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waving her "rod of power," upon the bench, with Hermas beside her on the left hand.

The bench is thus intimately associated with the preaching of the Word of God. By a customary symbolism a throne, chair, or other seat connotes authority to rule, judge, or teach; and the source of the Church's power to "edify" and teach is the Divine revelation of "the everlasting Gospel," which the bench should in some sense accordingly represent.

Thus far we have touched upon no disputed point in the history of the Canon. The Gospel known to Hermas may have been single or multiple, documentary or oral; and the Church's seat may have had four feet, or only three, or none at all.

C. TAYLOR.



ART. II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

PROFESSOR GARDNER'S pamphlet on this subject¹ is very attractive. The tone is modest and conciliatory; the scholarship is of the highest; the difficulties have been carefully considered and the objections anticipated. With much of what he writes, all who have studied the subject will agree—nay, more, they will be grateful for the illustrations which his special knowledge gives; and yet from his main conclusions we feel bound to dissent.

Some persons will retort that all criticism tends in the same direction, and that our only safety lies in the strict conservatism of the late Dean Burgon, who laid down the rule that if a single word in the Bible fall short of being in the fullest sense the Word of God, the whole of our Christianity must be abandoned. Being unwilling to leave any excuses for such counsels of despair, we proceed to examine these new proposals.

Dr. Gardner offers us the choice of two positions. One, to which he apparently inclines, makes the scene of breaking bread, which the Synoptists unite in placing at the Last Supper in or about the year 29, to be antedated by almost a quarter of a century. Our Lord did not say while He was upon earth, "*This is My Body*," but St. Paul in a trance at Corinth in the year 53 heard Him say the words in heaven. More timid or cautious readers are offered an alternative, according to which Christ broke bread and gave it to His disciples upon earth, but nothing further was done. No sacra-

¹ Macmillan and Co., London, 1893.

ment of the Lord's Supper was instituted until St. Paul in a vision beheld the scene repeated, and heard a new command, "*This do in remembrance of Me.*" He thereupon founded the Eucharist, partly in obedience to the command, partly in imitation of the Eleusinian mysteries, by which he had recently been impressed.

Dr. Gardner, like most of what I may call the more advanced critics, rejects the oral hypothesis respecting the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. And no wonder; for this hypothesis is fatal to his speculations. For example, it is essential to his first proposal to hold that St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, which is generally allowed to have been written in the year 58, is far earlier than any of our Gospels. But the advocate of the oral hypothesis replies, "I admit that the Synoptic Gospels were not *written* before the eighth decade of the first century, but I insist that a large part of them, including the account of the Last Supper, existed in an oral form a generation earlier. The bulk of St. Peter's memoirs, which constitute the first cycle of oral Gospel, must have been composed within twelve years of the Ascension, or I cannot account for their wide distribution and their multitudinous variations. And whatever is found in all three Evangelists belongs to the earliest part of St. Peter's work."

Now, there is no question between us that the account of the Last Supper in St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Matthew, and St. Luke comes in great measure from the same source. Dr. Gardner insists upon that fact as strongly as I do. Whether St. Paul or St. Peter is the ultimate authority for it is simply a question of dates. Dr. Gardner, in saying that St. Paul was the author, is ignoring the primitive oral teaching, the existence of which in the first age few people who have examined the subject will venture to deny, however much they may seek to minimize its influence. And I must hold him to that point, as the one essential contention between us.

The truth of the oral hypothesis is established partly by the habits and prejudices of the age, partly by minute study of the resemblances *and divergences* of the same sections in the three Gospels. The very paragraph about the institution of the Lord's Supper furnishes some interesting examples. For St. Luke has some curious reversals of order. He puts the prediction of Judas Iscariot's treachery after the institution of the Lord's Supper, whereas the other two Evangelists have put it before the Supper; and, according to the true text, he represents that the cup was given before the bread. Nor is this unparalleled. He presents us with an exactly similar transposition in the early part of his Gospel, where he reverses the order of the second and third temptations (Luke iv. 5-12 ;

Matt. iv. 5-10). Such transpositions are easily accounted for, on the supposition that men learned the Gospel sections by heart, and stored them in a memory which was trustworthy enough when it had mastered the lesson, but was apt to be treacherous during the initial stages. They are almost impossible to account for if the Evangelists were copying from a document.

Much of the wording also is strangely altered, not more so than in most passages of the triple tradition; but we should have expected to find this less altered, for it has long been observed that the words of Christ have been more scrupulously preserved in the Gospels than the rest of the narrative. Reverence for the Master's sayings has checked, as I hold, the carelessness or presumption of catechists. Why should it not have done so here? The answer may seem paradoxical, but the very gravity of the occasion would appear to have been the cause for increased changes. At any rate, the same thing has happened in two other utterances of the first importance—the Lord's Prayer and the baptismal formula. St. Luke's recension of the Lord's Prayer, according to the true text (xi. 2 *ff.*), is much shorter than St. Matthew's (vi. 9 *ff.*). And St. Matthew's Gospel directs baptism to be administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (xxviii. 19); but St. Luke and St. Paul invariably represent it as administered in the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts ii. 38, viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5; Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 12).

It appears to me that we may account for these changes by the reflex action of the liturgies upon the oral Gospel. Lengthy liturgies certainly did not exist in the first days; but short formularies, at first elastic, but gradually hardened and stereotyped, would connect themselves with the administration of the Sacraments in the several churches. It may be thought strange to believe that in the Church for which St. Luke wrote his Gospel (whether it was Antioch, on the Orontes, or any other) the cup should have been regularly given before the bread, and both the Lord's Prayer and the words used at baptism should have been abbreviated; but on any other supposition I am unable to account for St. Luke's variations. The further you can push the matter back, the easier it is to believe in the existence of diversity of usage; and the less you are encumbered with written documents, the more reasonable will your deductions appear.

My belief in the oral hypothesis is based upon the cumulated results of many years' study; such considerations as these only strengthen it. But a theory which is unwaveringly upheld by the Bishop of Durham must not be lightly set

aside, out of deference to the opinions of certain critics on the Continent.

It is well known to students of textual criticism that Luke xxii. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$, 20, have been rejected by Drs. Westcott and Hort as an early interpolation. A copy of St. Luke's Gospel must have reached Corinth, or some other Pauline Church, at an early date. What wonder if the Church authorities, finding in it so strange an inversion of their own custom of administering the Eucharist, should have inserted into the margin from their liturgical formula (which was based on 1 Cor. xi. 25) the words which in the common text distort the whole passage? Their doing so will but illustrate what I have written about the effect of local liturgies upon the local editions of the Gospels.

But if, as I maintain, St. Paul has borrowed from St. Mark (with the usual variations and additions), not St. Mark from St. Paul, how do I account for St. Paul's language: "For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered unto you"?

In the first place, it is to be noticed that the words "receive" and "deliver" (*παραλαβεῖν, παραδοῦναι*) are regularly used of tradition (*παράδοσις*), in which a man receives from the Lord, but through a long line of oral teachers (Mark vii. 4; John i. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 1, 3; Gal. i. 9, 12; Phil. iv. 9, etc.). And it is quite possible that St. Paul merely meant: "I derived from the Lord, through St. Peter and other eye-witnesses." In the passages which Dr. Gardner produces to prove the contrary, this particular word does not occur, and I contend that he has too readily rejected this interpretation.

But even if we allowed that St. Paul alleged in these words a special supernatural revelation, we are not bound to think that he was independent of St. Mark. It is reasonable to suppose that, after his first Communion or his first administration of the Communion to others, being impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and with the words fresh in his mind, he fell into a trance, or had a dream on the following night, in which he saw heaven opened and the Lord Jesus at the Supper-table breaking the bread and delivering it to the Apostles. The formulæ, the manual acts, the whole surroundings, would in that case have been projected into the vision from the earthly scene, at which he had been so recently assisting. To St. Paul's mind it would bring confirmation of faith; and, unless we deny altogether that God spake in past times in visions unto His saints, we may allow that his belief was warranted. But the historical fact would be the basis of the vision, not the vision the basis of the Eucharistic service.

Dr. Gardner holds that the *αγαπέ*, or love-feast, is older

than the Eucharist, and at first was simply a social meal partaken by the whole body of Christians together, without any special religious ceremonies. The Eucharist afterwards was grafted upon it. And that when we read (Luke xxiv. 30; Acts ii. 42) of the breaking bread, nothing more than the *agapè* is intended. To this I object, first that we have no evidence that *agapæ* were ever established in the primitive Church of Jerusalem. The Christians in the first days had no synagogues, nor houses large enough for a joint festival. Nor were such feasts known to the Jewish synagogue, whose practices they largely followed. St. Luke's words, "breaking bread *at home*" (Acts ii. 42) indicate a multitude of small gatherings, not a congregational meal. When St. Jude (12) writes "*your love feasts,*" he perhaps points to the fact that love-feasts were unknown to his own Church. Secondly, the phrase "breaking bread" is not, I think, the proper one to describe an ordinary meal. It is an expression never found in the Old Testament, nor, I believe, in any pre-Christian author. The cause for this is obvious. The loaves of the ancients were flat cakes, each of which would generally satisfy one person's appetite. To hand round the loaves, not to break them, would be the office of the master of the house. For to give broken bread was a mark of poverty or slight (Ezek. xiii. 19). It was our Lord who introduced a new custom. On two occasions He took some loaves of bread and brake them into pieces to distribute to the multitudes. At the Last Supper He took one loaf, divided it into twelve pieces, and gave one piece to each of the Apostles. In imitation of this St. Paul says that *all* the Corinthians at the Eucharist partook of *one* loaf, which symbolized their unity. So completely was this ceremony peculiar to Christ that the disciples at Emmaus recognised Him in the breaking of bread.

Let us turn next to St. John. It is well known that he omits all reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper, but, nevertheless, in the sixth chapter uses Eucharistic language, as though the Communion had already at that early date been established. Dr. Gardner infers from this that he did not accept St. Paul's account, but yet elaborately expanded his phrases. I have for some time suspected that a simpler explanation is the true one. If we had the Synoptists alone, we should have gathered that baptism was first instituted after the resurrection; we learn from St. John iv. 1 that it had been practised by the twelve throughout our Lord's ministry. May not the same thing be true of the Eucharist? It was solemnly administered on the night of the betrayal, but not for the first time. It had been a covenant of union between Christ and His disciples during their sojourn together. Ready

though I am to admit that the discourses in St. John's Gospel have been moulded in the apostle's mind and influenced by the teaching of his life, I cannot allow that they are so altogether an invention as Dr. Gardner teaches. And if not, the language of the sixth chapter receives its simplest solution from the suggestion which I have made, which in itself is highly probable. Hence, too, we understand better how Jesus was recognised in the breaking of bread.

But, setting aside all other considerations, let us boldly meet Dr. Gardner in his own domain of history. At the date when the Synoptic Gospels were written (probably 70 to 80 A.D.), the celebration of the Eucharist in Christian congregations was so general, that in each of three gospels the account of its institution is given, yet in the year 52 Dr. Gardner maintains it was unknown. Soon after that St. Paul first started it at Corinth, then introduced it at Troas (Acts xx. 7), and in other churches of his founding. After that it spread over the East and became universal. The belief also was established that it dated from the Crucifixion. So much was the genius of one man capable of accomplishing!

Is not Dr. Gardner crediting St. Paul with much greater influence than that Apostle possessed during his life, or for some time after his death? We are far from admitting, with the Tübingen school of historical criticism, that St. Peter, St. James, and St. John were his enemies. But he was disliked or deserted in many of his own churches (Gal. iv. 16; 2 Tim. i. 15). At Jerusalem the prejudice against him was inveterate (Acts xv. 5; xxi. 21). The Jews of the dispersion detested him (1 Thess. ii. 15; Phil. iii. 2). And no wonder. It is strange that the author of the Epistle to the Galatians was able to mix with Jews at all. If any man was compelled by the activity of enemies to adhere strictly to the truth, it was the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He was not able, even, to force his own form of institution upon his faithful henchman, St. Luke. In spite of his alleged revelations, the other evangelists also adhered to their own formula. By what means was such a man to foist a new ordinance upon the churches and persuade them to believe that it was primitive? What energy and frequency of exhortation must he have used to preserve it when once started? Yet the fact is that in all his extant writings, except the first epistle to the Corinthians, he never so much as alludes to it.

Dr. Gardner thinks that St. Peter and the other Apostles, though they knew that Christ had never said, "This is My body," nor solemnly broken bread and given it to them, would have acquiesced in the pious fraud, and given St. Paul that support in his innovation, without which he could not have

succeeded. Many Christians will feel a difficulty in accepting this startling supposition, notwithstanding the reasons which are given for it. Nor is it very credible that the Eleusinian mysteries suggested the Last Supper. These mysteries were celebrated annually. The gorgeous pageant owed its attractiveness to its rarity. A weekly or daily fair would pall on the taste of the gayest. But St. Paul contemplated a more frequent repetition. "This do," the command runs, "as often as ye drink." Strictly interpreted, the words mean, "as often as you take a draught of any kind"; and in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Luke apparently describes the Church in the days of its first love as "breaking bread" at every meal, the head of the family acting as priest in his own house, according to the Christian idea. A looser, but intelligible, interpretation is, "As often as ye drink *wine*." Just when the temptation to self-indulgence is strongest, let appetite be restrained by sacred associations. Let the thought of Him who died hallow your earthly enjoyments.

The resemblance between the Christian ordinance, and both ancestor worship and the Eleusinian mysteries, is no doubt real, but I should account for it by the similarity which exists between all ancient religious rites amongst civilized peoples. Our Lord did not found anything absolutely new in kind. It would be His design, we may believe, to establish a sacrament which would be generally intelligible, because it appealed to old ideas and inherited prepossessions. To eat bread or salt with a person has been, and amongst Arabs still is, to make a sacred bond of friendship with him. Hence in the books of Genesis and Judges so much is made of asking a visitor to eat bread. Hence the Psalmist sees in violated hospitality the climax of ingratitude: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted, who did also eat of my bread, hath laid great wait for me" (xli. 9). Hence, also, "every sacrifice is salted with salt." Nor must we forget the ancient custom of sending out portions, whether carried out on a large scale, as with the Spartan kings (Hdt. vi. 57), or on quite a small scale in mere dainty bits, the size of which, however, indicated the measure of your esteem. Oceanus says to Prometheus:

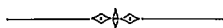
Ὀὐκ ἔστιν ὄψῃ μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαμ' ἢ σοί.—Æschylus, P. V., 291.

Joseph sends messes to his brethren, "and Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs" (Gen. xliii. 34). And in the same manner our Lord gave the sop to Judas. "The blood is the life" (Gen. ix. 4), and wine is an ancient surrogate for blood; it is called in Ecclesiasticus the "blood of the grape" (Prof. W. R. Smith, "The Religion of the Semites," p. 213). To make blood-brotherhood is a common custom still

with African tribes. "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, abideth in Me and I in him" (John vi. 56), is not borrowed from Hellenic thought, but from the common ideas of primitive man. I believe that this covenant of union was made between Christ and the Twelve frequently during His earthly sojourn. I believe that, as in the feeding of the five thousand, it was to some extent offered occasionally to a larger circle. I believe that it was solemnly repeated on the night of the betrayal, and that St. Luke is right in representing it as practised in the earliest days of the Church. For long examination has convinced me that the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles are based upon ancient (probably oral) records. And surely if so strange, so simple a ceremony was started from the first and never discontinued, there is no difficulty about it. But if it was neglected for upwards of twenty years, we fail to imagine a power which within the next twenty years could have made it practically universal.

We freely admit, or, rather, have long insisted, that the words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," stand on a lower level in point of historical attestation than the words, "This is My body." They are not guaranteed by St. Peter, but come to us only on the authority of St. Paul. But we are very far indeed from casting suspicion on all our Lord's reputed deeds and words which St. Peter has not recorded. Other persons who were present at the Last Supper had memories besides the *coryphæus* of Apostles. In spite of all that Dr. Gardner has urged, we think it simplest to believe that at the Last Supper Christ Himself used both these sentences, although in the churches, which depended for their information on St. Peter, only one of them was preserved.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.



ART. III.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

I PROPOSE to state what I believe to be the true relation between the modern teaching of the Higher Criticism and the traditional aspect of Holy Scripture as a revelation "guaranteed" to us by "Divine authority." I borrow this last phrase from Professor Huxley¹ because, being that of an adversary, it must be regarded as unexceptionable on his side, while on my own I should find it hard to improve upon

¹ In a letter to the *Times*, February 3, 1892.