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Studies in Passionist History and Spirituality

THE EUCHARIST IN SAINT PAUL OF THE CROSS

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REMEMBRANCE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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INTRODUCTION

It is very important to study the process of development of a doctrine which often also tells us of the process involved in a person's sanctity. And so it is in St. Paul of the Cross. Was there really a process? It is exactly this which is seen in the life of every saint: the initial grace already contains in germ the development of future sanctity. The Diary of St. Paul of the Cross remains the basic document for every study of paulacrucian spirituality. In any case, it is evident that the extraordinary testimony of forty days, while, on the one hand, very rich for a theological analysis in pointing out reasons, on the other, it could induce one who doesn't know the Letters and treatise on Mystical Death to err in his conclusions. One could in fact insist on certain reasons which the Saint borrows from his preferred authors and which fall along the way, or at least are not as evident as they seem to be in the Diary. Other reasons, on the contrary, which are explicit and insistently emphasized in the Diary, are not as explicit in his subsequent writings, but nevertheless have not lost for St. Paul of the Cross their fundamental importance and could easily be presumed.

In the Diary the dependance of the Saint's mystical experience on his eucharistic communion is emphasized almost everyday; while in the tract there isn't any citation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Nevertheless, we cannot say that its fundamental importance is not preserved for the Saint and for the foundation of the spiritual life. To separate in St. Paul eucharistic devotion from his mystical theology would be to compromise the unity of a doctrine which is marvelously presented in a simple and profound way.

The Eucharist and the Passion are not two mysteries which battle for center stage in the paulacrucian experience and in his mystical doctrine. If he habitually substitutes the divine nativity in the soul for the birth of the Word in the soul as in German mysticism, it is because "the divine nativity" in St. Paul is, above all, participation in the mystery of the resurrection of Christ. This "divine nativity" always comes about, it is true, in the "depths" of the soul, but its expressions are more faithful to the language of the New Testament and above all to the theology of Paul the apostle, than a metaphysical mysticism of Dionysian or Eckhartian origin. It seems that our Saint contra poses a mystical death which involves the senses, the soul and the spirit of an individual, a nativity, a participation in the resurrection of Christ, which remains fundamentally secret, interior, in the spirit. And this is precisely his mystical theology. It never pretends to transcend Christ, and does not even take away from dependance on the sacraments. The mysticism of St. Paul of the Cross is a mysticism of Death and Resurrection, because it is a sacramental mysticism. Stolz well instructed that the Christian experience is dependant on the sacraments. That of St. Paul of the Cross does not only remotely depend on baptism, as for the apostle Paul, but also proximately, rather immediately, on the Eucharist.

We must ask ourselves if he was conscious of this. Did Paul recognize and affirm the relationship of his doctrine of the Mystical Death with the Eucharist? This dependance is emphasized every day in the Diary, recognized in his Letters, and supposed in the tract. As Paul of the Cross grew older he acquired even more profoundly a knowing possession of "his"

doctrine. There are frequently in his Letters, above all, formulae in which the spiritual doctrine of the great mystical writer of the XVIII century is condensed. Paul does not have the gift of the writer who elaborates his spirituality in an organic and systematic work. In brief profound phrases, and at times rare beauty, he hurries along and presents the ultimate goal of one's journey. Often the language seems to echo his reading. We should not necessarily believe that he repeats the doctrine of the mystical writers that he loved. Not being a writer himself, he must borrow from others. Nevertheless, the language witnesses to an original experience and therefore even to a particular doctrine. It is more difficult, therefore, and more dangerous even to attempt to perceive it, and yet it imposes itself.

I. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EUCHARIST AND THE MYSTICISM OF THE PASSION: ANALYSIS OF PAULACRUCIAN TEXTS

A. THE DIARY

The relation between the Eucharist and the mysticism of the Passion is one of the more important points to establish.

We must begin from the analysis of the Diary. It does not seem that the paulacrucian doctrine in the Diary is fully formulated. Reflections from the letters of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Teresa of Avila appear more easily here than in his Letters. If the Diary is a testimony of an extraordinary mystical experience, it is not yet a document of an original doctrine which is fully possessed. Nevertheless, this experience is the beginning of that which later becomes his doctrine. It is evident that this experience is a result of eucharistic communion.

From November 23 to December 2, St. Paul always speaks of his own experience in relation to communion. On November 26, he recognizes that not only does his elevation in spirit "with highest sweetness" depend on Holy Communion, but even "a certain warmth of heart and stomach that I felt as being supernatural" (1). After communion on the 30th of the month, he heard within himself the words: "When you put yourself in spirit under the feet of every creature, even demons, this is what is most pleasing to me" (2).

The desire of humiliation and destruction seemed to anticipate, in a phrase difficult to equal in its dramatic expression, the third proposal in the tract on the Mystical Death: for his great sins he merits only hell. On December 2 he notes that he may be insensitive and distracted in prayer, but at communion he is hardly ever distracted: "dry, arid, yes, but more or less, before or after, I always feel some motion of heart" (3).

Much more important for our study are the notes the Saint made on December 7, and 24, and finally during the last days of his retreat, December 26, 27, 28, 29, and on the final day itself, January 1. On December 7 he again insists on the effect of communion on the body. It is significant how this retreat emphasizes the effects of eucharistic communion on the body. The Eucharist even physically sustains the Saint, who lives those days in severe fast and penance; it strengthens and warms him.

By far a more attentive analysis is required of what he writes during his last days of retreat. On December 26: "I was particularly elevated in spirit, especially during Holy Communion," and "I desired to die a martyr where the Mystery of the Most Holy Sacrament was denied...I prayed

particularly for this during Holy Communion” (4). The sacrament of the Eucharist brings him to participate in the mystery. The Saint feels himself strongly called to the mission of salvation, especially for England, and wished for martyrdom to accomplish this mission.

The day following, his soul more clearly experiences: “a certain repose of soul mixed with the sufferings of the Redeemer in which a soul is pleased. Love and suffering are intertwined. I don’t know how to explain it, because it cannot be explained” (5). The Saint himself tells us how his participation in the Mystery of the Passion depends on the Eucharist. He sees his sacramental Jesus with his bodily eyes and he desires that a seraphim would transpierced his heart, as was St. Teresa’s, and in communion he wishes to drink from the infinite font of the heart of his Jesus. After Communion on December 28, the Infinite Good moves him “to the highest recollection and to great affective colloquies” with “our dear Spouse” (6). On the 29th he prays for heretics and wishes that the banner of holy faith be erected in England, so that “devotion and reverence, homage and love, and frequent adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament would spread there.” “The desire to die a martyr for the Most Blessed Sacrament” does not leave him, and he feels “moved to repair the errors committed” against his “dear Jesus” (7).

Finally, after Holy Communion on January 1, 1721, he feels “deep tender affections of great love,” that he seems “liquified in God.” He recognizes how “the soul united in a bond of love to the Most Sacred Humanity” is “liquified and elevated to the highest and sensible knowledge of the Divinity” (8). The Diary ends with these words: “While serving a Mass, I felt such a bright Light of the great charity which God extends and my misery, ingratitude, and life that I did not even lift my eyes to look at the image of Mary Most Holy, and always with tears mixed with great sweetness especially in seeing Jesus my sacramental Spouse” (9).

With reason does Fr. Breton emphasize the importance of the concluding text of the Diary. From the beginning of its journey, the soul becomes aware of the very special grace of its supernatural vocation and its entire life is nothing but its development and full realization. The initial grace was nothing but the seed of the future plant. In his commentary to the critical edition, Fr. Zoffoli happily notes that the Diary concludes with the words: “Jesus, My Sacramental Spouse.” “It is not by accident,” he writes, “that Jesus in the Eucharist is the final word in the Diary. Paul contemplates the true synthesis of his life in his Sacramental Spouse.” We can and must note that from the beginning of the page of this last day of his retreat, the Saint recognizes that the extraordinary grace of which he speaks is the result of his eucharistic communion: “First Wednesday, January 1, 1721. I was most highly elevated by the infinite charity of our most sweet God to great recollection and abundant tears, especially after Holy Communion” (10). The extraordinary experience, which even from 1721 prophetically announces the proper character of paulacrucian mysticism, thus affirms that the highest elevation of the spirit does not go beyond the humanity of Christ, and the presence of Christ is, for the soul, a result of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

It appears from the Diary that the Saint is fortified in body and soul by communion to continue his austere penances and embrace the life to which he is drawn. Through the Eucharist, he is urged to profound humility, to self abasement, to live and clothe himself in the Lord’s sufferings, and even the desire of martyrdom. In his union with Christ he is urged to reparation and he feels called to an apostolic mission for the salvation of heretics and sinners, and especially for the conversion of England. Finally, he sees his “Spouse” in the sacramental Jesus.

The entire life of Paul of the Cross is already announced in these pages. His entire life and his entire doctrine appear as a result of the Eucharistic Sacrament.

If it is less evident in the Letters, and if it does not appear in the Mystical Death, this dependance is still certain. It is evident that, as his mystical union with Christ became more perfect and continual, his life was none other than a deeper participation in that Mystery which he celebrated every day. No longer is there a before or after; Paul's entire life is a communion with Christ. Paul lives his death; he mysteriously lives his resurrection. In deepest silence he lives with Christ in the heart of the Father; he lives the same Passion of the love of Christ for the salvation of people.

B. THE LETTERS

After the Diary, it is opportune to recall the letter he wrote to his brothers before he and his brother John Baptist definitively left Castellazzo. Outlining a complete program of Christian life, Paul speaks at the beginning of frequent reception of the Sacraments, of Confession and Communion. He writes: "To remain in this divine friendship receive the Sacraments frequently, namely, Penance and Holy Communion. When you approach the Sacred Altar have no other goal than to liquify your soul in the fire of Holy Love. Oh, my brothers, I won't speak of preparation, because I think you will do what you can. Keep in mind that you are performing as holy an action as you can. Oh! our dear Jesus could not have done more for us than to give himself as food. Let us, therefore, love Him, this dear Lover; be deeply devoted to the Most Blessed Sacrament. In church one should tremble with reverence. Do not let a day pass without making an half hour, or at least a quarter hour, of mental prayer on the sorrowful Passion of our Redeemer. If you can, pray longer; but, at least don't miss this opportunity" (11). The letter ends by recommending adoration of the Blessed Sacrament (12).

The expressions are traditional. If we eliminate their fervor, they do not yet reveal anything of the Saint's original experience, much less his doctrine. But perhaps it is exactly for this that they can suggest the mystical doctrine which slowly becomes clearer in Paul's thinking and was formed not so much from the letters of St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa and later Tauler, but above all as a result of his devotion to the Eucharist. It is difficult but not impossible to say when he became cognizant of his doctrine. One must attentively study his correspondence, from those letters written after the famous retreat at the end of 1721, to those written just before his death in October 1775. Even if he claims not to possess "his" doctrine, there is certainly one present. His greatness does not doubt it, even if documents should be lacking, which fortunately Providence provided that they not be lacking. After the Diary, he composed only the brief tract on the Mystical Death. Every other writing, with the exception of his sermons, is a response to the innumerable individuals he guided towards heroic sanctity. But Paul opened his heart in every letter he wrote. The different individuals and circumstances in which they lived did not impede him from this generous openness. He guided them, above all, by relating his own experiences in language that is often tender with love, in formulae that are dense with doctrine.

1. Letters to Agnes Grazi: "Eucharistic Communion transforms the soul in Christ"

From his correspondence with Agnes Grazi, the most numerous with any individual, one can better understand and follow Paul's journey toward full spiritual maturity. If in his early years he often speaks of communion, as the years pass he speaks rarely of communion and even more

rarely of exhortation to particular exercises of piety. Certainly the individuals he directs become more spiritual, but we must keep in mind that he himself lives ever more profoundly his interior detachment and spiritual freedom. That his devotion to the Eucharist has not diminished is born out in one of his last letters to Agnes Grazi, which is also probably one of his most emotional letters of all his correspondence (13). But let us proceed more orderly.

On August 10, 1733, toward the beginning of his spiritual direction, he writes: “Those great servants of God rarely received communion. However, since they were always well disposed, they received an abundance of graces, and in short order reached perfection. Be ever prepared to receive Jesus; approach always with ardent desires...” A year later, he wanted her to receive on feast days and, if possible, three times a week; and, with the permission of the confessor, to receive daily from Passion Sunday to Holy Thursday (14). In a letter of June 29, 1736, he speaks to her of “the enjoyment of the Sacramental Jesus,” who “is not savored with the bodily mouth, but with the palate of faith and love. The real taste of Jesus is to abase oneself entirely in him, transform oneself in him through love and render oneself entirely divinized. Our sweet Savior performs this work in us...” (15). These expressions already announce the mystical doctrine of St. Paul of the Cross: communion transforms the soul in Christ and in this transformation the soul is divinized. Later he more clearly uses the term “to abase oneself” in relation to the Father, but even now he clearly affirms the character of this transformation and its completion in a divinization of the soul.

He opens up to Agnes: “If I have been before my Sacramental Love, my soul flew in spirit to embrace that infinite charity exposed on the altar for the adoration of the people and I heard my Saviour sweetly say to me: ‘Son, whoever embraces me embraces thorns!’” (16). These words reveal the confidence of a spiritual father with his spiritual daughter; it also reveals how in his spiritual direction he naturally communicates his own experience. In St. Paul of the Cross the mysticism of the Passion is the fruit of an intense eucharistic life. From this same eucharistic life a spirituality of the Passion must be born for his spiritual children. It is a spirituality which is indeed a “remaining on the Cross of the divine Spouse,” but also “venting one’s affections towards this infinite Love” (17). “Ah, my daughter, eat, drink, become inebriated, fly, sing, be happy, exult, celebrate before your divine Spouse” (18). This passion of love for Jesus in the Eucharist finally erupts in one of his last letters to his spiritual daughter shortly before his death. Of all his correspondence, there is not expressed a more inflamed love for Jesus in the Eucharist (19).

Paul’s correspondence with Agnes Grazi during the ten years he directed her could also be considered his diary. The Saint’s mystical experience deepens in a doctrine which ever accentuates the dependance of his experiences on the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

2. Correspondence with Teresa Palozzi: development of his eucharistic doctrine (presence of immensity and sacramental presence)

After the letters to Agnes Grazi, those to Teresa Palozzi more than others document development in the doctrine. Agnes died in 1744. The correspondence with Teresa Palozzi began in December 1755 and continued for almost ten years. Of these letters, two especially refer to the Mystery of the Eucharist. St. Paul wishes that the heart of this penitent become a living tabernacle for the sacramental Jesus, and he affirms that Holy Communion is the most efficacious means to union with God.

These two points of the doctrine are extremely significant in assuring us that the Saint's mystical experience depends on the Eucharist. He wants his penitent to receive Holy Communion frequently. He is happy that she has received permission from her director to receive every day during the octave of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and he gently urges her to daily communion. The same meditation on the Passion and contemplative prayer of pure silence will be the most beautiful fruit of an eucharistic life. If he wishes that Teresa Palozzi make her heart a tabernacle where the Lord continually dwells so to embrace him constantly with holy affections, it seems that he thus substitutes the Presence of the Immensity, proper to some Mystics, even his masters, to the sacramental Presence of Christ. The mystical experience entails the presence of Christ and becomes a participation in the state of the suffering Christ who in his Passion has shown his love for the Father (20).

The importance of these texts seems fundamental and it is difficult to find others more clear and decisive in their simplicity. "The heart must always be a living tabernacle of the sweet sacramental Jesus" (21). He had written at the beginning of the letter: "Jesus is in the center of your heart;" and he repeats it a year later: "Endeavor to have your heart become a living tabernacle of the sweet sacramental Jesus; keep him always with you and affectionately embrace him often with the arms of your soul." And he continues: "Receive the Sacramental Jesus and drink to satiety at that divine font" (22). He writes further: "Try to assist at Mass every morning and carry within you our sweet sacramental Jesus and remain always united to him. I desire your heart to be a true altar upon which our sweet Jesus is always exposed and that you will be there in pure spirit at his divine feet as Magdalen, listening to his divine words, totally abandoned and absorbed in this infinite Good. Remain listening in that sacred silence of faith and holy love, and abase yourself continually in the immense sea of divine charity; thus, remaining in interior solitude, you will be always in prayer" (23).

The more habitual expressions of Paul's mystical language appear in this text. It is evident that his mystical experience is a result of the Eucharist. It is in the presence of Christ that the soul lives its union with God. The text also speaks of the Mass, which is not very frequent in St. Paul of the Cross. The Real Presence, Communion and Sacrifice are aspects of one Mystery, the real gift which Christ gives to the soul, associating it to his sacrifice and making it participate of his life. Hence Paul wishes that Teresa receive the sacramental Jesus and drink to satiety at that "divine font." He desires that Teresa "receive Holy Communion at least three or four times a week" (June 20, 1759); he was very pleased "that in this octave of Corpus Christi you are allowed to receive Holy Communion every morning" and he desires that she "would continue, for there is no other pious devotion which unites one more to God" (24). "If you cannot receive the Sacrament of Reconciliation...throw yourself into the furnace of the most sweet heart of Jesus, there all your defects and imperfections will be consumed, and go peacefully to Holy Communion" (25). Summing up his entire instruction, the Saint will write in one of his last letters to Teresa: "Holy Communion is the most efficacious means for being united to God; be always prepared for the divine table; strive to make your heart a living tabernacle of our sweet sacramental Jesus...Visit him often within you and give him all the adoration, affection and thanks which holy love will show you" (26).

He will also exhort Anna Calcagnini to frequent communion, even daily, with the permission of her confessor (27).

3. Correspondence with Sr. Columba G. Gandolfi: “to be with the Divine Word in the heart of the Father”

In his correspondence with Sr. Columba Gertrude Gandolfi – almost the most significant of all his correspondence – St. Paul returns many times to the Mystery of the Eucharist. Because of their importance, the texts should be attentively analyzed. Regarding communion he writes: “Do not transgress Holy Communion, but make it with the usual obedience to your confessor. The devil’s greatest concern is to have one distance himself from the Table of the Angels, from receiving this food of eternal life, where the soul becomes frightening to demons” (28). In his letter of July 16, 1754, one of his most sublime, the Saint exhorts to the greatest confidence, to hide in the abyss of the Divinity and rest there without fear, leaving all care to God in order to remain more recollected in true interior solitude, detached from everything created, dead to self and to everything that is not of God. He wants her intention to be pure, her actions God-like, that she remain abased and lost in her immense God. The call to such a high and pure contemplation is joined to the insistence never to forsake Holy Communion: “Oh my daughter! Do not ever forsake this food of eternal life. Remain in prolonged thanksgiving... Offer this sweet Redeemer to the eternal Father through Mary Most Holy” (29).

But the most important is the letter St. Paul of the Cross writes on December 21, 1754. The Saint has perhaps never seen nor instructed more clearly how the contemplative experience is a result of Holy Communion, being with the Divine Word in the heart of the Father. “From your last letter which I received last night, I see that your interior actions are more pure and naked because they are devoid of sensible feeling, and now you are a genuine adorer of the Most High in spirit and in truth. Oh, what a great grace this is! Oh, what an inestimable treasure! Continue to remain in deep poverty and nakedness of spirit, in profound interior solitude, devoid of every sensible enjoyment, indeed suffering without intending the suffering, because suffering is spiritually produced by a pure love of God. Oh how much I would love to say more! But I am not sure I can explain. O divine solitude rich of every good! Oh, Sr. Columba, appreciate what you have and remain always in that sacred, profound desert, in which the soul is lost in God, forgetful of everything created, elevated through love from the temporal to the Eternal Good, without intending it, feeds itself on charity, on the purest love in God, joined and united, through love, to the divine Word Jesus Christ who conducts his beloved where he is, *in sinu Patris*, in the heart of the divine Father, and there, in that abyss of love, nothing remains of the temporal, but all is of Highest and Uncreated Love. Oh, the wonderful things I am telling you! But they are not mine, they are the Lord’s; they are of that Divine Spirit, who has related them to his servants. Every evening during the novena, I wish you a happy feast; and do you know where I place you? In the most pure heart of the divine Word, the sacramental Jesus, so that, hidden in him, you may remain with him where he himself is, as I said above” (30).

The mystical experience of a soul is ecstasy, a going out of itself, a being elevated through love beyond the temporal to the eternal Good. It’s the Word who elevates and conducts the soul to where he himself resides. Hence the reason for the soul to hide “In the most pure Heart of the divine Word, the sacramental Jesus,” so that united with him it can live in the abyss of love which is the heart of the Divine Father. The profound solitude is divine, the poverty and nakedness of spirit is forgetfulness of everything created. It seems that ecstasy is identified with introversion, and the soul enters into the heart of the Father in the very act which it posits in its most intimate center. The text which can at first appear confused is, on the contrary, of such profundity that St. Paul probably will never know how to explain it. We speak here of three

centers. The soul collects itself in its center, in this center it is united to the Word who has assumed human nature (sacramental communion which realizes this unity of the soul with the Incarnate Word?). Hidden in the heart of the Word (second center), the soul is elevated by the Word and finally introduced into the heart of the Father (third center). Dead to itself, the soul is thus united to the Incarnate Word in order to be reborn in God.

Other letters to Sr. M. Elizabeth, abbess of the Capuchin Nuns of St. Flora, to Sr. M. Columba of Jesus and other writings to his religious (Fr. John of St. Raphael, Fr. Anthony of St. Teresa, etc.), have accentuated and referred to the mystery of the eucharist but none, it seems to me, reach the high degree as in the letters we have briefly treated.

After studying the Diary and Letters we can sum up:

1. When the Saint treats with good Christians he exhorts them, above all else, to receive the Sacraments and be faithful to Mass.
2. He counsels more fervent souls to frequent communion, visits to the Blessed Sacrament. He is pleased when religious receive communion daily. He would wish, as in the early Church, that all would receive communion every day.
3. He asks individuals more advanced in the spiritual life to become a living tabernacle for the sacramental Jesus, living constantly with Him, indeed to live in him.

If Holy Mass is the treasure of treasures, communion is the most efficacious means to sanctification. Indeed there is no exercise of piety which unites one more with God. The soul becomes frightening to demons. It must repair the outrages committed against Jesus in this sacrament and must carry the needs of the entire world to the altar (31). Thus in its relation with the eucharistic mystery, the soul no longer lives simply for its personal sanctification, but also participates in the very mission of Christ, and, finally, that contemplative prayer is the best thanksgiving for Holy Communion. The simplicity of these words should not hide from us how these are the conclusion and compendium of his teaching.

We must now examine his doctrine more closely.

II. THE EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS

A. MEDIATION OF THE INCARNATE WORD

St. Paul the Apostle and St. John the Evangelist shall always be the masters of theology and christian mysticism. Their teaching is guaranteed by divine inspiration and is necessary for anyone who wishes to deepen himself theologically in the mystery. Knowledge and experience are not separate from one another. How can they be, from the moment that human experience supposes knowledge and knowledge is ordered to life? The divorce between theology and the spiritual life, lamented in past centuries, compromised the life of theology and very often impoverished spirituality. However, as the words of Evagrius, “he is no theologian who does not pray,” are true, so is it also true that the saint is always one whose experience presupposes an intimate and often profound knowledge of the Mystery. Not only does he pose a model to imitate, but he also communicates a doctrinal message which theology is called to reflect on.

The great mystical experience of St. Paul of the Cross communicates this message to us. We must accept it and explain its doctrinal and theological richness. He had teachers. The spontaneous reaction to their teaching is the note which, above all else, calls the attention of anyone who wishes to study him. His mysticism returns to inspired thoughts. More than the German Mystics, except perhaps Suso, more than the Carmelite Mystics, more than St. Francis de Sales, St. Paul of the Cross recognizes and lives, in his mystical experience, the mediation of the Incarnate Word. In this he remains faithful to the great tradition of Italian mysticism, even if he does not seem to be directly inspired by St. Francis of Assisi, St. Bonaventure, St. Catherine of Siena and the Florentine mystics, St. Catherine de' Ricci and St. M. Magdalen de' Pazzi. In fact more than an anthropology which has its foundation in the verse of Genesis (32), christian mysticism is based on baptism which incorporates one in Christ. Baptismal grace is the dynamic principle of the Christian's entire life, which grows and tends to perfection in so far as it realizes an always greater conformity to Christ.

Not even St. Paul of the Cross seems to refer to incorporation of the faithful in Christ. He naturally pre-supposes baptism, but he does not speak of it. Although he doesn't explicitly refer to this sacrament, his doctrine, however, recognizes and teaches the dependance of the mystical experience on the sacramental eucharist. The christian life is dependant on the sacraments, much more than the mystical experience. Of all the sacraments, Paul prefers to refer to the Eucharist.

The soul's conformity to the suffering Christ does not arise from a subjective meditation on the Savior's Passion. A subjective meditation can, at most, commit one to imitation of Christ, not to a participation in his Mystery, nor in itself to union with Him. True, St. Paul speaks of meditation on the Passion more often than Holy Communion, but this is proposed to souls at the beginning of their spiritual journey and even more so in his mission preaching. Nevertheless, meditation in St. Paul more often arises and is fed by the ineffable union which the believer establishes with Christ in the Sacrament. He writes that it is through the devout celebration of Holy Mass that we become clothed with the sentiments of Christ more than receiving him, the faithful soul is received by him to be then transformed into him and the transformation is not, certainly, automatic. The action of the grace of the sacraments is not magic. Christ unites us to him in order to work our transformation into him through our very own powers. He operates first of all through our intellect which contemplates and our will which loves.

The exemplary referral to Christ on the Cross to which he incessantly returns is made possible not by a human will which tends to imitate Christ, but by a will which is guided and sustained by Christ's own Spirit, who constantly unites the soul of the one praying to his divine model. It is in the Eucharist that the Spirit of Christ is ever newly communicated to the faithful soul in order to animate it in love and transform it into the same Christ.

The unity of the Mystery does not exclude the distinction of Persons – the created person from the uncreated Person of the Word – but is the font and principle of spousal relation.

Paul celebrates the Nativity of the Incarnate Word, contemplates the sorrowful Passion, yet it cannot be said that he is a friend of Jesus. His mysticism transcends the friendship which would make him His companion in the mystery; it is essentially a witness to a spousal mysticism. Paul is one with him to live his same Mystery, the Paschal Mystery of his death and resurrection. The

Saint does not theologially deepen his unity with Christ, he lives it. Having become one body with him, living with his spirit, the experience of Christ is not multiplied in Paul but is made present in him. How could he doubt being distinct from his Spouse? But this distinction does not compromise the unity of the Mystery.

B. THE MYSTICISM OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS IS A SPOUSAL MYSTICISM

The mysticism of St. Paul is more a mysticism of mystical union than a mysticism of divine maternity, in the manner of the Rhineland Mystics. “The divine nativity” is the birth of the new man in the heart of the Father; not the birth of the Logos in the soul, but the participation of the soul in the resurrection of Christ. Only in its union with Christ, transformed in him, can one live more perfectly the mystery of his death and resurrection, and the soul enters and dwells in the heart of the Father. It is a process of introversion but also of ecstasy. The “divine nativity” is for the soul a dying to self and a going out of self in order to dwell and live in God. As the sacred Humanity of the Word, rather in the sacred Humanity of the Word, the soul, too, enters into Glory and abases itself in God.

The Mystery becomes present in the Eucharist in order to be communicated to and participated in by souls. St. Paul of the Cross insists on the Passion. “In the Passion there is everything,” he writes to Thomas Fossi (33). In reality, Death and Resurrection are one sole Mystery. His insistence on the Passion, which could seem excessive and obsessive, is not at all unhealthy; hence his indissoluble union with divine Life. Thus, in his work *Mystical Death*, he will say that by death, through pure love of God, the soul can enjoy paradise.

C. THE DEEPEST MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE DEPENDS ON THE SACRAMENT

The referral to the Eucharist is not episodic, much less collateral, in the theme of the Passion. True, the Saint does not start from theology – the spiritual and mystical doctrine is dominant in him. In writing his letters of direction, he not only exhorts to frequent communion and visits to the Blessed Sacrament with traditional language, but he directly affirms that the highest mystical experience depends on the Sacrament. Indeed, it seems we can say that he is almost naturally drawn to substitute the center of the soul of the Rhineland and Carmelite Mystics with the heart which has become the living tabernacle of the sacramental Jesus. It is in its union with him that the soul abases itself in God. Jesus himself brings it with him to the heart of the Father. It does not seem that Paul ever expresses the state of Jesus’ victimhood in the Sacrament; but if Paul wants the soul “to die with him on the cross” (*Mystical Death*), it doesn’t seem arbitrary to think that he sees the Mystery of that death present in the Mass, so that one can participate in it; and it is through the Sacrament that the soul really participates in it. The gift which Christ makes of himself to the soul is the gift of his death, which realizes and becomes the Mystical Death of the soul, and is the gift of his resurrection which realizes and becomes a divine nativity for the soul in God.

In *Mystical Death* Paul teaches how to live the Passion of the Redeemer in the various mysteries: agony, insults in the Pretorium, the journey to Calvary, etc. More often, he desires that the soul live in the same silence of Jesus in his Passion. There is never, as far as I know, an explicit reference to silence, to detachment, to the humility of Jesus in the Mystery of the Eucharist. I am not entirely certain that he did not have implicitly present the silence of Jesus under the species of bread and, above all, his solitude. In fact, if the Passion is the door through

which the soul must pass, how can the soul complete this passage and lose itself in the infinite sea of Divinity or, better, in the heart of the Father if it still knows suffering and pain?

D. THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST IS NOT TRANSCENDED

Would the words of St. Catherine of Genoa, “I don’t want to suffer,” go beyond the words of St. Paul of the Cross? Certainly, suffering is not possible when the soul, no longer closed within itself, is entirely immersed in God. It is then no longer conscious of self but of God, and his infinite Light eclipses its every thought, and his beauty invincibly draws it to himself without allowing it to return to itself. Nevertheless, Paul of the Cross could not approve the teaching of his masters. The humanity of Christ is not transcended. If so, the salvation of the creature would necessarily be excluded; the creature would simply be reabsorbed in its eternal pre-existence. Christ rises again and his Humanity remains. At the terminus of our Saint’s experience is the divine nativity of the soul in God. The Eucharist makes present the death of Christ not his Passion; and the death of Christ is his same resurrection in glory. The solitude and silence of Jesus in the eucharistic Mystery are now substituted for the suffering and pain of the Passion. So it is in St. Paul of the Cross. Under the external clothing of death, the Humanity of Jesus lives in the Eucharist the glory of the Resurrection, more simply, his “being” in the heart of God. This is, above all, what he wishes his penitents to live from their communion with the sacramental Jesus.

Recall the letter to Sr. Columba Gandolfi, which we cited above, and note how the images occurring in the correspondence inspired to the Mystery of the Eucharist. The Saint cannot better explain the contemplative life than by liturgical language. The heart must be a living tabernacle of Jesus; the soul must offer itself a “victim as holocaust to its Divine Majesty on the altar of the Cross” (34); the heart must be “a true altar upon which the sweet Jesus is always exposed” (35). He sees the same life of heaven as a liturgical celebration: the soul “dyed in the divine Blood of the immaculate Lamb” sits “eternally at the divine Table to sing forever: Holy, Holy, Holy; You alone are Holy, You alone are Lord, You alone are the Most High, O Jesus Christ!” (36).

III. ORIGINALITY OF THE EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS

A study of St. Paul of the Cross’ eucharistic texts easily brings out the difference from what he owes to popular piety and writes for common exhortation (and thus not an expression of “his” thought), and what is the testimony of an interior experience and giving originality to his teaching.

The exhortation to make visits to the Blessed Sacrament, to prepare for Mass are expressions which he makes entirely his own, but they are part of the ordinary piety of his day. We should remember that the booklet of St. Alphonsus on *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament* went into more editions than perhaps any other book after the Gospel. The instruction that the Mass is the treasure of treasures and that communion is the most efficacious means to sanctification is equally common. However, St. Paul reveals more of himself in his teaching. He does not simply transmit a teaching he has received and made his own. His words, if I am not mistaken, are the living expression of his experience. Nevertheless, the originality of the eucharistic doctrine of St. Paul of the Cross is not even found in this teaching.

A. THE SOUL IS A LIVING TABERNACLE FOR JESUS BECAUSE IT MAKES PRESENT HIS DEATH AND RESURRECTION

St. Paul of the Cross knows the theology of the Church and adheres to it with his entire being. Yet he does not consider, nor deepen, the Mystery of the Real Presence and eucharistic Sacrifice. He is led almost naturally to meditate and live the effects of the Sacrament in him who receives it. Hence the reason he desires a prolonged thanksgiving, not separating it from contemplative prayer. He wishes that the soul become a living tabernacle for Jesus. Is the expression characteristic of the Saint's spiritual doctrine? It will be easier to reply if we attentively consider that which is more his own in his teaching on the Eucharist.

From what has been said, we must affirm that St. Paul recognizes a dependance of the mystical experience on the Eucharist. In what precisely does this dependance consist? Does the mystical experience only generically depend on the Sacrament as effect of its grace? Even if the Saint never explicitly affirms it, we could say that communion realizes the transformation of the believer into him who is so received that the mystical experience would be none other than the ever more conscious and profound insertion into the Mystery, the participation of the Christian in the death and resurrection of Christ. By eucharistic communion the soul becomes a living tabernacle of Jesus, because Jesus lives in him and makes present in him his death and resurrection. More than the indwelling of the Trinity, the presence of Christ in the heart of the Christian is a foundation or basis for the mystical experience. The Eucharist not only makes Jesus present in the heart of the individual, but it unites the Christian to Christ so that the humanity of one and of the Other becomes one, and in this One Humanity the Christian lives with Christ and in Christ his same Mystery. St. Paul of the Cross had already written this in his Diary on the last day. The "mysticism of the Passion" is the transformation of the believer into the crucified and risen Christ; not contemplation as the act which one performs, but the grace of the Sacrament which takes one into the Unity of the Mystery.

We can say, I think, that the presence of Christ in the Mystery of the Eucharist becomes fully real in whomever receives him. In contemplation the soul becomes conscious of the action of the Spirit, who unites it to Christ, so that through the mystery of his death he may dwell in the infinite abyss of God.

Despite all this, Mystical Death postpones to the future: "I will live in heaven" that which is already anticipated in the letters: "the divine nativity". The Passion is the subject of reflection and meditation for an ascetical commitment. The flight of the spirit is in relation to eucharistic communion "after you are sufficiently crushed, broken and emptied, ask permission of Jesus to enter into his divine Heart and you will immediately attain it. Then fly in spirit into that beautiful heart in which the fire of Holy Love always burns and there place yourself as a victim on the divine altar... But I must tell you that this flight in spirit must be made in the Heart of our sacramental Jesus..." (37).

B. IN ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS DEATH NEVER TRANSCENDS NOR IS IT EVER SEPARATED FROM THE RESURRECTION

In St. Paul of the Cross death never goes beyond nor is it ever separated from the resurrection. Nothing unsound here. More than Calvary and the representation of events which accompany the Passion of Christ, the soul of Paul lives the mystery of the death in the solitude and silence of Jesus in the Host. The texts, so essential to his doctrine, especially his correspondence, assure us that his mystical experience is otherwise than an episodic contemplation of the Passion, and it is not simply the introversion of the German mystics, but it

is a going out of himself to be immersed with the glorified Humanity of Jesus in the divine abyss. More than being in the depth of the soul, together with the Humanity of the Word, he sinks into the infinite sea of the Divinity.

The text of the last day of the Diary, in spite of what he may have taken from Tauler, is at the beginning of his every mystical experience and entirely illuminates it. The mystics he knew and loved did not allow him to understand anything essential. The Saint perhaps unknowingly interprets them in the light of his own experience, which was truly original in its roots, because more evangelically free from every metaphysical school and more humbly faithful to the centrality of Christ who lives his Mystery in him. It is the eucharistic communion which transforms him into the dead and risen Christ and makes him participate in his victimhood by a single holocaust of love. Thus, communion is not simply a means, even if efficacious for sanctification; his life becomes even more one with the life of Christ and he himself becomes one with him.

The fidelity of Paul to the spousal mysticism, less evident in Tauler and Eckhart, assures the distinction of the created person from the uncreated Person of the Word, but makes the mystical experience depend on Christ who carries the saint's soul with him where His own Humanity is, in the secret abode of the Father. Even Paul speaks of the depth of the spirit; and yet his withdrawing from crowds, love of recollection, fidelity to silence are before all else an ascetical exercise and a condition for the asceticism of the purest love. He must reenter into himself to transcend himself infinitely in God. His basis is not uncreated and uncreatable as it seems for Eckhart. In reentering into himself, rather, he is assumed by Christ; he feels as being one with him and lives with him in the silence and solitude of God. Silence and solitude, then, become the notes of a new birth in God who is Silence and Solitude in his infinite transcendence.

When Paul attempts to write a brief tract on the Mystical Death, he clearly manifests his incapacity to express theologically his own experience. By this incapacity, which is only negative, he indicates that the language is emphatic. He cannot end a sentence without exclamatory expressions. By the very reason of a daily noting of his experiences, St. Paul has left us in his Diary a text which is richer than the tract and more significant than the letters themselves. The defect of an insufficient theological elaboration is compensated by a greater fidelity in noting all the elements which can and ought to concur for a doctrinal synthesis, which the theologian who wants to study him today must perform.

C. PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITY AND TOTALITY OF THE MYSTERY

This defect has prevented St. Paul of the Cross from being recognized in his true greatness, as one of the most eminent among the Masters of Christian spirituality. In him the dependance of the life and experience of the Mystery, which is objectively made present for communication, is more clearly affirmed than in the great majority of the Masters of Christian spirituality. In him more clearly than in them the nature of that life and experience is precisely the participation in the unity and totality of the Mystery. For him Christianity is not an adventure, a journey toward an uncharted future, not even a return to the font, but an insertion into a living Presence, who is the definitive Reality of everything.

As secret heart of the world, Christ draws the faithful to himself in his death, but for a new birth in God. Certainly the Christian must announce his death until Christ is manifested in glory, but he will announce it through the power of his resurrection. The preaching of the Cross and the

mysticism of the Passion are thus the proclamation itself of salvation, which the individual already experiences and lives by withdrawing himself from the world of dispersion and sin. Before compassion is an asceticism and a psychological experience, it is an ontological participation in the Mystery. The presence of the dead and risen Christ in the Mystery becomes fully real in the Christian at the moment that Christ becomes present for communion. Thus Eucharist makes the Church; Eucharist makes the Christian and the saint.

If Paul seems to prefer Holy Communion among the aspects of the Mystery of the Eucharist, it is because in communion the presence of Christ becomes intimate and complete in the person who receives him, and this presence makes him with Christ one sole sacrifice, one sole holocaust.

CONCLUSION

THE MYSTICISM OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS ESPECIALLY RECOGNIZES THE CENTRALITY OF THE PASCHAL MYSTERY

The mysticism of the Passion does not indulge in “dolorism” even if man in this present life only progressively inserts himself into the Mystery by detachment from self and from the world, which, before making him participate in death of self, must make him relive the Passion of Christ, as the tract on the Mystical Death especially teaches us. But this process ends in the presence of a death which now is inseparable from the resurrection, and the presence of the dead and risen Christ unites Christ and the Christian as one holocaust, thus anticipating the unity of the Sacrifice of Christ and of the entire Church, ultimate end of the life of the universe. At the end, just as in distinction of persons, Christ will be the Sole One, so also will the entire life of the universe be present in the one sacrifice, which is the “end” of the world in its consummation in God.

In fact, Paul does not conceive the life of heaven as one sole Eucharistic liturgy, one hymn of adoration and praise which repeats the *Sanctus* and *Gloria in Excelsis* of the Mass he celebrates everyday. The soul will abase itself in God in that the eternal, infinite act of praise and love, which is the relation of the Son to the heavenly Father. The highest pure silence in which the soul loses itself is none other than the total forgetfulness of self in a complete ecstasy of love: “in paradise we will be eternally celebrating, continually praising our highest Good without fear of ever losing Him...The soul will be clothed as a queen, with robes dyed in the divine Blood of the immaculate Lamb and embroidered with divine virtues; it will be placed in his royal palace...to sing continually: Holy, Holy, Holy – You alone are Holy, You alone are Lord, You alone are the Most High...” (38).

The real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass have their fulfillment in Holy Communion. The presence of Christ in the Mystery becomes in fact the real presence of Christ in the soul through this sacrament.

After the last Council we can no longer say that communion is only a supplementary part of the Mass. Jesus makes himself present to live in us, and he lives in us through his Sacrifice. The third eucharistic prayer teaches the same doctrine when it invokes the Holy Spirit so that through eucharistic communion we become one body and one spirit, and we ask that, “He make us an everlasting gift” and “pleasing to God” (Ed. note: This last phrase is in the Italian text of the third eucharistic prayer).

Through communion Christ associates the Christian to his sacrifice. The life of the entire Church and the life of every Christian thus become the presence of that sole sacrifice which is a death but which finds its completion in glory.

The mysticism of St. Paul of the Cross not only recognizes the centrality of Christ, but more especially the centrality of the Paschal Mystery. The mediation of Christ is realized in the presence of that same Mystery in which death and resurrection become complementary aspects of one sole life that excludes the possibility of death and communicates God's glory to man.

NOTES

1. S. Paolo della Croce, *Diario spirituale*, testo critico, introduzione e note of E. Zoffoli, (Rome, 1964), p. 56 (hereafter cited as: *Diary*).
2. *Diary*, pp. 61-62.
3. *Diary*, p. 62.
4. *Diary*, p. 80.
5. *Diary*, p. 81.
6. *Diary*, p. 82.
7. *Diary*, p. 83.
8. *Diary*, p. 85-86.
9. *Diary*, p. 87.
10. *Diary*, p. 85.
11. S. Paolo della Croce, *Lettere*, I-IV, a cura di P. Amedeo, (Rome, 1924) ; (hereafter cited as: *Let.*) *Let. I* , pp. 53-54.
12. *Let. I*, p. 57.
13. *Let. I*, pp. 295ss.
14. *Let. I*, p. 109.
15. *Let. I*, p. 140.
16. *Let. I*, p. 194.
17. *Let. I*, pp. 238-239.
18. *Let. I*, p. 252.
19. *Let. I*, pp.195-297.
20. *Jn.* 14:31.
21. *Let. III*, p. 360.
22. *Let. III*, p. 365-366.
23. *Let. III*, P. 371.
24. *Let. III*, p. 375.
25. *Let. III*, p. 389.
26. *Let. III*, pp. 391-392.
27. *Let. III*, pp. 808-809.
28. *Let. II*, p. 444.
29. *Let. II*, p. 457-459.
30. *Let. II*, p. 466-467.
31. *Let. III*, p. 189.
32. *Gen.* 1:26.
33. *Let. I*, p. 558.
34. *Let. II*, p. 306.
35. *Let. III*, p. 371.

36. Let. I, pp. 239, 473.

37. Let. I, p. 473.

38. Let. I, pp. 164, 173.

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REMEMBRANCE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

A Way Towards Understanding the Cross of Jesus

Rev. Carroll Stuhmueller, C.P.

INTRODUCTION

In this investigation of remembrance in the Old Testament we seek to orientate ourselves ever more adequately towards the remembrance of the cross of Jesus in the Eucharist and in the contemporary experience of suffering. We approach the subject, therefore, from the context of St. Paul's account of the Eucharist in which you "proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes." The passage reads:

"I received from the Lord what I handed down to you, namely, that the Lord Jesus on the night in which he was betrayed took bread, and after he had given thanks, broke it and said, 'This is my body, which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' In the same way, after the supper, he took the cup, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me.' Every time, then, you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes! This means that whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily sins against the body and blood of the Lord (I Cor 11:23-27).

To "proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes" is a mandate obediently and manifestly achieved each time the Eucharist challenges and inspires the community to forgive one's enemies, to provide generously for the needy, and thus by suffering with Christ to form more completely the one body of Christ (cf. I Cor 12:27) (1).

Adapting other words of St. Paul, we fill up in our own flesh what is lacking in the sufferings of Christ for the sake of his body, the Church, the body which is spiritually imaged in the eucharistic meal (cf. Col 1:24). These difficult though joyful expectations of Christian living form the larger context of Paul's remembrance of the Church's eucharistic tradition (cf. 1 Cor 11:17-22 & 11:28-13:13). The Eucharist, to be worthy of the Lord, presumes a unifying and forgiving way of remembering the contemporary cross and passion of Jesus. Without this effective remembrance, by which we suffer with Jesus for the sake of unity and peace in the Church and in one's contemporary world; one "eats the bread and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily (and so) sins against the body and blood of the Lord."

We now explore how this liturgical and experiential notion of remembrance reaches back into the Hebrew Scriptures. Here again we find a special concern on God's part to remember a people oppressed and divided and to enable Israel to share continuously and effectively in that concern through their remembrance in liturgy. This in turn prompts and directs action for the relief of needy and suffering people. Whenever the liturgy forgets and cuts off its effective contact either with its formative moment of freeing the poor from Egyptian oppression or with its contemporary outreach to the contemporary victims of oppression, prophets will challenge, condemn and eventually reform the liturgy.

We investigate the Old Testament background of remembrance by first looking at the rich and diversified meaning of the Hebrew word, to remember - *zakar*; then we study the way by which God's salvation of the oppressed Israelites is remembered through liturgy and prophetic preaching; finally, we highlight those aspects of remembrance in the Hebrew Scriptures pertinent for our appreciating more effectively the cross of Jesus.

I. REMEMBRANCE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW (2)

As we trace the Hebrew word, to remember - *zakar*, into its origins we find a bond, uniting Israel philologically with other ancient people and sociologically with everyday human experiences. The root of "z-k-r occurs in all branches of Semitic (languages)," according to H. Eising (3). Its secular or non-religious origin, moreover, as well as its easy transition into religious or cultic activities and literature, blend well with a common feature of *zakar* and its cognates across the fertile crescent of pre-biblical times. This transition from the secular to the sacred occurs in the ancient Akkadian use of the root, z-k-r, in the Nabatean inscriptions from Sinai where "remembering has a clearly religious sense; it is something the deity is to do" (4).

This study of *zakar* will be divided according to the main grammatical forms in the Hebrew Bible: the simple or elementary *qal*, the causative form of the *hiphil*, and nouns derivative from the verb-root; we will consistently see an evolution from secular liberation to liturgical celebration, onward to repercussions again in secular life. The importance of *zakar* in the Biblical Hebrew becomes evident at once from its very frequent occurrence. Grammatically, the basic or simple form of the *qal* occurs as frequently as 168 times; the simple passive form of the *niphal*, 30 times; the causative form of the *Hiphil*, 31 times. Nouns, derived from the verb form, also occupy an important role in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in Israel's liturgy: *zeker*, 33 times; *zikkaron*, 24 times; and *azkarah*, 7 times. In all these cases, as the studies of H. Eising and B.S. Childs demonstrate, the meaning evolved from the secular to the sacred use of the word; and the nouns, generally later derivatives from the verb in Semitic languages, are ever more firmly entrenched within the sacred or liturgical context. We also note another transition, important for appreciating the impact of memory in the Hebrew language. As J. Pedersen has pointed out:

"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. When man remembers God, he lets his being and his actions be determined by him (5).

Looking more closely at the early secular uses of *zakar*, we find the verb associated with other responses of the intellect, or in Hebrew terminology with the activity of the *leb*, generally translated as heart. Hans Walter Wolff writes:

"...the wide range and the fine shades of meaning with which the "heart" in Hebrew describes the seat and function of the reason. It includes everything that we ascribe to the head and the brain – power of perception, reason, understanding, insight, consciousness, memory,_knowledge, reflection, judgement, sense of direction, discernment..." (6).

Memory, therefore, interacts in a richly diversified field of intellectual discernment, most of which is directed to practical decisions of contemporary life, always with the possibility of close

contact with the liturgy. The verb, to remember, moreover, “serves primarily to express an intellectual activity that is relational and personal” (7). We take note, for instance, of the intense momentum and personal interaction, “say...think...remember...miss... make another” in Jeremiah’s statement:

“They will in those days no longer say, ‘The ark of the covenant of the Lord!’ They will no longer think of it, or remember it, or miss it, or make another (Jer 3:16).

We think as well of the oft quoted phrase in the book of Nehemiah: “Remember this in my favour, O my God!” (Neh 5:19; 13:14, 22, 31) or the opposite turn in his expression: “Remember against them, O my God, how they defiled the priesthood...” (Neh 13:29).

Already, according to the previous notation from J. Pedersen, we see the close association of remembrance with action. Nehemiah’s prayer is a request for God’s blessing or punishment. If remembrance, therefore, is concerned with the past, it also includes “the consequences which this memory entails” (8). The Book of Deuteronomy frequently calls upon this motivation for “theological instruction based on the past...more generally, the exodus” (g). Israel is commanded: “Take care to keep holy the sabbath day,” for the following reason: “Remember that you too were once slaves in Egypt, and the Lord, your God, brought you from there with his strong hand and outstretched arm” (Deut 5:2,15; cf. 15:15; 16:3; 24:18,22). Eising then is justified in remarking: “The teachings of the ‘days of old’ are authoritative”. (10) God’s strong and active remembrance of the past in the present moment leads us to the Lord’s eternal plan for the chosen people. Consequently, in O. Michel’s words: “All recollection serves to maintain the purity of faith” (11) according to God’s overarching plan of salvation. We remember Second Isaiah’s statement about the fulfillment of prophecy:

“Who has performed these deeds? He who has called forth the generations since the beginning. I, the Lord, am the first, and with the last I will also be (Isa 41:4).

When God remembers, not only does his concern reach dramatically across centuries of time, but the “object is frequently an individual...with a clear element of action implied” (12). Eising, whom we are quoting, alludes to Rachel (Gen 20:22), Samson (Judges 16:28), Hannah (1 Sam 1:11, 19) and Jeremiah (Jer 15:15), but God remembers especially the lowly (Pss 8:5; 78:39; Job 10:9).

In what is called the *hiphil* or causative form of the verb, remembrance places us more immediately in a cultic setting, as in Exod 20:23, “In whatever place I choose for the remembrance of my name, I will come to you and bless you.” The passage is speaking of erecting “an altar of earth...or of stone.” Other cultic settings show up very prominently in the use of several nouns, derived from the verb, *zakar*. One of these nouns, *zikkaron*, displays a rich nuance of meaning according to the studies of B.S. Childs (13). *Zikkaron* may have a passive meaning of someone or something worthy of remembrance, or an active sense of calling one to remember something or someone. There is a broad range of references: memorable deeds (Esth 6:1); memorable sayings (Job 13:12); or a record (Ezr 6:2), inscribed in a book Exod 17:14). *Zikkaron* includes liturgical activity like the blowing of trumpets (Num 10:10) or cultic festival like the Passover (Exod 12:14). The latter text reads:

“This day shall be a memorial feast for you, which all your generations shall celebrate with pilgrimage to the Lord, as a perpetual institution.” According to Child’s comment

on this passage: “The particular concern of the Priestly writer is not the reliving of a past historical event as much as the maintaining of a reality which indeed entered history, but is now an eternal ordinance (v.14). The *zikkaron* also stimulates Israel’s memory, which produces participation in the sacred order” (14).

One final comment needs to be made. Just as the first Passover suffused a form, direction and life into later moments of liturgical celebration, this liturgical reliving of the Passover added its own insights and coloration to the continuing but evolving memory of the Passover (15).

This first section, focusing upon the rich and plentiful presence of *zakar* in the Hebrew Scriptures manifests an intense interaction 1) between the objects of remembrance and the person who remembers, particularly when the object is the poor and the defenseless, and 2) between the initial redemptive acts of God and their liturgical remembrance. Memory is a living reality, never losing its sense of initial identity, yet forever developing in accord with the eternal ordinance of the Lord.

II. REMEMBRANCE IN OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

“Remembering,” according to Lawrence Boadt, “forms the heart of Israel’s confession of faith” (16). In this second major section we study how the liturgical confession of faith “made history” by remembering an earlier episode, frequently of insignificant proportions which was quickly becoming blurred on the horizon of human memory. We will then look at the prophetic challenge of later liturgical developments and the prophetic contribution to Israel’s memory of God’s care for the poor and the needy. Both aspects of Israel’s remembrance, the liturgical and the prophetic, will contribute to our appreciation of the cross of Jesus as remembered today in the memorial of the Eucharist and relived in the painful but transforming events of our contemporary world. The transition of an early event like the exodus out of Egypt into the stuff of Israel’s history through liturgical remembrance and prophetic challenge was investigated in a book by Donald Senior and myself (17). Here I summarize the principal features and do so from the example of the Passover.

Stage One

The flight of Israel from Egypt originally consisted of a series of escapes and expulsions (18). From the plentiful documents of ancient Egypt, we learn absolutely nothing about the exodus, except for a vague reference to Israel in the stele of Pharaoh Mer-en-Ptah (1224-1204 B.C.). This inscription tells us nothing more than “that a group of people known as Israel existed in Canaan in 1220 B.C. and was known to the scholars at the court of Mer-en-Ptah” (19). This stele then witnesses to Israel’s non-presence in Egypt and to their condition as a people still unsettled in any precise territory; it says nothing about Israel’s departure from or earlier enslavement in Egypt. From the wider reading of Egyptian documents we learn that life went on as usual, after as before the biblical departure of Israel from Egypt. The exodus, it seems, made no dent at all on the economy, social life, religious faith, military defense and governmental structure of Egypt. Whenever it happened and however it happened, the biblical exodus hardly deserved to be called “history” (20). Whatever it was, it had all the appearance of a secular act of liberation, even as the Bible itself admits: “The Lord said, ‘ I have witnessed the affliction of my people in Egypt and have heard their cry of complaint against their slave drivers, so I know well what they are suffering’” (Exod 3:7). What was visible and recordable would be their affliction, cry of complaint; slave drivers and suffering; the invisible aspect of the Lord’s witnessing, the

Lord's hearing, and the Lord's knowledge was known only by revelation to Moses through the theophany of the burning bush. There are many indications in the Bible that the group which followed Moses out of Egypt was a motley assembly, a riff-raff, a mixed-up rabble (21) (cf. Exod 12:38; Num 11:4), hardly impressed with whatever happened at the exodus. They murmured about the taste of water only three days after their departure from Egypt (Exod 15:22-25); in the Book of Numbers they were still hankering after "the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic" of Egypt (Num 11:5).

Stage Two

If this motley group at first remembered and celebrated their exodus, it must not have been over its religious aspects but over the fact that they were free people on their way to a new future – but maybe not, so they frequently reverted to complaints and murmuring (22). The initial celebrations were secular. Yet people like Moses, or his Midianite father-in-law Jethro, realized that God had acted compassionately in freeing the people from slavery and in leading them onward to their promised land (cf. Exod 18) (23).

Stage Three

If we judge from the reconstruction of the first two stages in the development of Israel's religion, it would seem that God's best efforts to form a people as "my special possession...a kingdom of priests, a holy nation" (Exod 19:5-6), were being effectively thwarted. Israel was turning out no different from other peoples who had migrated from one place to another (24). The memory of Israel's migration from Egypt would have been buried in the sands among the wadis of Sinai, had not Moses started Israel on the way towards a liturgical celebration of the Passover. The memory of what had religiously happened to Israel in the Passover was threatened not only as we have seen by selfishness but also by forgetfulness. A new generation emerges who never experienced the first exodus. In order to keep the memory alive, the ritual of the Passover included a question and answer dialogue between parent and child:

"When your children ask you, 'What does this rite of yours mean?' you shall reply, 'This is the Passover sacrifice of the Lord who passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt; when he struck down the Egyptians, he spared our houses'" (Exod 12:27).

Or again in another passage:

"On this day (of Passover and Unleavened festival) you shall explain to your child, 'This is because of what the Lord did for me when I came out of Egypt.' It shall be a sign on your hand and as a reminder on your forehead" (Exod 13:8-9).

Not only does the liturgy take measures to ensure the safe keeping of Israel's sacred memory, through question and answer as well as through ritual acts which included the dress of the participants (notice the use of phylacteries in the text above), (25) but the preaching at these moments of worship insisted upon today as the moment when the exodus and covenant were taking place. We cite this homiletic encouragement and a prophetic warning:

"The Lord, our God, made a covenant with us at Horeb (or Sinai); not with our ancestors he make this covenant, but with us, all of us who are alive this day. The Lord spoke with you face to face on the mountain in the midst of fire" Deut 5:2-4).

“Oh, that today you would hear his voice” (Ps 95:7).

Emil L. Fackenheim comments further about the rabbinical attitude of reliving and remembering:

“Thus the pious Jew remembering the Exodus and the salvation at the Red Sea does not call to mind events now dead and gone. He (or she) reenacts these events as a present reality...In reenacting the natural-historical event, he reenacts the abiding astonishment as well, and makes it his own...Hence memory turns into faith” (26).

Through symbolic action, then, and effective preaching the liturgy contacts the memory of faith. As Israel remembers, God too remembers and re-enacts the redemptive act of the Passover. As mentioned already, and to express it this time in the words of Nils Dahl, “history was born from memory” (27). Because the Passover was liturgically celebrated, new generations in ever larger numbers gathered to remember and to re-experience the first exodus out of Egypt. As the impact of the Passover continued ever more profoundly across an ever wider circle of Israelite people, the exodus acquired its notch in history. And because the Passover celebration’s essential purpose and meaning were religious, we can rightly speak of salvation history. Liturgy, therefore, insured an effective, continuous way, not only of remembering the Passover but equally as well of absorbing new details from each contemporary age into the celebration. For instance, while the sacrifice of the lamb was the central act in the wilderness, the ceremony of unleavened bread was incorporated after the settlement in the land (28). Agricultural pursuits of a new age were thus represented in a ceremony once enacted in a non-agrarian, semi-nomadic life-style. Just as the first Passover symbolized the transition from slavery to freedom, the new Passover in Canaan celebrated the transition from the non-productive period of the long dry season and the winter rains to a spring time of growth and first harvests (29). Memory, therefore, enabled the compassionate love of Yahweh to reach out to a people in their necessity just as it moved the people to continue in the faith of their great ancestor Moses.

Stage Four

Moses, the founder of Israel’s religious spirit and of some of her basic religious structures, was gradually transformed into a prophet, challenging Israel and leaving a memory of hopes (30). In Num 12 the Lord defends Moses as supreme prophet with whom God spoke “face to face,” when religious jealousy raised its head. If we look at the preceding chapter of the book of Numbers (chap. 11), we are alerted to a problem with institutional forms of civil and religious government as they were developing in Israel. Some of these problems and hopes began to be reflected not only in Israel’s liturgy but also in the sacred narratives which accompanied the liturgy either as confessions of faith or as prophetic warnings. In any case Moses always remained the supreme norm, as the final chapter of Deuteronomy expressed it: “Since then no prophet has arisen in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face” (Deut 34:10). Further study especially of Deuteronomy alerts us to another element in the prophetic image of Moses, that of suffering. If Moses did not cross the Jordan river but died on the east bank, it was because, as we read from words placed in the mouth of Moses: “The Lord was angered against me also on your account, and said, ‘Not even you shall enter there’” Deut 1:37; also 3:26; 4:21-22). When Moses died on the east bank in obedience to the Lord, he is “canonized” with the title, “servant of the Lord” (31).

Prophetic condemnation was not directed at liturgy as such but at superstitious liturgy, a cult more important for its livelihood for the temple personnel than for reminding Israel of its obligation to bring people out of their “Egypt” of oppression and fear, destitution and pain (32). Amos speaks appreciatively of the offices of sanctuary prophet and nazirite (Amos 2:11-12). He quotes three times a stereotype phrase from the Passover liturgy (Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7). He also excoriates the people for their pompous liturgical ceremonies, performed under the motive: “so you love to do” (Amos 4:5). According to Isaiah, if the Lord repudiates the liturgy – the Hebrew language is harsh, almost blasphemous, God is nauseated and about to vomit – the fault does not lie with bad rubrics, nor with invalid priests, nor with an unlicensed place of worship, but rather with social injustice against the poor and defenseless.

I have had enough of whole-burnt rams and the fat of fatlings; In the blood of calves, lambs and goats I take no pleasure...your incense is loathsome to me...Your new moons and festivals I detest...

After a verdict of “Guilty! Your hands are full of blood,” the prophet puts the people on probation. God will not punish at once, but only on this condition:

“Make justice your aim; redress the wronged, hear the orphan’s plea, defend the widow” (Isa 1:11-16; cf. 1:23).

In another biting attack, this time from the prophet Michah, the greed of the temple personnel is thus excoriated:

“When their teeth have something to bite, they announce ‘Shalom!’ When one fails to put something in their mouth, they proclaim a sacred war!” (Mic 3:5).

One must feed and pamper these priests and prophets if liturgy is to be a source of blessings!

Prophets reached back to the pre-religion stage, to the days of Moses before the temple had been built (cf. 2 Sam 7:5-7) and elaborate ceremonies developed. Hosea seems to quote one early form of the Ten Commandments (Hos 4:2); Isaiah’s expectations hardly needed any revelation at all, only the basic instincts, placed by God within humanity.

Because the prophetic message was ignored, ridiculed and contradicted, the prophetic threat came true. Jerusalem was destroyed and the Davidic dynasty swept away.

Stage Five

If prophecy has a place in our Bible, the credit goes to the Jerusalem temple personnel. Just as the pre-religion stage of Moses, what we might also call the pre-historical stretch of biblical time, (33) had to be remembered liturgically before it could become “history” and survive for our religious instruction and celebration, likewise the prophetic preaching had to be edited for liturgical proclamation. This same movement from prophets to liturgy is seen in a number of the psalms (34). While the early part of Ps. 22 evokes the agony and desolation of Jeremiah, the second part reaches out to invite people to a liturgical assembly. These are particularly “the wretched person” and “the lowly anawim (who) shall eat their fill” at the sacred banquet. And to it are also invited, in a third part of the psalm, “all the families of the nations,” the sick and even the dead who “sleep in the earth.” The psalmist’s call to the world’s rejects to join “the midst of

the assembly” reminds us of Moses’ summons for the oppressed slaves to leave Egypt. The psalm is imparting a new dignity to outcasts and a full participation in the life of Israel.

In this second major section of our study of remembrance in the Old Testament we have attempted to place the philological investigation of *zakar*, our preoccupation in the preceding section, into the sequence of biblical history. We have done this according to a five stage rubric which we find to be repeated frequently in biblical times. Israel’s history has corroborated these aspects about memory:

- a) Israel remembers the early events, like the Passover, not for the sake of recording external details like the exact route for the passage out of Egypt, but rather to instill thereby the Lord’s compassion for a defenseless people;
- b) memory enables new generations and larger numbers of Israelites to participate in the original redemptive action of Yahweh; memory thus leads to liturgical celebration;
- c) as each new age remembers and experiences anew, it adds the coloration of its own “today” to the sacred songs, narrative, and ceremonial; as it relives, it simultaneously adapts;
- d) liturgy activates the memory of faith and thereby puts Israel in touch with Yahweh whose remembrance of the first passover enables later Israel to share in the same experience;
- e) the Lord’s remembrance establishes an “eternal ordinance,” linking together all major moments of Israel’s history and leading forward to what came to be called the messianic fulfillment;
- f) when liturgy no longer remembered the most essential feature of faith, i.e., the Lord’s action and care for the poor, prophets arose who condemned the priests for making the liturgy into a career and the people for finding a false trust in shouting, “The temple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord is this!” (Jer 7:4). Prophecy then remembered the pre-religion, pre-temple days of Moses to defend the poor and to purify religion;
- g) for them to survive, prophetic sermons had to be given a place in the sanctuary liturgy. Liturgy, therefore, preserved essential qualities of *zakar*: remembrance which leads to action on God’s part and the people’s part; remembrance which stressed the personal bonds between Yahweh and his people; remembrance whose perception of faith kept Yahweh’s compassionate concern for the poor.

III. OLD TESTAMENT REMEMBRANCE AND THE CROSS OF JESUS

Remembrance of the cross is not to be associated with an effort to fix an indelible record of day and hour, method of crucifixion and other external details. The cross lives “today,” as Paul writes:

“I have been crucified with Christ, and the life I live now is not my own; Christ is living in me” (Gal 2:19-20).

“May I never boast of anything but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Through it the world has been crucified to me and I to the world... I bear the brand marks of Jesus in my body” (Gal 6:14, 17).

Paul blends this remembrance of the cross into a liturgical context, not only by the general intention that his letters be read at liturgical assemblies (Rom 16:5; Philem 1:2), but also by explicitly linking the cross of Jesus with baptism (Rom 6:1-11) and Eucharist (1 Cor 11:26).

Reliving the redemptive acts of God “today” did not erase the remembrance of the past. However, as mentioned already, what was remembered did not consist so much in external details like the hour and day but in those details necessary for contacting the remembrance of faith. Faith understood God as personal, compassionate and effective in helping the poor and defenseless. Fritz Chenderlin sees the importance of this aspect: “This is the very core of true historical – and memorial – thinking and living. The past retains its dignity while it blends with present experience” (35). The cross of Jesus retains its agony, disgrace, its full criminal association. We recall that Jesus’ concern for outcasts, like lepers, tax collectors, prostitutes, or his willingness to become ceremonially unclean by touching the sick and the dead, was upsetting to many in religious authority and certainly contributed to their determination to do away with him as a criminal.

Remembrance of the past, however, stresses most of all the heart of the experience which can be shared with each new generation. To quote again from Fackenheim, the Red Sea episode was remembered for its wonders of faith and compassion. The women who sang at what the Lord had done (Exod 15:21) saw “the divine presence” and “the abiding wonder.” Thus “memory turns into faith and hope... and will continue to be recalled even in the Messianic days” (36). Liturgy plays a most important part in contacting the faith of the community’s remembrance. Liturgy eliminates many details of the cross and death of Jesus on Calvary, and, as mentioned at the beginning of this study, liturgy relates the cross of Jesus with the cross within community suffering today.

What is remembered then in the cross is not just the execution of a criminal; through the remembrance of a criminal’s execution, the community perceives a theophany of divine compassion and forgiveness. This aspect of the cross draws everyone to Jesus and effects a healing power over sin and sickness (cf. John 3:14; 12:32). Liturgy draws upon music and ceremony, biblical readings and sermons, in order to stress this aspect of faith in God’s compassion. Liturgy, moreover, does not lose its contact with suffering, that of Jesus and that of ourselves. Amos Niven Wilder stressed this aspect of *Kreuzseligkeit* in the Christian celebration of the cross of Jesus. He writes:

“Christian faith presumes to wrestle with the root evil of the race and the world, not only private but public. The costly victory here, assured though incomplete, fulfills all other glimpses of beatitude just because a deeper disorder is resolved” (37).

Wilder then recognizes a bonding between the church militant and suffering with the church triumphant. He adds:

“Here, too, transliminal experience, rather than being exceptional or even escapist, is interwoven with the daily fabric of existence so that glory is associated with both its labor and its redemptive costs” (38).

Contemporary prophets, agonizing over social injustices today, are challenging our liturgy to mirror the suffering people of today. We are brought full circle to the beginning of this study, where St. Paul’s words were quoted: “Every time, then, you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes” (1 Cor 11:26). Until he comes – he comes each time we bring the memorial of the cross into our conscience, sharpening our concern for the poor, the suffering, the neglected, the outcast, as Jesus did in walking towards them and touching them with healing power. Prophets today are urging us to remember the pre-religion stage of our

faith, the life and death of Jesus which preceded any eucharistic celebration of it. Prophets must also touch the memory of faith and recall the compassion of Jesus. Then Jesus remembers through our actions and so brings the mystery of the cross visibly into our Eucharistic celebration.

NOTES

1. Cf., C. Stuhlmüller, "Proclaiming the death of the Lord," in Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America (Yonkers, NY: St. Joseph's Seminary, 1964) pp. 47-76.
2. The most important works for this study are: Brevard S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel (London: SCM Press, 1962); H. Eising, "zakhar, zekher, zikkaron, 'askarah," Theological Dictionary of the OLD Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980) pp. 64-82; Willy Schottroff, "Gedenken" im alten Orient und im alten Testament. Die Wurzel zakar im semitischen Sprachkreis. 2. Auflage (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1967); an excellent summary adapting much of this data to the spirituality of St. Paul of the Cross and the Passionist Congregation is provided by Antonio Maria Artola, C.P., The Presence of the Passion of Jesus in the Structure and Apostolate of the Passionist Congregation. Studies in Passionist History and Spirituality, n.3, Passionist General Curia (Rome, 1982); pp. 19-26.
3. H. Eising, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
4. W. Schottroff, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
5. Johs. Pedersen, Israel, Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1926) I-II, p. 106.
6. Hans Walter Wolff, Anthropology of the Old Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), p. 51.
7. H. Eising, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
8. H. Eising, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
9. *ibid.*
10. *ibid.*
11. O. Michel, "mimneskomai," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967) IV, p. 675.
12. H. Eising, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
13. B.S. Childs, *op. cit.*, pp.66-70.
14. Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
15. Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 88, writes: "The biblical events have the dynamic characteristic of refusing to be relegated to the past. The quality of this reality did not remain static, but emerged with new form and content because it identified itself with the changing historical situations of the later Israel." This statement, which we accept, presents an intriguing nuance to Childs' earlier statement about the "eternal ordinance" of God's memory. In some way the eternal modulates with new moments of history.
16. L. Boadt, CSP, Jeremiah 1-25. Old Testament Message, n.9 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier Inc., 1982) p. 27.
17. Donald Senior, C.P., and Carroll Stuhlmüller, C.P., Biblical Foundations for History (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983) pp. 13-32; also Carroll Stuhlmüller, "History as the Revelation of God in the Pentateuch," in Chicago Studies 17 (Spring 1978) PP. 29-44.
18. Cf. R. de Vaux, OP, The Early History of Israel (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978) pp. 370-373.
19. de Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 391.
20. If we are denying the title of history to the original exodus (independent of any future liturgical celebration of it), it is not because of non-historical features within the biblical

account of the exodus (cf. James Barr, "Story and History in Biblical Theology," in Journal of Religion 56; 1976, pp. 1-17) but because the episode is not yet recognized to have any significance either for the Israelites or for others.

21. Both English words "riffraff" and "rabble" catch not only the pejorative slur but also the onomatopoeia of the Hebrew, ha'sapsup and 'ereb rab.
22. This statement remains true, even if the Bible presents the people's murmuring from a viewpoint of what it meant religiously to later generations of Israelites. Cf. G.W. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Traditions of the Old Testament (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968).
23. While vv: 9-12 witness to a religious ceremony by Moses, Aaron and Jethro, the rest of the chapter is secular in character and so supports our position in stage two. In the same chapter we learn of the new institution of elders for the very reason that Moses' exclusive handling of all legal matters was a "task...too heavy for you; you cannot do it alone" (v. 17).
24. Amos 9:7 claims that Israel has reduced the religious meaning of the exodus to a secular act of migration. In stating this, he also recognized the possibility of the migration of the Arameans and the Philistines as a new setting for understanding the theology or religious symbolism of the exodus.
25. A similar blending of ritual actions with words occurs in Exod 12:11, "This is how you are to eat it: with your loins girt, sandals on your feet and your staff in hand, you shall eat like those who are in flight. It is the Passover of the Lord." Much later in the days of Jesus even this prescription of the Torah is modified. Israel claimed to be a free people and so began to partake in the Passover meal reclining in Greek-Roman fashion. This is another instance of ongoing evolution in order to unite a later age with the ancient act of God.
26. Emil L. Fackenheim, God's presence in History (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1972) pp. 11, 1.4.
27. N. Dahl, Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976) p. 11.
28. Cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, Worship in Israel. A Cultic History of the Old Testament (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1966) pp. 41-55. J.B. Segal, The Hebrew Passover From Earliest Times to A.D. 70 (Oxford University Press, 1963) provides a still more extensive study of the long evolution of ceremony and meaning in the Passover.
29. This evolving form of Israel's liturgy and sacred traditions in narrative and song was developed in some initial publications of mine: "The Influence of Oral Tradition," in Catholic Biblical Quarterly 20 (1958) pp. 299-326; and "The Interdependence of the Old Testament Liturgy and the Bible," in The Church Year (The 19th North American Liturgical Week Proceedings, 1958) pp. 139-155.
30. We are reminded of Gabriel Marcel's definition of Hope as "the memory of the future," or of Child's reference to the Lord's "eternal order" as substantive in Israel's memory. Memory created hopes for it introduced the active presence of the Lord today according to the texts quoted above from Deuteronomy.
31. This Deuteronomic portrayal of Moses as prophet and servant of the Lord prepares the way for the fuller development in the Suffering Servant Songs of Second Isaiah (Isa 42:1-7; 49:1-7; 50:3-9a; 52:13-53:12).
32. Hosea frequently speaks symbolically of Egypt as the place of bondage and slavery, even though in his day Egypt was a political ally of Israel (cf. Hos 7:16; 8:13; 9:3,6; chap. 11).
33. "Pre-historical," not in the technical sense that the term is applied to Gen 1-11, but rather in the way that we have already described the event of Israel's flight from Egypt, certainly a real incident yet not encased in the ritual language and cultic activity by which later generations can remember, re-enact and experience a renewal of their faith as they are contacted by God's remembering.

34. Cf., P.E. Bonnard, Le Psautier selon Jeremie (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1960).
35. Fritz Chenderlin, "Do This As My Memorial" (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1982) 35, italics his.
36. E.L. Fackenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 11,14.
37. Amos Niven Wilder, Theopoetic (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976).
38. Amos Niven Wilder, *op. cit.*, p.12.