 'Eucharist'?** No. 'Anamnesis' is the most distinctive *aspect* of the whole, but it is confusing and inaccurate to equate the two, because the subsequent *communion* aspect is thereby wrongly subsumed as well. (pp.12-13, 29).
- (e) **Admissibility of 'Offering'?** Not as a *direct* response to the rubric, although the offering of self, money, or praise-and-thanksgiving may be properly included *elsewhere* in the liturgy. (pp.12-14, 31).
- (f) **'Memorial'?** **'Perpetual'?** 'Memorial' signifies essentially a material *object*, so 'Commemoration' or 'Commemorative Act' is more appropriate, in English, for a *physical act*, as here. 'Perpetual' is a misnomer, because *anamnesis* also has the transient sense of *renewal*, of being done *again*. 'Perpetual' (= *aionios*?) would go better with *memosunon*. (pp.20, 22-23). 30
- (g) **The focus of the 'Anamnesis'?** This should be undividedly on the cross. To include more is to miss the central significance of the rubric, and this is potentially the most divisive issue. (pp.23-26, 30-31).
- (h) **Resurrection as a past event?** We should carefully differentiate between the finished, once-for-all (= *aorist*?) nature of the death of Christ, and the abiding (= *present-continuous*?) fact that he has been raised (and is now *'risen'*) from the dead, and lives forever more. Our concern is not that Jesus rose (*aorist*) from the dead on a certain day in the past. (The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the ascension. Our concern is not so much that he *ascended* (*aorist*), as that he is now seated in heaven). We cannot 'make the commemorative act' of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, because we do not relate to them solely as events of the past. (pp.29-31).

Overall, it is the finding of this paper that our eucharistic pattern should be the making of the commemorative act of the once-for-all death of Jesus Christ, by which he established our new covenant relationship with God, followed by our communion in the elements as we proceed to identify with him who said, 'I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore.'

'Christ our Passover has been sacrificed . . . let us keep the feast.'

<sup>1</sup> i.e. those raised on pp.5-8 above.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the responses here summarize the arguments on the pages shown.