Archival Memory, Authenticity, and Community.
A Comparative Study of the Archive and Eucharist.

Adele Redhead

MA(Hons) MARM

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD Information Studies

School of Humanities

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

October 2021

Abstract

The celebration of the Eucharist rests on the dominical command to 'do this in remembrance of me'. This is a comparative study in memory and authenticity in archival practice, and the theory and the historical and contemporary practice and theology of the Eucharist.

This thesis examines the two roles of archivist and priest, and argues that the ways in which the archivist relates to their archive can be advanced by looking at the approach of the priest to the celebration of the Eucharist. This thesis will also contend that by doing so we can shed new light on archival theory of memory and authenticity within their community.

Both the archivist and the priest place importance on memory and the ways in which they play a part in maintaining, preserving, and promoting memory. The congregation in the church and the users of the archive depend on them as figureheads and key participants in the preservation of the memory of their community. The nature of this memory and the ways in which the two roles of the archivist and priest contribute towards it over time are explored and analysed in order to be able to advance the archival theory.

Authenticity is a more difficult concept to try to apply to both the archival and religious spheres. This thesis will firstly look at what it means to the archivist, and then what it might mean to the priest, before finally looking at how the archivist's perception of authenticity can be informed by religious practice.

This study will be accomplished by looking at the archival theory of authenticity and memory against several case-studies which are important in the religious world. Saint Hippolytus of Rome is used to explore the way in which the priest can be seen to act almost as an archivist, by creating a written record of an act which was executed many times, involving many different groups of people, to the same template. The nature of the record itself, theories of archives and performance, and the move from an oral culture to a 'recorded' one are all investigated to allow the role of the archivist to be better understood. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer is used to further this analysis, and to explore in more depth the relationship of the written record to an act which both informs it and is informed by it. The approach whereby both the record and the act itself can be linked to memory is relevant in this section of this study, and the contrasting ways that both the archivist and the priest view this link between the act and memory is established and analysed to enable the archival theory to be interrogated in a different way. The role of the religious community in the celebration of the Eucharist is introduced, and the importance of the Eucharist as an act to preserve and promote memory is looked at through the lens of

archival theory in this context. Other smaller case studies are used to introduce community and what it means for the priest, and how this can be set against the role of the archivist. Finally, the examination of the role of the community to the study of archival theory of both memory and authenticity is further explored through an analysis of religious communities active in Scotland today. This section contains three smaller case studies where the approach and values of the appointed priest towards their role in the celebration of the Eucharist is sought through interviews and further informed by an analysis of their denomination's published materials which cover memory, community, and the celebration of the Eucharist. This is then used to revisit the archival theories of memory and authenticity, and to establish how these theories can be advanced.

Table of Contents

Introduction **8**

Chapter 2: Context and Literature **17**

Chapter 3 – The priest as archivist **73**

Chapter 4: The priest in Scotland today – the priest as user of the archive and practitioner within the church. **120**

Chapter 5: The archivist as builder of community and preserver of identity **148**

Chapter 6: Conclusion **176**

Bibliography **186**

Appendices **202**

Acknowledgements

This has not been an easy journey, but I have been helped by so many along the way. My sincere thanks have to go to each and every person listed below, because without you all I quite simply wouldn't be at this stage.

First of all, I must thank Alan, Joseph, and Catrìona Redhead. I appreciate that the sacrifices which have gone into the completion of '*this thing'* are not just mine, but have impacted all of us… The late teas; panicked breakfasts so we wouldn't be late; inattention early-morning, evenings, and holiday times; the constant 'I will, but I just need to finish…', the weekends away to write. I simply couldn't have done this without you all.

To my supervisors… Dr James Currall – your support in the early and final stages was invaluable. Dr Ian Anderson – thank you for all your thoughtful feedback and input into the end of this process. Finally, Professor David Jasper, what can I say? I would not have got anywhere close to submission without your kind, thoughtful, and scholarly advice. I thought at the start of the process that if any supervisor could get me through it would be you. Thank you so much. Thank you to the ministers and priests who agreed to be interviewed, but must remain anonymous – thank you for your time.

Thanks to colleagues and friends. You know I really couldn't have got through this without you. In particular I would like to thank those from Information Studies: Ann Gow; Johanna Green; Diane Scott; Maria Economou; Leo Konstantelos; Kat Lloyd; Sarah Cook; Rosie Spooner; Paul Gooding; Yunhyong Kim; Tim Duguid; John Bollan; Nicole Smith; Frank Rankin; Kiara King; Lorna Hughes. You all had sage advice at every stage of the process, dried my tears, and kept me going. To colleagues elsewhere in the University, thank you to Dr Geraldine Parsons; Prof Dee Heddon; Prof Lynn Abrams; Dr Steve Marritt; Prof Kirsteen McHugh; Prof Alice Jenkins; Prof Bob Davis; Prof Robby Ó Maolalaigh; Dr Stuart Airlie; Dr Hannah-Louise Clark and the rest of the WPP squad; Dr Benjamin Thomas White… Your encouragement and advice has been invaluable (especially Ben and Lynn – I took much away from our PhD supervision sessions). To all the staff in the University Archives and Special Collections (particularly when answering requests for statistics by 9:25 when they were sent at 11:45 the night before – Emma Wong Yan), and especially Moira Rankin and Lesley Richmond for allowing me to talk through some of the professional issues (and listening to my problems). Finally, the administrators in the School of Humanities, especially Christelle Le Riguer, and the amazing Kelly Rae for your pragmatic common sense and generally and helping to keep me sane.

Those not within the University of Glasgow… Prof Bill Naphy and History Grads of 1998. Dr Grant Simpson for first showing me the world of archives, and Prof Eric Ketelaar for showing me the possibilities of archival theory. Dr Alison Jasper, I am forever grateful for your help. Dr Michael Rae – thank you for listening and your professional kindness. To the clergy friends who helped with insight and prayer, especially + John, Fr Jude, Rev Dr James and Mrs Sheila Gordon. I can't forget the support of other friends either, especially the McLeod-Tippen family (Kat, you have been my rock), Alexia Lloyd, Lou and Jack Robertson, the purple chicks (especially Dr Helen Richardson-Foster), Susan and Charlie Sludden, MC and the Kilbers family, Andrew Nicoll, Rachel Hosker, and finally the St Mary's Children's Liturgy Group and all in the Parish Council (I am sorry I have neglected my duties so much, I will be back on track now).

To my students – there are far too many of you to list (and I'd rather not name any than forget someone), but you have taught me more than I have taught you. I do need to list some of my fellow IS PGR students though – thank you for the support, especially: Katharine Woods; Louise Boyd; Sarah Gambell; Rachel Thain-Gray; Delaina Sepko; Amy Currie.

To my mum and dad, Anita and Rob Lawson, and Peter Redhead and families – thank you for your support.

Finally, there are some people who are no longer here but whom I have thought of often during this process. Some of these people saw me start, but never saw me finish, and some never even saw me start. In the first group: Dr Joyce Walker – your '*about time!*' comment made me smile and helped me have some fortitude when times were tough; to Aileen Gordon – I miss you; Eleanor Redhead – thank you for always being kind and positive about everything; Christine Tippen – you always kept me going and I wish you (and the others) had seen me finally submit. In the latter group, I wish the following people had been able to see me start, struggle through, and come to the end: my parents-in-law Nancy and Joe Redhead; and my grandparents, especially Joe William Ashley-Smith – you were right; you did have an archivist in the family.

Author’s Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Introduction

Thesis Position

Preface

As we approach the centenary of the first publication of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archive Administration,* we can see the world of archival practice and theory struggling to adapt to a world that is increasingly fluid, where most new records are created digitally. We can see that concepts that have traditionally provided the mainstay of archival theory such as original order, provenance, fixity, the nature of the record itself... have become increasingly difficult to fully define. This leads us to the opportunity to re-examine previously established theories of authenticity and memory and apply them to an examination of the celebration of the Eucharist in various contexts. Do this in remembrance of me is a dominical command which lies at the centre of the Christian Faith. Over the last two millennia, Christianity has understood the need to develop and adapt similar concepts, including the perception of memory and the relationship of this with liturgical practice, and authenticity (or orthodoxy and validity as it might be more widely recognised). Therefore, we can see that the injunction from Jesus to 'do this in remembrance of me' has continued to be enacted through time and across different communities. Despite differences in settings, languages, and cultures, it remains recognisably the same act of remembrance. This act of celebration and remembrance includes not only the text of the liturgy itself (including the form of words that is used and the accompanying prescribed actions) but also the liturgical space within which a memorial is preserved.

This thesis argues that the ways in which an archivist relates to his or her archive can be compared to the ways in which a priest celebrates the Eucharist and that the archivist can learn much from looking at the role and interaction of the priest within this celebration. To achieve this, this thesis looks at various historical cases including the first written evidence of the form of this act of remembrance in the writings of St Hippolytus of Rome, the severe challenge of the reformation and how Archbishop Thomas Cranmer navigated this in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Finally, this thesis examines how Christian clergy from different denominations understand and enact the Eucharist today and how this can allow the archivist to better understand their own position as a custodian of memory, vouchsafe of authenticity, and builder of community.

The archivist and the priest

The role of the archivist and the way they view, interpret, and manage their archive in the western world in 2021 is vital to the discussion of the concepts of authenticity, memory, and community introduced above. In particular, how the archivist exhibits archival theory in their practice will be examined and analysed. How this practice is both informed by and informs archival theory is used to establish a theoretical framework to complete the analysis for this study. This relationship between theory and practice for both the archivist and the priest underpins how this research is approached throughout. The importance of archival theory to practice is compared to the operation of the priest in the ecclesiastical sphere, and how the religious practice can be examined and used to look again at archival theories of memory and authenticity. It is worth noting that for the priest these concepts might be better represented as memorial and orthodoxy; memorial because the Eucharist is not simply 'a memory', but 'a memorialisation'. These linguistic differences need to be recognised in this study but are also useful as they allow us to explore similarities and differences between the archivist and the priest in their roles.

It is recognised in the practice of religion, as in the archive, that theory informs both what is done and the way in which it is done. It is also important to understand the 'professional' role of both the archivist and the priest in enabling the relationships which they have as official representatives of their institutions with the 'users' of their institutions. Researchers in the archive and the congregation in the church are served by their office holders; by the archivist and the priest respectively. This relationship is established through time to allow all parties to grow and develop within their particular communities. By fulfilling this role, the archivist and priest can both allow their communities to develop, consolidate, and grow. This happens in many different ways across both areas, and this study will concentrate on looking at the approach of the priest to the celebration of the Eucharist, and how this can be used to allow us to examine the archival theory of memory and authenticity. These two areas of archival theory will be set against the celebration of the Eucharist to enable comparisons and differences to be made and identified, and archival theory to be advanced. How does the archivist compare to the priest, and how can the archive be compared to the liturgy? From this emerges a theoretical framework by which the celebration of the Eucharist is analysed in different contexts to test and progress this framework. By doing so, this research will shed new light on archival theory of memory and authenticity and how this might inform concepts of the archival community.

Background to and Rationale to this study

The rationale for this study is clear; that the archivist can learn about the archival theory from looking at the theology of the liturgy and the practice of the priest. The research examines the theological and liturgical understanding of certain concepts that are key in archival theory (especially the concepts of authenticity and memory) can inform the ways in which the archivist (or archival theorist) can advance their own understanding of archival theory and practice in these areas.

This study is timely as we approach the centenary of the publication of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archival Administration* when he was assistant keeper at the Public Record Office – now The National Archives).[1] This centenary is an opportunity to reflect on how far archival theory has been developed and refined since then. Archival theory today draws from allied fields such as Museum Studies, ICT, History of Art, English Language and Literature, Digital Humanities, History…[2] to contextualise and further advance the archival theory itself. This is important when we think of how archival theory has to both influence and be influenced by archival practice; and the interaction the practising archivist must have with researchers from all fields, and practitioners from areas such as Information Technology, museums, and libraries. The interaction with other professionals and researchers has demonstrated how the archival theory can develop and grow with reference to the work of other disciplines. Thus far, however, there is little evidence of Theology or religious practice influencing archival theory.

The inspiration for this thesis has been drawn from my work as an archivist, and latterly as an archival educator, and this topic from discussions with my students which occur year on year. In particular, the possibility of thinking about the application of archival theory to many different types of objects, concepts, events, and ideas, not only in archival theory and practice but across other disciplines too. Archival theory in itself can not only help to shed light upon approaches within different disciplines but by doing so develop the understanding of the archival theory in itself. One of these areas is liturgical space, and the way we can

[1] Margaret Procter, 'Life Before Jenkinson - the Development of British Archival Theory and Thought at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Archives: The Journal of the British Records Association*, 33.119 (2008), 136–57 <https://doi.org/10.3828/archives.2008.10>.

[2] These fields benefit from the labour of the archivist, and the archivist in turn benefits from research in these fields. For example, in Marlene Manoff's article for Portal, she states that 'there is a growing self-consciousness about the fact that all scholarship is implicitly a negotiation with, an interpretation of, and a contribution to the archive. Some scholars have argued that the archive functions for the humanities and social science disciplines as the laboratory functions for the sciences' (p.12.) and Archival discourse feeds on the multiple uses and meanings of the archive, and it is complicated and strengthened by the integration of perspectives from a variety of disciplines' (p.17.)
Marlene Manoff, 'Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines', *Portal: Libraries and the Academy*, 4.1 (2004), 9–25 <https://doi.org/10.1353/pla.2004.0015>.

think about archival theories of authenticity, memory, and collection within this space and the associated record. In particular, the relationship between action, space, environment, and objects is an illuminating approach to take, from both disciplines which contribute to this study.

The ecclesiastical environment, and specifically liturgical space, certainly lends itself directly to the study of these different aspects of archival theory and enables exploration of how the theories of related disciplines can help to expand archival theory in new and exciting directions. Liturgical space in this context refers to the celebration of the Eucharist which is an enactment governed by both tradition and liturgical text and with the necessary elements (of bread and wine) present.[3] The importance of both a sacramental tradition and the ways in which the sacraments are performed or experienced by different groups within their (or any) church is critical.[4] How can these important elements of worship be passed on, remembered and evolve in a way which can still be recognised by those within the tradition, be familiar to those outwith the tradition, yet remain faithful/authentic to scripture?[5] In particular, looking at the anaphora or the '*offering up to God on high'*, or the Eucharistic prayer or '*prayer of consecration*', we see the elements of environment and performance combined.[6] The real question here is with the combination of these elements across different historical and social contexts to remain authentic and therefore preserve the thread of memory. Looking to the archive, we can see the relevance in particular when we examine theories around memory and authenticity.

One way to explore these themes would be to think about the possibility of 'sacrament' or 'Eucharist as archive'. The celebration of the Eucharist with the command to 'do this in remembrance of me' is a particular action when performed as a specific instruction to 'remember' helps us to not only remember, but to develop. The liturgical space as described above and including the objects which are chosen lead us to be able to explore ideas surrounding ritual, authenticity, performance and performativity. In particular, when we look at the Eucharistic prayer or 'anaphora' we can see a link between action and liturgy, the prescribed and the experience, and the part of the anaphora which particularly and

[3] The celebration of the Eucharist can also be known as Holy Communion, or the Breaking of the Bread, and can be considered valid with either or both 'species' of bread and wine.

[4] Paul F. Bradshaw, *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw, 1st Edition (London: SCM Press, 2002), pp. 413–17.

[5] Sacraments can be defined as 'a sacred pledge of sincerity of fidelity'. The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion recognise 7 sacraments (Baptism; Marriage; Holy Orders; Confirmation; Eucharist; Anointing the Sick; Reconciliation), whist many Protestant Reformed Churches have 2 (Eucharist; Baptism). *New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. by John Gordon Davies, Revised edition (London: SCM-Canterbury Press Ltd, 1986), p. 514-515.

[6] Bradshaw, pp. 413–17., Davies, pp. 13–21.

explicitly about memory and memorial; the anamnesis.[7] Archival theory can be challenged in these areas when we look at the Eucharist, and theology can gain from the input of the archival theorist.

The very nature of the archive and what it means to be an archivist is key here. For example, in *Archive Fever*, Derrida addresses exactly what the archive is, what its nature is, and how this relates to its function. His assertion that 'There is nothing outside of the text' [8] contrasts with other theories which are widely debated within the archival sphere. The theory of 'collection' and how we identify the constituent parts of a given collection grows from this. Archives, information, records management, and material culture theories have been developed by looking in particular at museums and their collections have much to offer. Collections can be chosen as whole entities or might grow organically within a particular context, as objects are chosen or rejected, valued or ignored. Each object may hold its own history which will change and develop over time, and this history may be documented in changes and ageing of the object both as an individual item in its own right, and within its place as part of the wider collection. Furthermore, the importance in an ecclesial context is not just about the collection which can be used to enable a particular action, but about the ways in which collections and liturgy feed into the act of remembrance itself; the Eucharist is an action primarily of and to celebrate memory; *'do this in remembrance of me'* is a powerful command which begs many questions in itself. In particular, the relationships between the prescribed and 'authentic' text, action, and memory are vital to help our understanding.

The idea that 'there is nothing outside the text' is key when we look at both the Eucharist and archive; the text is self-sufficient and authentic or orthodox.

The expectations and wishes of the people involved in the act of worship are of an importance that outweighs the objects used and the built environment which houses them, and yet often importance is placed upon both for the act of worship to be considered orthodox, or at least for the participants to feel comfortable with and engaged in the act. If this orthodoxy (or authenticity) is not maintained, then is there validity and credibility in the act itself? The archival view of 'the authentic' (which will be discussed later) becomes interesting when thinking about what is considered necessary by the church, her clergy, and congregation for the act (in this example the celebration of the Eucharist) to have meaning and currency.

[7] Davies, p. 18.

[8] Derrida, 1976, p158 Derrida Archive Fever

The historical nature of the liturgy being used as a template for the action and performance leads to an analysis of motivation for the collection used. Is this to enable the liturgical celebration to be fixed and/or organic? How it grows and changes also impacts upon the perception of the celebration of the act itself, and well as an obvious input into how the celebration can take place. This tradition demands continuity, but to enable continuity we need to ensure that as external factors change including environment and technology, then we must be prepared to change and adapt. As detailed by St John Henry Newman, in order to remain the same, we must also be prepared to change and adapt.[9] Similarly, for Cranmer, adaptation was essential for changing times and technology to ensure that what remained was what was important.

There is often a preconception that archival collections are accessioned, catalogued, and stored… remaining fixed and immobile, occasionally brought out for the benefit of users, but ultimately never changing. However, it is also acknowledged that archives do change through time both through use and environmental factors, and if this is true in the analogue world, it certainly is in the digital. In accepting this, we are alerted to real issues surrounding both memory (and its preservation, and how the archivist engages with memory and memorialisation), and authenticity. This thesis will argue that in the history of the Eucharist (and its celebration) we see models that enable the exploration of these questions, and thereby further archival theory in an original contribution to knowledge. This will be accomplished by looking at the archival theory of community, authenticity, and memory against several case studies which are important in the religious world.

This has an impact upon our understanding of what it means for something to be part of a collection, and someone to be part of a community. In particular, any collection use also intersects with theories of performance and performativity, as do the ways in which we are able to draw people together.[10] It is possible to look at how a collection can be used to enhance the 'performativity', or 'performance as collection' that may be being expressed

[9] 'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Chapter 1', sec. 41 <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/chapter1.html> [accessed 18 May 2021].

[10] In this instance I am taking an understanding of performance and performativity as being intertwined (both derive[ing] from the verb "to perform"...the capacity to execute an action, to carry something out actually and thoroughly, as well as according to prescribed ritual...", but different. Performativity is represented as referring to the performance of the narrative (ibid), deeply tied to aspects of identity, and the way in which identity can be" brought to life through discourse", whereas performance is "the act of performing or the state of being performed"
Oliver Harris, 'Chapter Two: Identity: A Performative Understanding', *Performative Practice: Identity and Agency at the Causewayed Enclosures of Windmill Hill and Etton.*, 2003 <http://www.hardav.co.uk/MA%20-%20HTML/chapter%202.htm> [accessed 25 May 2015]; Sara Salih, *Judith Butler* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002).

within a church environment as an important and integral part of the action in which the congregation and clergy are both observers and participants.

Archival theory can tell us about the consideration of the expressive action of a situation which has been created by the following of a set of rules, a liturgical template, and how this is enhanced by the use at particular points, of specific objects, within a specific environment. Is it possible then to also view the liturgy itself as a form of archive? This thesis will argue that the liturgical text can be thought of as an archive, and the priest enacting this text and presiding over the Eucharist as an archivist. In order to be able to assess this, we have to first clearly define what we mean by 'archive'; what are the qualities and attributes which allow us to apply that label? And how far can we apply these to the Apostolic tradition? This will all be considered in Chapter 3 of this study.

Core Research Question

This section will contextualise the research questions and aims of this research within a broader field of study, and later identify the main literature that will be addressed. This is important because the two fields of archival theory (a sub-discipline of information studies), and theology and religious studies have both areas in common, as well as areas of deep disconnects. These disconnects will necessarily be confronted in addition to the areas where there are similar teachings in the theory, and to establish how by looking at the celebration of the Eucharist in various contexts, we can begin to more fully understand aspects of archival theory and practice.

The main research question which will be addressed throughout is 'in what ways can the archivist be compared to the priest in the celebration of the Eucharist, and how can a greater understanding of the similarities and differences in both role and approach enable us to better understand archival theories of memory and authenticity within a community setting?'

Contribution to Knowledge

This work contributes to archival theory by looking at the ways in which the priest presides over the Eucharist. It concentrates on the areas of authenticity, community archives and their relationship to mainstream practice, the nature of 'the record', memory, performativity and speech-act theory, and the archivist and the priest in a professional setting.

Exclusions

This is a thesis presented from the point of view of the archivist. At times, it has been easier to explain to others what it is not, rather than what it is: it is not a history of the Celebration of the Eucharist, nor is it a comparative study of the view of the archivist and the priest to

the Eucharist – or indeed any other liturgy, rite, or sacrament. Instead, this thesis looks specifically at the ways in which different congregations use their own specific liturgy and ritual of celebration as an act of remembrance, and how archival theories of memory, and authenticity (or orthodoxy) can be furthered by looking at different representations or re-presentations of Eucharistic theology, practice, and liturgy. The interest of the archival theorist and practising archivist in archival theories of memory and authenticity is contextualised, and these ideas examined and analysed against the context of the celebration of the Eucharist. This thesis then explores how this religious celebration can allow us to examine and explore approaches by the archival theorists to the key themes of memory and authenticity. These findings are then used to think about the archival theory in a progressive way, to draw conclusions about these theories, and finally to advance them.

As can be seen, the analysis and comparison of the roles of the archivist and the priest is not a straightforward task. This is true both when we look at the practice of individuals in these roles, and at the theory which scaffolds their work. However, the task is a worthwhile one for anyone interested in the study of archive theory. As we have seen, the archivist views memory in a very particular way, and the ways in which this can be seen to link to authenticity and community helps both archivist and other interested parties to understand the world of the archive. To be able to develop this understanding, it is necessary to test these archival theories which have been established. This must (and has been) initially done against the background of archival practice; how does the archival theory play out in practice, does it stand up to testing? However, it should also be recognised that no discipline exists in a vacuum, and in order to fully develop, advance, and understand any theory, it should also be tested and applied with other, related disciplines in mind. For a study that looks - as this one does - at the archival theory of memory and authenticity, applying this to a liturgical context is an appropriate and relevant way to enable this testing. Those operating in an ecclesiastical world also have established views of memory, and how it can be captured, held, curated, and passed on. Looking at how this can be done in what the archivist considers an authentic way, and how this, in turn, affects how the priest and the archivist relate to their community is at the heart of this study.

Thesis Structure

The argument that the archivist can be compared to the priest and that by doing so we can learn more about the role of the archivist and how they can better serve the user is addressed in every chapter.

Chapter two is an introduction of many of the themes covered in this thesis, and a survey of the literature. Chapter 3 introduces historical case studies which represent the Christian Church and her Eucharistic practices. These case studies address the texts fundamental to the two main Eucharistic Traditions in the West; the Roman Rite and the Protestant Holy Communion (in English). Cranmer and the *Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus are key choices for this study as they are together representative of the liturgy of the Church.

Finally, the examination of the role of the community in the study of archival theory of both memory and authenticity is further explored through an analysis of religious communities active in Scotland today. This section contains three smaller case studies over two chapters where the approach and values of the appointed priest towards their role in the celebration of the Eucharist is sought through interviews and further informed by an analysis of their denomination's published materials which cover memory, community, and the celebration of the Eucharist. This is then used to revisit the archival theories of memory and authenticity and to establish how these theories can be advanced.

Chapter 2: Context and Literature

Literature Review

This thesis focuses on the relationships between theory and practice for both the archivist and the priest, using the celebratory act of the Eucharist as a means to explore the contention that the roles of archivist and priest can be meaningfully compared. The ways in which theory and practice intersect for the practising archivist is one of the underlying themes of this thesis, and this will be explored through looking not only at the established literature but also other contemporary sources which are used by archivists. Much of the academic literature has a strong theoretical focus when thinking about the key themes of memory, authenticity, and community, but it is also contrasted with sources that look first and foremost at practice. For both the archivist and the priest (as for many other professionals), theory and practice are interdependent; good practice should inform theory, and theory, in turn, helps to create good practice. This will be covered and will be introduced at relevant points throughout this study.

Relevant resources include those produced by national and international institutions and professional organisations. These works alongside more traditional academic texts have been identified to bridge the gap between archival theory and practice. They include websites that have been developed by professional associations or sector leaders, which are designed to enable practising archivists to engage with theory and use it to develop their practice. Primary texts for the archivist include Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archive Administration*; Laura Millar's *Archives: Principles and Practices*; and Paul Delsalle and Margaret Procter's *A History of Archival Practice*.[11]

Looking specifically at memory and community archives, Jeanette Bastian and Ben Alexander's *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* is unsurprisingly a key text for this study.[12] These primary texts from the world of the archivist are important because they enable us to establish the theoretical framework for this study, but also highlight key works which are representative of both the foundations of archival theory (for Jenkinson) and where it is now (thinking of Millar, Delsalle and Procter, and Bastian and Alexander). This

[11] Paul Delsalle and Margaret Procter, *A History of Archival Practice*, 1 edition (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017); Sir Hilary Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.* (Oxford: Lund, 1922); Laura A. Millar, *Archives: Principles and Practices* (London: Facet Publishing, 2010).

[12] *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory: Creating and Sustaining Memory*, ed. by Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet Publishing, 2009).

thesis takes these theories and builds on their interpretation of the role of the archivist and the traditional and evolving views of authenticity and memory in theory and practice.

There are also key works that have been taken from Theology and Religious Studies. However, these tend to be much more chapter-specific within this piece, but core ones are detailed below. This is largely because the chapter structure of this study looks at the key moments in time in the celebration of the Eucharist in order to interrogate different elements of archival theory, and the literature which is used from theology and religious studies largely emulates this structure. It should be remembered that this study is not a history or analysis of the celebration of the Eucharist, but instead provides a means to use studies of particular aspects of Eucharistic celebration to help develop the theory in the area of archives and records management. Therefore, there are key works that are used to inform our understanding of the liturgical practice and role of the priest in different and specific times, rather than ones which to add understanding in this area in a broader sense.

Works that are universally important for this thesis

The following works touch on the overall themes of this thesis and help to locate it within the literature. Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archive Administration*, *Selected Writings*, starts with a brief look at the work of Jenkinson, and commentary and evaluation of his work underpins the whole volume. Despite Jenkinson writing a century ago, this thesis argues that his work still remains in the consciousness of archival practitioners and theorists in the UK today. This thesis is not intended to be Jenkinsonian in its approach, but the inclusion of his works here is an acknowledgement of the impact he still has on the landscape of archival studies today and the theoretical framework of archival theory.

Jenkinson is relevant as the individual who shaped archival theory in the United Kingdom, and who still today sets the tone of the discourse amongst archivists, archival theorists, and archival educators.[13] With my background as an archivist who has trained and worked in Britain, Jenkinson's work has of course been hugely influential in my practice as an archivist, and how I approach archival theory.

In recent times Jenkinson's work has been criticised for being of limited use in practice when dealing with the volume and format of records being created today, and of being largely unachievable in a modern context. Margaret Procter quotes Ellis in her article *Life Before Jenkinson – The Development of British Archival Theory and Thought at the turn of the Twentieth Century*

[13] Sir Hilary Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, First edition (Gloucester Eng.: Alan Sutton, 1980); Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.*

> Ellis further reflects, quite rightly, that a contemporary archivist would find Jenkinson's advice on practical management old-fashioned and in some cases dangerous. Nonetheless, "the statements of principle contained in the Manual have remained valid, and Jenkinson's definition of Archives, and his exposition of the concept of custody and of the duties of the Archivist, have remained fundamental to archive thought in the English-speaking countries"[14]

However, despite these criticisms, many of the key themes within Jenkinson's work still hold true today. His insistence on the impartiality of the archivist as a means to guarantee the trustworthiness of the record. Jenkinson's instructions from his Manual of Archive Administration are helpfully distilled in Paige Hohmann's Theodore Calvin Pease Award[15] article for *American Archivist*: '*On Impartiality and Interrelatedness: Reactions to Jenkinsonian Appraisal in the Twentieth Century'*: 'Among Jenkinson's greatest contributions has been the articulation of the integral characteristics of archives: impartiality, authenticity, interrelatedness, and naturalness.'[16] In the context of this study, it is clearly important to enable us to contextualise how the archivist seeks to present the archive – their collection – to their community. This study looks at the problems with the continued focus on Jenkinson, at least from a post-modern perspective; archivists are not impartial, and often can't guarantee the trustworthiness of the record. This might be the aim, but it is important to acknowledge the difficulties of this (and that indeed, some records are interesting and useful because their trustworthiness can't be guaranteed). When we look at Jenkinson, we can see important aims for the archivist to consider when managing their collections, but ones which can rarely be achieved. This study considers ways in which the archivist identifies both their community and their collections, including the ways they are intertwined and developed, and it is now the responsibility of the archivist to actively try to present a true and complete picture, and to make their collections available to and representative of their whole community. As Elizabeth Shepherd stated in her *Archivaria* article *Culture and evidence: or what good are the archives? Archives and archivists in twentieth century*

---

[14] Roger H Ellis, 'Introduction to the Re-Issue of the Second Edition', in *A Manual of Archival Administration, 2nd Ed, Reprinted with a New Introduction and Bibliography* (London: Alan Sutton, 1965), pp. x–xi; Procter, 'Life Before Jenkinson - the Development of British Archival Theory and Thought at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', pp. x–xi.

[15] 'Theodore Calvin Pease Award | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/governance/handbook/section12-pease> [accessed 10 April 2019]. '*The Theodore Calvin Pease Award recognizes superior writing achievements by students of archival studies. Entries are judged on innovation, scholarship, pertinence, and clarity of writing. Papers examining major trends and issues in the archives profession are preferred.*'

[16] Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.*, pp. 11–14; Paige Hohmann, 'On Impartiality and Interrelatedness: Reactions to Jenkinsonian Appraisal in the Twentieth Century', *The American Archivist*, 79.1 (2016), 14–25 (p. 15) <https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081.79.1.14>.

England 'The Manual froze archival practice in the early twentieth century and prevented theoretical work from developing'.[17] The archivist and archival theory need to progress from Jenkinson, and one way to do this is to examine established archival theory anew. In the terms of this study, this approach to the work of Jenkinson is important because it allows for an examination of how the professional interacts with their community, and the techniques they can employ which ensure that their community are fully engaged with the work and direction of the body as a whole.

There are clear comparisons with the work of the priests who are covered in this study, and this will be fully discussed in the relevant chapters. St Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* could be said to represent a de-facto standard for the time in a way that can be compared to the early archival standards adopted by the profession. For Cranmer, his liturgy of the celebration of the Eucharist produced in the vernacular represents an attempt at engaging a broad and wide community in a wide way – a possible early example of the exposition of archival metadata. And looking at our 21st Century priests, we can see their engagement with their own communities parallel the move by the archivist to engage with existing users and to encourage new ones to their repository.

It is still relevant to state that 'It is uncontroversial that Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archive Administration*, first written in 1922, is a foundational text of archival theory.'[18] The *Selected Writings* of Sir Hilary Jenkinson – comprised of articles published in the archival, historical, and bibliographical journals, and occasional lectures – is incredibly useful for this analysis. They can also be seen to be an integral part of the canon of archival theory, even given their age (the latest piece in Selected Writings was published in 1960).[19] Jenkinson's influence still permeates the landscape in the UK and further afield; the recently issued Call for papers for the 2022 issue of Archives and Records (the journal of the Archives and Records Association of UK and Ireland) is focussing on 'Confronting the Canon'. They state that:

> The year 2022 sees the centenary of the publication of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual of Archive Administration*. This text has had undeniable influence in shaping a canonical view of recordkeeping, and is widely regarded as a part of that canon: the set of sacred books, rules and principles that govern the subject and undertaking of archives and records management.

[17] Elizabeth Shepherd, 'Culture and Evidence: Or What Good Are the Archives?Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England', *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), 173–85 (p. 175).
[18] Hohmann, p. 15.
[19] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, pp. 5–7.

> In recent years however, practical responses to a rapidly changing environment and increased academic scrutiny have led to a questioning and expansion of the established canon. Confronted with post-modernist deconstruction of power, post-truth politics and the new (and seemingly endless) possibilities offered by technology, the canon has been challenged as partial, privileged, narrow and unaccommodating of more pluralist views.[20]

Several important points must be drawn from this analysis. Firstly, whilst many archivists working today (and archival theorists researching and writing about archival practice and its theoretical scaffolding) have problems with the implementation, scaling, and applicability of Jenkinsonian theories to modern practice, his work is still present within the narrative. If we look at editions of *Archives and Records* over the last decade (since 2009-2018) then Jenkinson is mentioned in almost every issue – only 4 out of 20 don't contain some reference to him and his works, often multiple times.[21] This compulsion to look first at Jenkinson – and something which this thesis repeats – is representative of the continued relevance of Jenkinson's work as a benchmark; a starting point to enable the development of new theories and modify old ones which apply to the times in which we work. Next, the issues and difficulties in taking a Jenkinsonian view - described above - get to the heart of what this thesis is about; there is a gap in the way the role of the practising archivist has been thought of in the century since Jenkinson and how the archivist practices in the 21st Century. The ways in which the archivist approaches their communities and are subsequently able to identify mechanisms for identifying and promoting memory in an authentic way is ripe for developing the working theory of the archivist. The works of Jenkinson and subsequent analyses of these are therefore critical to the understanding of the main research questions of this thesis.

In addition to the works of Jenkinson, there are several other primary works in the field which inform how the research questions of this piece can be addressed. These include more recent works, which not only address the original arguments proposed by Jenkinson but significantly advance them.

If we are to argue that (for the English-speaking world, at least) that Jenkinson provided us with the early insight of what it meant to be an archivist, and what that role entailed, then for this study to succeed it is essential to ensure this is brought up to date.

---

[20] 'Gauld_Call_for_Papers_final.Pdf' <https://www.archives.org.uk/images/ARA_Journal/Gauld_Call_for_Papers_final.pdf> [accessed 11 April 2019]; 'Archives and Records (ARA Journal)' <https://www.archives.org.uk/publications/archives-and-records-ara-journal.html> [accessed 11 April 2019].

[21] 'Archives and Records (ARA Journal)'.

The archival literature which has emerged since the days of Jenkinson is often (although not exclusively) presented in the form of edited volumes (as Millar; Bastian and Alexander; McKemmish; Craven; Caroline Brown; the series by Kate Theimer and others).[22] Any of these could have been identified as key works of literature as they often cover very similar ground. Single and jointly authored texts often relate to a specific subject, such as cataloguing, or are from researchers with a background complimentary to, rather than being firmly based in, archival theory and practice.[23] This is perhaps a sign of the relative newness of the discipline, a possible reluctance to challenge the works by early theorists such as Jenkinson in a monograph (by author, editor, or publisher), and a general lack of confidence by contemporary theorists to fully address the questions which are relevant to the profession today. The constant need to ensure all theory relates to practice also lends itself to volumes with many contributing authors each supplying relevant case studies. The discipline of archival theory can certainly be said to lack confidence, perhaps because of the relative youth and small size of the academic archival community; there are only a handful of research-active academic archivists in the UK and Ireland. Compared to Theology and Religious Studies, which also deals with theory and practice, we can see a gap.

The contribution of the professional journals is also important; this is particularly important when we think of the relationship between theory and practice in the archives sector. Articles in professional journals (for example *Archives and Records*, The Archives and Record's Association journal) allow practitioners to be both exposed to research and to also write up good practice to enable this spread. They state: 'the journal deals with the very latest developments in these fields, including the challenges and opportunities presented by new media and information technology. It aims to represent current professional practices and research.'[24] This approach is fairly typical amongst the professions in the English-speaking world, with professional bodies in the USA, Canada, and Australia taking similar

[22] *Archives and Recordkeeping: Theory into Practice*, ed. by Caroline Brown (London: Facet Publishing, 2014). *Educational Programs: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015); *Reference and Access: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014); *Appraisal and Acquisition: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015); *Description: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014); *Management: Innovative Practices For Archives And Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014); *Outreach: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. by Kate Theimer (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014).
Sue McKemmish and others, *Archives: Record Keeping in Society* (Wagga Wagga, N.S.W.: Charles Sturt University, Centre for Information Studies / Woodhead Publishing, 2005).

[23] Michael J. Fox and Peter L. Wilkerson, *Introduction to Archival Organization and Description: Access to Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Suzanne R. Warren (Los Angeles, California: Getty Information Institute,U.S., 1999). Hamill, *Archival Arrangement and Description* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017).

[24] 'Archives and Records' <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjsa21> [accessed 13 April 2019].

approaches. This is not only true of archives and archivists, but also in allied fields of digital preservation, librarianship, and museums. The professional bodies seek to allow their members in practice to develop and grow in the light of good practice elsewhere, and through enabling the sharing of this good practice to have allowed both researchers and practitioners to learn from each other. For example, *The American Archivist* 'seeks to reflect thinking about theoretical and practical developments in the archival profession, particularly in North America; about the relationships between archivists and the creators and users of archives; and about cultural, social, legal, and technological developments that affect the nature of recorded information and the need to create and maintain it.'[25] As a result, Archive journals do not tend to fill the theoretical gap left in the academic literature. There are, of course, exceptions but overall archival journals remain relatively light on proper theoretical engagement.

Several key works will be addressed by this thesis. The first is Laura Millar's *Archives: Principles and Practices*.[26] Millar's work contains basic concepts but has a really important take on the archival theories behind proof and accountability. Millar states:

> Archives are critical to the support of individual and collective rights. As evidence of how people carry out their actions and transactions, archives help societies uphold the rule of law[27]

This is interesting for this thesis because it introduces the concept of community as well as individual responsibilities of the archive, whilst underpinning these obligations with the drive for both proof and accountability; archives matter individually and for the greater community. This research addresses these themes, looking not only at proof and accountability but the relationships of these to the different people (and groups) served by both the archivist and the priest.

Millar's work also contains a lengthy discussion of authenticity, including an updated view of how the archivist can ensure the trustworthiness of records. Notably, Millar states that:

> Just because one can provide the content, structure and context of a set of records and can confirm that they are static, unique and authentic, the records may not be truthful. Truth is a malleable concept… some records that are authentic may be filled with outright lies.[28]

[25] 'The American Archivist | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/american-archivist> [accessed 4 September 2019].
[26] Millar, *Archives*.
[27] Millar, *Archives*, p. 20.
[28] Millar, *Archives*, pp. 9–10.

This assertion is very useful when thinking about the different ways in which the priests who are highlighted in the various sections of this study are viewed, and the views they hold. They all hold different views and theologies of the Eucharist and approach its celebration in different ways. These differences are problematic when thinking of the assertion of each that their way is the 'one, true' version of the celebration of the Eucharist. Indeed one of the priests who is examined in detail, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer famously changed his version of "*The Truth*" throughout his career.[29] However, the ways each priest can operate within their own community and represent their various truths to them (the community) is a key representation of how this fluidity rather than fixity to *Truth* can operate in a real-life scenario.

One of the few solo-authored works published in the field in the last few years, Millar's *Archives: Principles and Practices*, is intended to be an 'authoritative handbook', which introduces the basic concepts of archival theory, and how to apply them to practice.[30] Usefully, it contains a reasonably extensive *Glossary of Archival Terms*, which, when used in conjunction with similar resources produced by professional bodies (and discussed later in this text) serves as the authoritative reference for terminology in archival theory for this study.[31] Defining terms is always helpful and is particularly necessary for an interdisciplinary study such as this to ensure a full understanding of the basic terminology and concepts used

Millar's work builds on work that has been produced by professional bodies and national institutions. For example, the Archives and Records Association of the UK and Ireland (ARA), and The National Archives (TNA) of the United Kingdom have both produced guidance for professionals and users of archives and records. Not only does TNA provide Research Guides relating to their own collections, but they also provide general guidance for users.[32] ARA promote the ability of archivists to do the same thing for their archives, highlight good practice, and campaign for a better overall understanding of the resources available to researchers in archives and repositories. Their *Explore Your Archive* is one such

---

[29] Cranmer is described as being "*seen as a man who in his final hours could not make up his own mind. His recantations under Mary, and then the revocation of those recantations*," This is a good sound-bite, but does rather represent the overwhelming view of Cranmer as a man and theologian who had various versions of 'The Truth'.
Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar, ed. by Paul Ayris and David Selwyn, New edition (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999).

[30] Millar, *Archives*, p. Back Cover.

[31] Millar, *Archives*, pp. 259–69.

[32] The National Archives, 'The National Archives - Homepage', *The National Archives* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/> [accessed 5 May 2018]. The National Archives, 'The National Archives - Homepage', *The National Archives* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/start-here/how-to-use-archives/> [accessed 1 September 2018].

campaign and was heavily promoted in traditional and social media.[33] The archivist needs to increase and diversify audiences, and to educate both existing and potential users. In the locus of this study, these contributions to the debate are important because they allow the priorities and perspectives of the archival community to be understood by a wider audience. Millar's work is also useful in a wider sense in so far as it introduces archival theory, and clearly explains the link between theory and practice (as described in the introduction to this chapter), and understanding this intersection is crucial to this thesis.

In terms of the scope of this study, this work is especially useful because it explicitly covers the intersection between theory and practice in the archival world, and this thesis develops these ideas. In the introduction to the volume, Millar states that 'the world of archives is infused with a large measure of academic theory and an equally large dose of traditional practice… Archivists search, sometimes in vain, for a balance between abstract hypotheses and arcane customs… (this volume) seeks to strike that balance'.[34] The balancing of theory and practice can be difficult in any similar field, and it is useful in this context to have Millar's work, written primarily for practitioners to allow them to understand the places where the theory influences their practice, and to be able to fully interrogate this practice when set against the relevant theory. When looking at how the archivist operates – in contrast to how they 'should' be running their service – is of fundamental importance to enable a full comparison to be made between the roles of archivist and priest, and analyses to be drawn. Millar's work is especially helpful for allowing the archivist (either working or in training) to see the issues, to understand the theory, and how the theory is evidenced in and influences practice. For example, Millar states:

> It is perfectly reasonable for archivists, like lawyers and doctors and teachers, to acknowledge the diversity of skills and knowledge and specialist techniques, to achieve their professional and community responsibilities in the manner most suited to their own society[35]

This approach is characterised by the acknowledgement of the archivist as a professional, working pragmatically for their community as needed, taking established theories and applying them as appropriate according to their circumstances. Millar also responds (indirectly) to Jenkinson; 'The archivist who sits in her institution waiting for historical papers to arrive on her doorstep will soon be washed away in this technological storm… Many archivists will find new and exciting roles as advisers and consultants, working with

[33] TNA Web Team, 'Explore Your Archive |' <http://www.exploreyourarchive.org/> [accessed 1 September 2018].
[34] Millar, *Archives*, p. xvi.
[35] Millar, *Archives*, p. 224.

creators of records...'[36] This study sits at this intersection where the archivist is moving away from Jenkinson but still influenced by him. These issues are explored later in this study, in Chapter 3 when the role of the archivist is looked at in more detail, and contrasted in Chapters 4 and 5 when both the roles of both archivist and priest are juxtaposed and examined with reference to the communities they serve.

One publication that helps to widen the scope of the archival theory and to more fully contextualise what is happening in the 'Anglophone West' and the rest of the world is Margaret Procter's translation and substantial revision of Paul Delsalle's work *A History of Archival Practice*.[37] Much of its value is in the way this publication can contextualise the position of the archivist within their repository. How they view the scope of their own activities, and the ways in which the profession has changed over time is detailed, as are contrasting ways of enabling the links between theory and practice to be documented. This work covers the role of the archivist in different geographical areas and across different time periods – all with their own records-keeping cultures and archival history. This includes looking at the spread and formalisation of archival education, the semantic drift in the terms used to describe those who are in effect working in professional, archival roles, and the feminisation of the profession. Many of these themes can be contrasted with allied ones in the ecclesiastical world, and this will be done throughout the study. This work talks about key ways the profession has developed from the ancient world to the modern-day, the emergence of archival education, and directions for the future. Responding directly to Jenkinson's view of the archivist, they contend that:

> …the ideal position for the archivist is clearly at the intersection of the creation of the document and its subsequent uses (whatever those might be); the archivist is no longer a mere temple guardian or gatekeeper (which was never, in any case, the full picture). Today the archivist is often – and should be – responsible for enabling access, both physical and legal.[38]

They address the position of the archivist within various historical contexts and lead us to address the ways in which the archivist relates to their community, working with them in an active fashion, and recognising the aims and needs of the community themselves in addition to (and ahead of) the employing institution.

It is worth noting that Procter (herself an archival educator) has written broadly and engaged in professional circles on the links between theory and practice, and in particular on the ways

[36] Millar, *Archives*, p. 225.
[37] Delsalle and Procter.
[38] Delsalle and Procter, p. 231.

the archival profession has shifted both in focus and theoretical scaffolding over the last twenty years. In particular 'Protecting rights, asserting professional identity'[39] published in ARA's journal Archives and Records, address these questions head-on. For example 'social, political and technological change began to radically modify our understanding of the archival contribution to the public good'.[40] Procter describes the move away from being 'history's traditional keepers' and towards a 'democratisation of archives' driven by societal shift and consequent changes in attitudes.[41] These works will inform the final two full chapters of this thesis in particular.

Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory, edited by Jeanette A Bastian and Ben Alexander[42] has very clear and obvious links to the subject of this study, which has community, memory, and authenticity at its core. The key themes identified within the title of Bastian and Alexander's work of community and memory are pivotal to how this thesis will be expressed.

This volume very clearly sets out to establish the ways in which archives and other cultural institutions identify and serve their community, and to help shape their memory. In their introduction to the volume, Bastian and Alexander note the fluidity of the term 'community': 'How do you construct a collected volume around ideas that are generally "understood" but not well articulated, that are essentially agreed upon to be fundamentally subjective?'[43] The introduction ably defines themes that enable this rather nebulous concept to be, if not defined, at least explained and outlined. This is shown to primarily be possible through professionals – archivists - working with the communities themselves in order to allow for an 'extending of the traditional boundaries of recordness to embrace a larger and more inclusive vision of the records that communities create.'[44] This contextualisation is important for the comparisons for the archivist and priest; by taking the methods described for identifying, building, and serving community within this work we are then able to use the same methodologies for looking at the ways priests relate to their own communities, and then look if any lessons can in-turn be learnt for the archivist.[45]

---

[39] Margaret Procter, 'Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity', *Archives and Records*, 38 (2017), 296–309.

[40] Procter, 'Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity', p. 296.

[41] Procter, 'Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity', pp. 298–99.

[42] Bastian and Alexander.

[43] Bastian and Alexander, p. xxii.

[44] Bastian and Alexander, p. xxiii.

[45] This volume is notable as a collection of essays along the same theme. It has many prominent contributors, whose work both from this collection and from elsewhere in the canon is helpful in helping to establish the archival theory surrounding not only memory and community, but also authenticity. These include Eric Ketelaar, Richard J. Cox, Andrew Flinn, David Mander, and Mary Stevens. These individuals and others provide vital support to the framework which must be established in this piece.

In order to fully establish this study within the existing archival literature, there follows an identification of key themes which are explored throughout this piece, alongside an analysis of the relevant literature.

Archival Literature building towards an Archival Theology

This section will address various pieces of archival literature which will help build the case for the development of an archival theology. This is important in the terms of this study as it establishes the validity of the basic comparison of how the archivist (and their role) can be compared with a priest. The theme of this first section is crucial to this thesis as a whole because it helps to determine the theoretical underpinnings of the role of the archivist, and to locate archival theory within a broader, inter-disciplinary framework. In particular, this approach will enable clear links to be made with the Eucharist.

James O'Toole's *Archives and Historical Accountability: Toward a Moral Theology of Archives*.[46] examines the position of the archivist, and explores the almost priestly role which they occupy, leading to the proposition that there is an archival theology. Throughout, O'Toole argues the ways in which the archivist approaches their role, collections, and community, can be greatly enhanced by an appreciation of the role of the parish priest, and an application of their approach to their theology into the archival sphere. Throughout the article O'Toole speaks of how the archivist can grow professionally through learning from the care and expertise the parish priest exhibits during the performance of their role, but more so in the development and implementation of the underlying theology which informs what they do. He states that 'When archivists appraise and acquire records, when they represent them in various descriptive media, when they make them available for use, they are engaging in activities that have moral significance beyond the immediate concerns of managing forms of information', continuing to say 'Let me point out the moral nature of some of those archival activities as a way of suggesting how a concern for historical accountability is a part of the archival mission, a way of elaborating a practical moral theology of archives'.[47] In particular, O'Toole's discussion of appraisal and acquisition, through the mechanics of archival processing of collections, to access of the archives themselves will help to inform Chapter 3 of this study. In addition, this particular article provides an interesting contrast to Michael Ramsay's *The Christian Priest Today*, which will be introduced later in this chapter. O'Toole's work is clearly relevant to this study, but whilst it does address the archivist's relationship with their community and compares it to

[46] James O'Toole, 'Archives and Historical Accountability: Toward a Moral Theology of Archives', *Archivaria*, 58 (2004), 3–19.
[47] O'Toole, p. 14.

the priest, the ways in which memory and authenticity are viewed by both roles is developed within this study.

Scott Clein builds on much of this introduction of the archivist acting as a theologian with his article *"To the Limit of Our Integrity": Reflections on Archival Being*. This piece covers issues of power in the archives, looking in particular at the ways in which the archivist can (and should) develop their role as a mediator, between their fellow professionals and communities (including users and potential users). Interestingly the first words of the abstract, referring to 'archivists toil' give a flavour of how the labour of the archivist is viewed.[48] The language used is telling; 'Archivists toil in a professional world of power and power relationships'.[49] Here we see the view of an archivist's work as one which is hard-fought and potentially difficult, yet important, not only for the archivist themself but also for the wider community and society. The context of power and power relationships also comes into play here for both archivist and priest; there is what could be perceived to be a protective relationship within the community, and one which could prove to be a challenge to power. That the archivist seeks to serve (as part of their 'toil') is evident, and invites comparison with the 'calling' of the priest. Cline's article helps us to further develop the ideas of the legitimacy of an 'archival theology' which were mooted in O'Toole's piece. Notably, Cline develops the idea from O'Toole that to grow as a profession, the archivist must address not only what they do, and how, but that they examine the reasons why they act in a particular way:

> James O'Toole and Richard Cox point to broad knowledge "as the foundation for the archivist's perspective." Their catalog includes knowledge of creators and the context of records creation; of the records themselves and their life cycle; how recorded information might be used; and of archival principles and techniques. And they add to this a powerful ethical stance in forming the archival perspective. As this article has argued, we need to go even further in further in our thinking to develop a sense of archival being[50]

This study will address this notion of 'archival being', and by contrasting it with the practice of the priest in the 21st Century. In the piece, Cline also draws from Hershel, Cline states that:

> In the archivist's circumstance, self-clarification is uncovering the meaning of our profession and distinguishing its inherent values. Self- examination is the "effort to

[48] Scott Cline, '"To the Limit of Our Integrity": Reflections on Archival Being', *The American Archivist*, 72 (2009), p. 331.
[49] Cline, p. 331.
[50] Cline, p. 341.

> scrutinize the authenticity of our position" and test the limits of our deep convictions about our values and principles.[51]

There are other articles with deal with and develop these themes of the profession and accountability. Again from 2004 (and so contemporaneous with O'Toole's article looking at an 'archival theology') is Glenn Dingwall's *American Archivist* article *Trusting Archivists: The Role of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith*.[52] This piece looks carefully at how archivists make decisions and the ethical framework which must guide them to do so. Dingwall makes some interesting comparisons with the role of the archivist, how the role can be seen to have been established as a 'professional' one over time. Of particular relevance is how Dingwall can identify what it means to be a professional and to place it within a sociological framework to enable a fuller analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of the role of archivist, and to place it within the context of practice. Dingwall links this framework to the ways in which the archival community has developed and adopted codes of ethics:

> The development and publication of a code of ethics is an exercise in normative ethics wherein moral reasoning is used to arrive at a set of guidelines by which professional activities can be both guided and judged. The ultimate goal of such a code is to provide a framework that allows the individual practitioner to devise an ethical course of action in the face of what often prove to be novel situations.[53]

He further details different approaches to ethics and codes of practice, including the ways in which a 'professional' can use them to allow development and progress within their community; 'professional codes of ethics serve to strengthen the trust that exists between the client and the professional'.[54]

These definitions which Dingwall has taken care to establish are explored further later in this study, and in particular in Chapter 3.

Indeed, how both the priest and the archivist can be thought of as a 'professional' and what this means in relation to their role and in particular to their community (or communities) is key to this study, and further literature from both disciplines will be used throughout.

An introduction to the key areas of interest and key concepts

This thesis addresses several key concepts which are current in discussions around archival theory and practice. The following section will build on the discussion of the general

---

[51] Cline, p. 336.
[52] Glenn Dingwall, 'Trusting Archivists: The Role of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith', *The American Archivist*, 67.1 (Spring-Summer) (2004), 11–30.
[53] Dingwall, pp. 12–13.
[54] Dingwall, pp. 20–21.

literature above by introducing the individual concepts and noting literature that is relevant for each one. It will establish broadly the theories which will be used to enable more detailed analysis in the following chapters.

The Archivist and Priest in a Professional Role

Theory and practice are necessarily intertwined in many areas. The teacher needs to have a good understanding of pedagogy and the development of educational theory to ensure they are teaching at the highest standards and following current best-practice. Theology and theological research are similarly important to the priest, as is archival theory to the practising archivist. Without an understanding of the theory which grounds their practice, how can those in roles at the head and focal point of the community hope to be able to inform, educate, and guide the others in their community who look to them for guidance and leadership? The following section will look at the ways in which historical examples establish these links, and to add insight into how theory and practice have an inter-dependent relationship.

Firstly, this section will look at the way in which the priest can be considered to be a professional; an individual at the head of their community. Secondly, it will look at the archivist and the role they play. What are the key archival theories which influence archival practice? This is important not only to think about how these theories are used but also how they are adapted for different circumstances and to fit different contexts. There is necessarily an element of performativity in the work of both the archivist and the priest; the archive as the liturgy does not exist in quarantine – never used, seen, spoken, performed… but instead is consumed, enjoyed, performed. Finally, this section will draw comparisons and highlight differences between the two roles and their respective use of theory in practice. This will be to align (or otherwise) the roles of archivist and priest, and to establish how they both can variously be seen as an instrument in building and representing community, and passing on 'authentic' memory to their communities.

The 'professional' priest

The *Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus of Rome is a good example to use when thinking about the role of the priest as a 'professional'. It can be difficult to apply this word to what a priest does as the office of priest is generally thought of as being more of a vocation than a career. In his address to Philippine Bishops in the Vatican on 9th October 2003, Pope John Paul II asserted that 'Today's clergy must be careful not to adopt the secular view of the priesthood as a profession, a career and a means of earning a living…Rather, the clergy must

see the priesthood as a vocation to selfless, loving service…'[55]. Whilst this has come from the Catholic Pope, it is a view that is readily accepted by the other denominations which are scrutinised in this study in later chapters. The role of the Apostolic Tradition is clear here; giving us the first evidence of the liturgy of ordination. The Bishop ordains his priests and gives them the authority to preside over the Eucharist. With ordination, the Bishop calls upon the Holy Spirit to grant the 'spirit of grace and counsel' to the priest (presbyter) by the laying on of hands.

To call St Hippolytus of Rome the first 'professional priest' to follow Christ (the High Priest) is probably overstating the case a little; we have no way of knowing how many of the individuals who followed Christ (including the disciples) fulfilled this function. What we can say however, is that St Hippolytus and his presumed work allows us to think about the priesthood as being set-apart, where individuals were able to emulate Christ by reproducing what was described in the gospels and to regulate this by creating a liturgical text which could be followed. It is thanks to the *Apostolic Tradition* that we have one of the key records of the way in which the Early Church approached ordination. This is important for this thesis when looking at the setting apart of one member of the church from the rest and placing him in a position of authority from other worshipers. [56] It is important to note that this isn't the first place when we can tell that this setting aside has happened. For example, Clement of Rome, writing in c. 95 AD in his *Epistle to the Corinthians* said that 'To the high priest are given his special ministrations, a special place is reserved for the priests, and special duties are imposed on the Levites, while the layman is bound by the ordinances concerning the laity'.[57] Whilst we can't credit St Hippolytus with first mentioning the idea of the priest being set-aside, we can however look at the rite of Ordination with which he is credited and see early evidence of a formal repositioning of the different status within the Church. Thinking of the archivist, they too are set aside, and in a position of authority within their individual institution, qualified rather than ordained but possessing special skills both academic and practical which enable them to do their job.

Hippolytus' work certainly had an impact upon how we can view the development of the church in the (almost) two millennia since he was alive. This thesis will focus in particular

[55] 'Priesthood Is Not a Profession But a Vocation, Pope Stresses - ZENIT - English' <https://zenit.org/articles/priesthood-is-not-a-profession-but-a-vocation-pope-stresses/> [accessed 6 April 2019].

[56] In the Early church there is evidence that women were active members of the church, and indeed could be said to have made up a high proportion of the members and were not without influence. However, they were not the leaders of the Church. This is not unexpected when we recognise that Christianity was established in what was already a patriarchal society, with men being the administrators and rulers. Geoffrey Blainey, *A Short History of Christianity* (London: Penguin, 2011), p. 11.

[57] Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford U.P, 1967), p. 63.

on his *Apostolic Tradition*, including the earliest known example of a rite for ordination.[58] The text from this can be found in Jasper and Cuming's *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, and in more detail in Dom Gregory Dix's The Apostolic Tradition. The place of the priest is clear; 'Thy servant who Thou hast chosen for the episcopate to feed the holy flock and serve as Thine high priest…'[59] In addition, the ordination enabled the priest to have a special status in a 'position of leadership' which was publicly endorsed.[60] In Dix we can see the implications of the ordination and apostolic succession; 'the bishop shall lay his hands upon his head, the presbyters also touching him…Look upon this Thy servant and impart to him the spirit of grace and council, "that he may share" in the presbyterate "and govern" Thy people in pure heart'.[61]

Another major period of change in the role of the priest and views of the Eucharist was the Reformation, and in England Thomas Cranmer was a central figure in articulating and codifying these changes. These impacted upon the theology and religious practice of not only royalty and the hierarchy of the church in almost every European state,[62] but also the ways in which the congregations were able to view their place within the celebration. The impact of Cranmer's work is clearly stated in *The Study of Liturgy*, edited by Cheslyn Jones et al.:

> The decision to set up the English Bible in every church (1538), to have it read at the Sunday offices and the Mass (1543, 1547) and the provision of the First Book of Homilies (1547) must be attributed to partly or mainly to Cranmer's influence; and it is probable that five of the homilies, the first English Litany (1544), the Order of Communion (1548), and the two Edwardian editions of the Book of Common Prayer and Ordinal (1549-50, 1552) and substantially Cranmer's own compositions. [63]

The fact that Cranmer is thought to be instrumental in the publication of the first English Liturgy of the Eucharist in the vernacular is key here. Just as we will look at the impact of Hippolytus because of the impact of his written liturgy and other work which impacted how the early Church was able to grow and consolidate its support, and inform those who were

[58] Bradshaw, p. 342.
[59] *Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*, ed. by Gregory Dix and Henry Chadwick, Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1968), p. 5.
[60] Bradshaw, p. 342.
[61] Dix and Chadwick, p. 13.
[62] Full details of developments, progress, and background of the Reformation in Europe can be found in a number of volumes, including: Alister McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993).
[63] *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, 2nd Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1992), pp. 101–2.

members about the celebration of the Eucharist – so we also must view the impact Cranmer had upon the people who were in the churches, worshipping. This applies to both the clergy and the laity, as both must be educated in the orthodox or authentic ways of celebrating the liturgy. Of course, both of these are loaded words and ones which will be discussed later in this study.

Finally, the view of the role of the 'professional' priest who is responsible for the Eucharistic celebration is considered in present-day Scotland. This is established through the examination of the ways in which priests and ministers from three different denominations view their role as a celebrant of the Eucharist, their view of the Eucharist as an act of memory or remembrance, and how they see the celebration of the Eucharist as contributing to their community. This then allows a comparison with the role of the archivist within their own community, and an analysis of how any celebration – be it in the time of St Hippolytus of Rome, or Archbishop Cranmer, or in 21st Century Scotland. The interpretation of the liturgy used and how it is used as orthodox or authentic, and the importance which is placed on this by the celebrant allows further comparison and scrutiny of the comparisons with the archivist. Namely, how does the archivist view their collection, and how does this impact upon the ways in which they operate. For both disciplines covered by this study, the impact of theory into practice is important. How the priests and ministers who were interviewed saw the links between theory and practice, and in particular how the theology of their denomination and other Christian denominations viewed the theology of the Eucharist, was crucial to understanding this area for this study.

The perspective of and importance to those who are viewing the act is clearly important. Within a church setting, they are not passive watchers in the way that some theatre-goers might be (although many are not), but actively involved in the celebration of the Eucharist, or whichever other service is being held. This participation is part of the intrinsic nature of the celebration of the Eucharist, even if the congregation might appear to be 'passive', they are an integral part of the act of celebration. The celebration of the Eucharist is a very specific concept to address, being not just a performance, but an unrepeatable act with each celebration being entirely self-sufficient and exclusive. There are also differences in the ways different denominations view the celebration of the Eucharist. Different theologies of the Eucharist present the nature of the celebration in different ways, and this will be addressed in Chapter 5. These differences within the theology which allows the priest to support their celebration of the Eucharist in their church and denomination are important to explore within the terms of this study precisely because the archivist dealing with memory

needs to have an understanding of the different ways that memory itself can be defined and interpreted.

The professional archivist

This section covers the role of the archivist, and why they are important in society. For the terms of reference of this study, the archivist allows the user to bring past into the present; they facilitate the research of the user by providing access to well-managed resources. The Archives and Records Association of the UK and Ireland (ARA) - the professional body for archives in the UK and Ireland - gives a summary of the role of the archivist as follows:

> It is the job of the archivist to preserve and exploit this archival heritage and the information contained within it. This includes assisting users and answering enquiries, promotional work including exhibitions, presentations or media work, as well as the curatorial skills of selecting, arranging and cataloguing archives.[64]

Is it important that we think about how the archivist can 'exploit' the heritage which they curate, and how far their own individual input necessarily influences the ways in which their community can use the records in their care. The archivist is in a position to ensure that their community doesn't forget by allowing them to see how evidence of the way history was documented, and to therefore use this documentation in the future to ensure they can understand the past. This past and sense of past is often integrally linked to their own past and sense of history. As Jenkinson said, 'Do we wish . . . the Archives of the future to possess the same characteristics as those of the Past?'.[65] Of course, they can't, and yet as will be seen later in this study the archives held and properly made available can allow their users not only a window into the past, but to transport the users into the past through allowing them to 'feel' the way life was like. The photographs which illustrate living conditions of those in a particular area, or the details of industrial machines operated by real workers are capable of not only giving a window into the past but also of temporarily transporting those looking at it into the past. The archive is arguably how the archivist can most closely align with the priest who in the course of the celebration of the Eucharist enacts the perpetual presence.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson puts the role of the archivist a little more simply: 'The archivist is easy to define – it is he [sic.!] who looks after archives'.[66] However, the archivist of today recognises that the role of the archivist is and has to be much more far-reaching than this. If

---

[64] ARA, 'Careers in Archives | Careers' <http://www.archives.org.uk/c-careers/careers-in-archives.html> [accessed 19 June 2013].

[65] Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.*, p. xi.

[66] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, p. 236.

we think about how the archivist and the user of an archive are both stakeholders in the collections, including how these collections are appraised and described, there is a key difference in the way they interact with the collections at the point of use. The archivist's primary role is to facilitate research; they are responsible for allowing others (the users) to take what they need from the collections. As Jenkinson asserts, the archive should be a neutral space, with the archivist 'provid(ing), without prejudice or afterthought, for all who wish to know the Means of Knowledge'[67] and yet archivists are human and therefore can only try to be neutral (if indeed this is the aim): collecting policies and strategy; appraisal; description are not and arguably should and can not be neutral. They may do all that they can to ensure that this is possible and that they can provide useful surrogate records (in the form of catalogues, contextual information about the collections, and access to digitised images where they exist), and to guide, advise and help their users to interpret the records they care for. Just as the priest also guides their congregation through the liturgy and helps in the interpretation. There will be further discussion about this in later chapters.

Of course, professional archivists are also employed by churches of all denominations. Bob Stewart describes the role in his 1990 *Archivaria* article *Nurturing the Spirit: Reflections on the Role of a Church Archivist*. Here he lists the tensions between the preservation of tradition, the proof of this tradition, the physical legacy of the church as documented by the archive, and the ways in which this tradition is enacted through the contemporary use of liturgy. He examines the attitude of the congregation, the contemporary community of the church as 'They want to know the legal, historical, and religious ground on which they stand. But the ground is not steady'.[68] His observation

> that when the records "speak" to us today from the past, we in the present may "hear" something quite different in the text from what might have been heard at the time of the creation of the record. What we hear is as much determined by the questions we bring to the records, and our ideological dispositions, as by what the records actually say.[69]

...is one which archivists everywhere have to grapple with, and which is explored when we look further at what is meant by the authentic record (and authentic to whom) in this thesis. He continues to analyse the tensions between the facilitation of balancing memory and vision for the future whilst maintain 'faithful to God's mission for the church' by the church

[67] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, p. 258.
[68] Bob Stewart, 'Nurturing the Spirit: Reflections on the Role of a Church Archivist', *Archivaria*, 1990 <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/11669> [accessed 13 August 2021].
[69] Stewart, p. 111.

archivist, and how to maintain that balance.[70] Stewart is writing from the perspective as archivist for the United Church of British Columbia, but we can see similar approaches and acknowledgement of the issues by both archivists and historians (users) in Scotland, for example by Brian Talbot who has adopted responsibility for the archives of the Baptist Church in Scotland, and who variously acts as archivist, minister, and historian, and S. Karly Kehoe who has worked extensively with the archives of the Catholic Church in Scotland.[71] The 'church archivist' in Scotland is often, as Talbot is, wearing many hats and balancing the needs of the church, or working within a larger repository (for example, the National Records of Scotland) and responsible for the many collections, either of different denominations or covering entirely different subjects. These tensions are explored in Chapters 4 and 5 of this work.

However, ultimately the archivist often has little say in how the records themselves are used – they just have to trust that the user will make the most of the services the archive can offer, and use the archives in a responsible and honourable way. Back to Jenkinson again, 'The Archivist's career, as I have tried to outline it, is one of service. He [sic.] exists in order to make other people's work possible, unknown people for the most part.'[72] So too the priest can provide the congregation with a valid and licit Eucharist. However, s/he is not to know if the individual who attends the service and receives the sacrament is in 'a state of Grace' or otherwise legitimately 'permitted' to receive under the particular rules of the denomination which oversees their congregation. This will be further explored in the chapters which cover the contemporary case studies. This thesis will develop the ideas laid down in this chapter to fully establish the role of the archivist in 2021.

Memory and Memorialisation

Both the archivist and the priest place importance on memory and the way in which they as leaders play a part in maintaining, preserving, and promoting memory. The congregation in the church and the users of the archive depend on them as figureheads and key participants in ensuring the preservation of the memory of their community. The nature of this memory and how the two roles of the archivist and priest contribute towards it over time are explored and analysed to be able to advance the archival theory, and this is addressed in the literature in several ways.

[70] Stewart, p. 113.
[71] S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church : Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); *A Distinctive People: Aspects of the Witness of Baptists in Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Brian Talbot (Wipf and Stock, 2014).
[72] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, p. 258.

Margaret Hedstrom states in her article published in Eastwood and MacNeil's *Currents of Archival Thinking*, 'It is not surprising to find increasing references to social, public, and collective memory in the archival science literature. After all, archives are often characterized as "memory institutions"'.[73] This role of the archive as a repository, and also as a collection are explored in this thesis. Perhaps more important is the role the archivist has to play to ensure the archive can fulfil this function, and how they can do this.

In terms of literature that explores both memory and memorialisation, we must certainly note the growth of 'Memory Studies' as a discipline in its own right. This covers how memory can be seen as a social construct, and the place of the professional within this. This necessarily includes not only the writing of history, but the collecting, curating, and cataloguing of history. One author to address this is Geoffrey Cubitt in *History and Memory*, where he looks at not only the record, but the context within which it was created, and will (later) be used. Stating 'the durability of written texts tends to encourage a conceptual separation of historical knowledge from memory's continuous workings' allows us the opportunity to see the importance of responding to the text.[74] He privileges the position of the text for the preservation of memory, and addresses head-on the ways in which text, technology, and use intersect: 'Mere memory comes to seem vague and unstable: notions of evidence, authority, truthfulness, authenticity are re-focussed on the seemingly tangible stability and objectivity of written text'.[75] This study looks first at the liturgical text, and then at ways in which both priest and archivist use the text to help identify and foster memory within their community.

Susannah Radstone also covers many of these themes in her edited volume *Memory and Methodology*, and uses case studies to allow deeper exploration of the themes.[76] For example, her chapter on *Screening Trauma: Forrest Gump, Film and Memory* looks at how Gump's 'memories' are constructed using a variety of texts.[77] This concentration on the fictional example allows Radstone to alert the reader to how different sources can be used to allow personal memory to form and develop. This is further explored with Stephan Feuchtwang's chapter on *Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and*

[73] Margaret Hedstrom, 'Archives and Collective Memory: More than a Metaphor, Less than an Analogy', in *Currents of Archival Thinking* (Santa Brabara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010), p. 254 (p. 163).
[74] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 190.
[75] Cubitt, p. 190.
[76] Susannah Radstone, *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).
[77] Susannah Radstone, 'Screening Trauma: Forrest Gump, Film and Memory', in *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 79–110.

Europe. Feuchtwang notes: 'A key problem to be addressed is the recognition of inter-personal memory transmission by more powerful social commemoration and historiography…'.[78] He continues to say '"Archive" is a term for the authoritative storing and inscription of memory. Writing of archives is a process and an act, and their symbioses with never-to-be-captured live memory in its own moment…'.[79] This raises really important questions for this study in so far as the place and position of the professional 'archivist' in 'writing' the archive, and how this can be compared to the role of the priest in the celebration of the Eucharist. The cases which follow in Chapter 3 will look at how individuals who can be broadly said to hold a 'priestly role' have participated in these acts, and what the implications are to the archivist and to archival theory.

Memory Studies has grown in importance and has had its own journal (*Memory Studies*) since 2008. In the 2016 edition, Andrew Hoskins states 'memories also require distinct social frameworks, patterned ways of framing the flow of remembered actions, images, sounds, smells, sensations and impressions. Without social frameworks, memories would flicker like dreams without anchors in the theatre of consciousness…'.[80] The wider perspectives given by this article are important to allow us to start to interrogate how the written record relates to the social frameworks which have been documented, and how this all, in turn, can be seen to allow for a consideration of the action or performativity of the text. These social frameworks can be identified and form a necessary part of the ways in which community is viewed by both the archivist and the priest, and how the community can relate to the recording and use of the record.

Looking at the literature specific to the domain of the archivist rather than memory studies Jeanette Bastian's chapter *Memory Research / Archival Research* in *Research in the Archival Multiverse* allows us to have a contemporary understanding of how the archivist (distinct from the historian or other possible 'user' or the records) looks at memory.[81] This piece addresses the need for the archivist to look at memory studies as a discipline: 'Archivists, while long concerned with issues of memory, have not traditionally focused on memory as an area of research.'[82] Bastian brings together ideas of memory and how archival narratives

[78] 'Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and Europe', in *Memory and Methodology*, by Susannah Radstone (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p. 64.
[79] 'Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and Europe', p. 64.
[80] Andrew Hoskins, 'Memory Ecologies', *Memory Studies*, 3 (2016), 348–57 (p. 348) <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1750698016645274>.
[81] Jeannette A. Bastian, 'Memory Research / Archival Research', in *Research in the Archival Mulitverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp. 269–87.
[82] Bastian, 'Memory Research / Archival Research', p. 269.

can help individuals to contribute to the overall approach by both the archivist and the user of the record. In the context of this study, this approach helps us to understand both the perspective of the priest and the archivist; those who need to use the record, those who create the record, and those who curate the record.[83] In particular, she talks of the use of 'archival tools to authenticate a manuscript based on an oral transmission and in doing so, not only uncovers a complex family history but also confirms and solidifies a family memory.'.[84] This relationship between the record and the individual (and linking to the community) is vital for the archivist to understand if they are to serve their community.

Authenticity and orthodoxy

The concept of 'authenticity' is widely used in archival theory and provides both archival theorists and archivists with a means of measuring value to both archivist and user. However, it should be highlighted that authenticity is probably the term that is most problematic when looking at this study as one which crosses interdisciplinary boundaries. The priest would not necessarily think about their work as being 'authentic' but would instead think more about how it could be considered '*orthodox'*. However, *authentic* and *orthodox* have different meanings. Therefore, this section will first look at what 'authenticity' means to the archivist, and the ways in which this interpretation can be seen to be supported by the archival theory.

If a record can be considered to be 'authentic', then it is considered to have value as a permanent addition to an archive.

In her book *Archives: Principles and Practices*, Laura Millar defines 'authenticity' as 'the quality in documentary materials, such as records and archives, of being genuine and not corrupted or altered.'[85] This view of authenticity is further established in the literature; Caroline Williams notes the place of 'Authenticity' as a key characteristic or quality of a record in the *International Standard for Records Management* (*ISO 15489*),[86] taking its place alongside 'reliability', 'usability', and 'integrity'.[87] In *Trusting Records: Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives*, Heather McNeil states that:

> the realisation that the methods for assessing record trustworthiness, and the generalisations on which they are built, are human constructs, rather than transcendent verities, leads to the conclusion that those methods need continually to

[83] Bastian, 'Memory Research / Archival Research', p. 224.
[84] Bastian, 'Memory Research / Archival Research', p. 278.
[85] Millar, *Archives*, p. 261.
[86] 'ISO 15489-1:2016 - Information and Documentation -- Records Management -- Part 1: Concepts and Principles' <https://www.iso.org/standard/62542.html> [accessed 2 September 2018].
[87] Caroline Mary Williams, *Managing Archives (Information Professional)* (Oxford: Chandos, 2006), pp. 9–10.

> be reassessed and re-evaluated as new ways of looking at the world present themselves[88]

This firmly emphasizes the authenticity and trustworthiness of the record as something which can be re-visited and re-evaluated depending on the environment. This is further supported by McNeil in her introduction to *Currents of Archival Thinking*; describing 'a shift in thinking' both for the nature of records and records keeping, and the need to be reactive to different environments as a records keeper.[89] This leads the reader to Terry Eastwood's chapter *A Contested Realm: The Nature of Archives and the Orientation of Archival Science* where the characteristics of archives and the archivist's approaches to them are discussed, charting a clear line from Jenkinson to current theory and practice: 'understanding the meaning of any individual document depends on knowing its relationship with the entity that produced it, the purposes the entity pursues…'. [90] Eastwood further discusses the role of the archivist and their relationship(s) with the records creators and in turn the community whilst acknowledging the context within which the record was created. This chimes well with definitions of authenticity from the Society of American Archivists, who ascribe it as a 'quality', and 'closely associated with the creator (or creators) of a record'.[91]

MacNeil further develops this idea of the professional being the arbiter of authenticity in her 2011 article for *Archival Science*, *Trust and professional identity: narratives, counter-narratives and lingering ambiguities*.[92] Importantly, this piece takes the definitions previously highlighted in this piece and offers links between the professional and the record, stating: 'For all its blind spots and ambiguities, the narrative that has been constructed around the twin tropes of archivists as trusted custodians and archival institutions as trusted repositories is a credible one and continues to have resonance…', further detailing the 'complicated relationship that exists between and among identity, trust and archives'.[93] We can see the relationship between being a professional, trust, and

---

[88] Heather MacNeil, *Trusting Records : Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives, Springer Netherlands, 2000. ProQuest Ebook Central, Http://Ebookcentral.Proquest.Com/Lib/Gla/Detail.Action?DocID=3105636. Created from Gla on 2021-07-21 08:03:48.* (Netherlands: Springer, 2000), p. 115.

[89] Heather MacNeil, 'Introduction', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Terry Eastwood and Heather MacNeil (Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010). p. x-xi

[90] Terry Eastwood, 'A Contested Realm: The Nature of Archives and the Orientation of Archival Science', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Heather MacNeil and Terry Eastwood (San Fransisco, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2009), pp. 3–22 (pp. 7–8).

[91] 'Authenticity | Society of American Archivists' <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/authenticity.html> [accessed 15 May 2019].

[92] Heather MacNeil, 'Trust and Professional Identity: Narratives, Counter-Narratives and Lingering Ambiguities', *Archival Science*, 11 (2011), 175–92 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9150-5>.

[93] MacNeil, 'Trust and Professional Identity: Narratives, Counter-Narratives and Lingering Ambiguities', p. 190.

authenticity come to the fore here. These themes will be further developed later in this study.

Community Archives and their Relationship to Mainstream Practice

This study looks at ideas of community and how both the archivist and priest contribute to both their existing and potential communities. The ways in which communities can be defined and the relationship of professionals in both these fields to their own communities is essential to understanding the research questions of this thesis. This involves a recognition of how they both (and in particular the archivist) has needed to work with communities for the benefit of both their institution and the community. As previously mentioned, Bastian and Alexander's book *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* is a good resource.[94] In particular, David Mander's chapter on *Special, Local and About Us: the Development of Community Archives in Britain* is useful.[95] There is a tension here in the way the archivist responds to community initiatives, and this is an area that is at the forefront of how many professionals working local and community archives are developing practice:

> Some of this collecting was below the radar of mainstream record offices. In yet other cases, there was fear of competition based on reasonable professional desire to ensure that historic documents should be held in record offices, where standards of care were normally better[96]

Criticism of the professional archivist as an external force, and representing the archive as an external institution can be seen to have fallen out of favour as many communities (importantly including many indigenous communities) have rejected the 'traditional' model. They have been criticised for external professionals making decisions about 'the record' of the community from outwith this community, in favour of community-generated initiatives to ensure control of their own historical sources in order to ensure they have a very real stake in how their histories can be represented to a wider context. One illustration of this tension, and the aligning of 'the archive' with 'the establishment' is Adele Perry's article *The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in Delgamuukw V. British Columbia* in Antoinette Burton's *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, where she notes 'Canadian Indigenous people have routinely pointed to disjunctures between written and oral records of treaties and to the colonial state's selective and self-

[94] Bastian and Alexander.
[95] David Mander, 'Special, Local and About Us: The Development of Community Archives in Britain', in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, by Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), pp. 29–46.
[96] Mander, p. 31.

serving interpretation of their meaning.'.[97] Perry concludes her article 'Putting the archive on trial shows us how archives are not only about what they contain within their walls. They are about absence, although absences in the colonial archive are not neutral, voluntary, or strictly liberal.'[98] Further responses can be seen by looking at literature from archival theorists of recent years. Writers including Niamh Moore, Kirsten Thorpe, and Michelle Caswell have all explored this sensitive area in recent years.[99] For example, Thorpe's paper for Public Library Quarterly with Monica Galassi addressed the questions of how to include indigenous peoples in service design, clearly making the case that by doing so there were distinct benefits to not only the library service itself, but also the mental health and welfare of the community.[100]

The archivist and the priest are the focal point not only of this study, but also in the areas in which they operate. However, one must also account for the bodies of people whom they serve - the audience, or community. Individuals who are undertaking both roles have to be aware of the motivations, needs, and motives of those who attend their institutions.

The Nature of the Record

This thesis addresses the idea of the 'record' and its place within the archive. This is one area where we can most clearly see the intersection of theory and practice, and it is useful to look directly at definitions provided for archivists, archival theorists, and researchers in allied disciplines. For example, the first definition supplied by the Society of American Archivists in their *Glossary of Archival Terms* states that a record is 'data or information stored on some medium and used as an extension of human memory or to support accountability'.[101] As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, arguably 'the record' can refer to all types of 'textual' source, be that minutes, tattoos on a human body, or a church. It does have a transactional definition as discussed earlier, but this is not the whole story.

---

[97] Adele Perry, 'The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in Delgamuukw V. British Columbia', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press), pp. 325–50 (p. 325).

[98] Perry, p. 345.

[99] For example, see Michelle Caswell and Anne Gilliland, 'Records and Their Imaginaries: Imagining the Impossible, Making Possible the Imagined', *Archival Science*, 16 (2016), 53–75 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1007/s10502-015-9259-z>; *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity : New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape*, ed. by Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Niamh Moore, 'The Politics and Ethics of Naming: Questioning Anonymisation in (Archival) Research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15.4 (2012), 331–40 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2012.688330>.

[100] Kirsten Thorpe and Monica Galassi, 'Diversity, Inclusion & Respect: Embedding Indigenous Priorities in Public Library Services', *Public Library Quarterly*, 37.2 (2018), 180–94 (p. 183).

[101] Society of American Archivists, 'A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/glossary> [accessed 17 September 2018].

As one might expect, there has been significant discourse on this topic in the literature, with a number of authors looking at what 'the record' means, and how this can link to the text and textuality. Significant works in this area include *The Allure of the Archive* by Arlette Farge, who analyses the characteristics of the archive, and the ways in which the approach to 'the archive' has changed from medieval times to the present day, including approaches to the text and ways of understanding what the text records.[102] The observation that 'archives are not neutral places' comes through strongly in this work, as well as in *The Silence of the Archive* by David Thomas, Val Johnson, and Simon Fowler.[103] This view is further developed by Niamh Moore, Andrea Salter, and Liz Stanley in their work *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the Social Sciences*, and in Gilliand, McKemmish, and Lau's *Research in the Archival Multiverse*.[104] Indeed, in the chapter by Lorraine Dong, Joel A. Blanco-Rivera, Michelle Caswell and Joanna Steele on *Examinations of Injustice* it is stated that: 'Discussions regarding the extent of archivists' responsibilities for advancing social justice, especially given the tradition of professional neutrality for archivists, have implications for the pedagogical approaches used in archival studies programs.'.[105] This approach to the idea of the archivist as a professional, and with this responsibility for social justice, is important for the understanding of this study. However, in order to progress this, it is key to fully understand what a record is.

Concepts of recordness

'*Recordness'* is an unusual word. It is one that doesn't feature in standard dictionaries, but which is important to the archivist. It was the Society of American Archivists' '*word of the week*' on 2 June 2015, [106] and features in the archival literature, for example in *The Archivist's New Clothes; or, the Naked Truth about Evidence, Transactions, and Recordness.*[107] The main definition from the SAA is 'The quality of being a record; the state of having the characteristics of a record.'[108] Essentially, our definition of what a record is, helps us to understand not only the record itself, but also the archive in a broader sense. If

[102] Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archive* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 2–3, 73.
[103] Valerie Johnson, David Thomas, and Simon Fowler, *The Silence of the Archive* (London: Facet, 2017).
[104] Niamh Moore and others, *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2016); Anne J. Gilliland, Andrew Lau, and Sue McKemmish, *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017).
[105] Lorraine Dong and others, 'Examinations of Injustice', in *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), p. 938.
[106] Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archive* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 2–3, 73.
[107] Bruce Bruemmer and others, 'The Archivist's New Clothes; or, the Naked Truth about Evidence, Transactions, and Recordness' (presented at the Society of American Archivists Annual Conference, Boston, 2004) <http://hdl.handle.net/1805/42>.
[108] 'Word of the Week: Recordness' <https://us3.campaign-archive.com/?u=56c4cfbec1ee5b2a284e7e9d6&id=82bd286947> [accessed 14 April 2019].

all archives are records – or something – not all records are archives. Similarly, we must also understand the technical language of the priest.

There are many distinct areas where the traditional and accepted (by archivists) ideas of '*the archive'* and what this means are important for this study. Some examples are below.

Caroline Williams grounds the definition of the record using recordness very well in her chapter *Records and Archives: Concepts, Roles and Definitions* in Caroline Brown's edited work *Archives and Recordkeeping: Theory into Practice*.[109] This work, aimed at those new to the profession takes the Jenkinsonian view of a record as being 'of a transaction', and broadens it to enable the capture of many of the other parts of collections which we would consider natural parts of archival collections:

> Such a definition excludes such things as diaries, maps, data in databases, information and most nontextual material, as these were not produced as a result of transactions or activities and do not therefore possess the attributes necessary for "recordness"[110]

The discussion here can be further dissected by looking at notions of fixity and representation.

Fixity and Representation

This introduction of ideas of fixity and representation are key when researching in this area, and bring us to scenarios that are especially relevant for anyone either researching archival practice, or acting as an archivist. These terms similarly relate to the liturgy, as continuity and performance. In particular over the last two decades with the advent of the digital record, the archivist's idea of fixity, and appreciation of what comprises 'the record' has had to undergo an important shift. When dealing with an analogue record in most instances what comprises 'the original' is clear: the minutes are signed and certified; the photograph taken, printed, and inscribed; the charter written and sealed. However, in the 21st century where most new records are created digitally, the archival pre-occupation of the particular is suddenly challenged. The material nature of the record or items within the collection can be analysed, and an analysis made of the 'uniqueness' of the record. Does it have a place in *an* archive, and does it have a place in *this* archive? However, with records being created digitally and analogue records being digitised and the surrogate replacing the original in terms of importance and accessibility, this approach has to begin to change. There is now a need for archives professionals to consider how they should be managed, models of

[109] Caroline Mary Williams, 'Records and Archives: Concepts, Roles and Definitions', in *Archives and Recordskeeping: Theory into Practice*, Facet Books for Archivists and Records Managers (London: Facet Publishing, 2013).

[110] Williams, 'Records and Archives: Concepts, Roles and Definitions', p. 14.

preservation for digital records or assets frequently require several instances of 'the record' to be created throughout the process,[111] and require a shift away from traditional notions of what 'the record' is and can be. With the multiple 'performances' of the digital, what is the 'unique item'? Work flows in digital preservation are forcing archivists to acknowledge the notion of the performative and the non-identical record, representing the one performance to the same script as what has gone before and what has yet to come. This shift makes this study of the links between the act itself, and the recording of it, how the act has been executed and how it will be re-presented in the future, especially relevant. Studies into oral history and story-telling are relevant here; if we are looking at one story, it is often fixed; 'the same' from one telling to another. Yet the language may change from one telling to another, depending on the teller, the audience, and the context.

Links with Liturgy

The liturgy of the Christian Church can provide us with a perfect opportunity to start to look at many of these theoretical issues within a practical and pragmatic context. The liturgy itself provides us with a script, we have people who (despite my earlier protestations at this comparison) can be seen to be comparable to 'performers' and 'audience' in clergy and congregation, and an act which is culturally important and therefore worthy of consideration to be added to the archive. In his work *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, Pope Benedict XVI draws upon previous scholarship comparing liturgy to a performance, albeit with very specific requirements and responsibilities.[112] The use of this by the Pope (now emeritus) gives the expression of liturgy as 'performance' credence. In the liturgy, we can take a specific and special act that has been performed and represented across many traditions over many centuries and examine how what happens has been codified over centuries. This includes looking at similarities and differences in the way in which this performative act, representing a performance of memory, is represented in the liturgy, art and literature. How can the story of the Eucharist be told (and re-told?), and what can the archivist learn of the representation and re-presentation of an act using physical material, and a very defined script or liturgy? Can the celebration of the Eucharist, Holy Communion, or Breaking of the Bread be viewed as a remembrance, and if so, can any of the other situations (for example, plays, oral history) be viewed as remembrances in the same way? Is the Eucharist just another example of this,

[111] See for example the OAIS Model, especially P124, the diagrammatic representation of the Recommendations Practice of the OAIS Reference Model 'Reference Model for an Open Archival Information System (OAIS) - Recommended Practice', 2012, p. 124 <http://public.ccsds.org/publications/archive/650x0m2.pdf>.

[112] Joseph Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. by John Saward (Ignatius Press, 2000), especially pp 146-8, 184. See also .'Pope Benedict XVI on Sacred Music and Liturgy' <http://www.ceciliaschola.org/notes/benedictonmusic.html> [accessed 30 April 2016]; Joseph Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. by John Saward (Ignatius Press, 2000).

or is it by virtue of the dominical commandment to '*do this in memory of me'*, a very particular vehicle with which to examine the principles of archival theory and directions of research as previously explained? The key here is the nature of the sacrament, and the way in which it is viewed by all who are participating within it. Clergy and congregation are both invested within the act itself. The differing views and perspectives of what happens will be explored.

The discussions above are important in the terms of this study simply because the fluidity of the definitions which are used impacts our ability to understand the nature of the role of archivist. Similarly, the liturgy the priest uses is a living text, and yet fixed.

Performance, Performativity, and Speech-Act Theory

There is much literature that has been produced by archival theorists and those in associated disciplines which covers the way in which the archive links with performance. This literature includes Gunhild Borggreen and Rune Gade's edited volume *Performing Archives / Archives of Performance*, Diana Taylor's *The Archive and The Repertoire*, and Simone Osthoff's *Performing the Archive: The Transformation of the Archive in Contemporary Art*.[113] These works variously argue that context is key to the understanding of the archive. For example, Taylor states: 'There are several myths attending the archive. One is that it is unmediated, that unattended objects located there might mean something outside the framing of the archival impetus itself.'[114] Taylor goes on to contrast this with the repertoire, which 'enacts embodied memory' – surely the intention of the priest when celebrating the Eucharist.[115] This view of the structure of the archive both aiding and being aided by a performative process is further explored by Jane Birkin's 2015 article *Art, Work, and Archives: Performativity and the Techniques of Production*:

> Archival practices are performative in nature; they are directed by prescribed standards and defined by bodies such as The International Council on Archives, which, through its International Standard Archival Description (General) or ISAD(G) sets out clear rules to be followed when writing and organizing descriptions.[116]

---

[113] Gundhild Borggreen and Rune Gade, *Performing Archives / Archives of Performance* (University of Chicago Press, 2013); Simone Osthoff, *Performing the Archive: The Transformation of the Archive in Contemporary Art from Repository of Documents to Art Medium*, ed. by Wolfgang Schirmacher (New York: Atropos Press, 2009); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas: Cultural Memory and Performance in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[114] Diana Taylor, p. 19.

[115] Diana Taylor, p. 20.

[116] Jane Birkin, 'Art, Work, and Archives: Performativity and the Techniques of Production', *Archive Journal*, Archives Remixed.5 (2015), 1–14 (p. 3).

Speech-act theory is also relevant to this study; for example, Petta Henttonen's article looking at *Archival Concepts and Practice in the Light of Speech Act Theory*, in *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, which describes how speech act theory can be used as a lens to interpret archival concepts and practice.[117] Importantly for this study, Henttonen states that:

> Institutional facts created by speech acts have "objective" existence: they exist, because people believe them to exist, but they are not a matter of one's preferences, evaluations or moral attitudes. However, at the same time, speech act theory does not suggest that there is no one truth or message.[118]

Obviously, this begs many questions for both the archivist and priest, when looking at their own 'institutional facts' and the truth behind them. Who is their audience, and how does this link in with their definition of community? These questions will be explored in chapters 4 and 5.

Finally, we are met with the very clear parallels of performativity as understood by performance artists, and those who are involved in the digital record. For example, Sarah Jones, Daisy Abbott, and Seamus Ross in *Redefining the Performing Arts Archive* in *Archival Science*.[119] Their discussions of preservation, use, re-use and fixity raise important issues for both the archivist when looking at their record, and the priest when looking at the liturgy they use. These are discussed above in the section on T*he Nature of the Record*.

There are several questions that are important when thinking about 'audience', both in the archival and theological fields. When we think of the word 'audience', we think often of a (fully or partially) passive group of people, in a theatre to watch a play or comedian, at a concert, or cinema. They will respond to what they are watching, react to what they are experiencing, and to an extent react (for example, shouting out the answer to the comedian, sing along with the band, or cry at an emotional scene). However, the experience is significantly less passive for the congregation when celebrating the Eucharist. There is also the unresolved tension with the idea of 'the priesthood of all believers', with the congregation who have all come together and through the liturgy move towards one goal. The liturgy is fully participatory, and is an offering to God, by the priest and people. We can look for example at the words of the Eucharistic Prayer I from the *Roman Missal*:

> all gathered here, whose faith and devotion are known to you. For them, we offer you this sacrifice of praise or they offer it for themselves and all who are dear to

[117] Pekka Henttonen, 'Looking at Archival Concepts and Practice in the Light of Speech Act Theory', in *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, by Sue McKemmish, Andrew Lau, and Anne Gilliland (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp. 537–57.
[118] Henttonen, p. 553.
[119] Daisy Abbott, Sarah Jones, and Seamus Ross, 'Redefining the Performing Arts Archive', *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), 165–71.

them: for the redemption of their souls, in hope of health and well-being, and paying their homage to you, the eternal God, living and true.[120]

The Eucharistic Prayer is of course addressed to God by the priest with the congregation, necessitating an acknowledgement of the dual nature of the 'audience' in this area.

Rather than a 'congregation' as in an ecclesial setting, an archive has users. When thinking about performance, the 'audience' in an archive is either the user, or potential user, be they internal to the organisation or external. Here they are consumers rather than participants of what is produced by the archive, but also each brings along their own agenda to the archive. However, the idea of 'audience' is also key when we think about for whom any record was created, and why. Was the record created to become consciously part of the cultural heritage (and if so, of what and for whom?) This section will deal with these issues, bringing in notions of 'fixity' and 'representation' as we consider not only the audience, but the record they are viewing, reacting to, and interpreting.

Even if the audience is more passive than participatory, what impact do they have on the way in which the performance is performed? The stand-up comedian has a set routine which they perform every night of their tour. It might be expected that this would alter as they move around the country to change regional references to something more appropriate, but we might expect to see other changes too; they develop their routine as jokes prove popular or not, they react to external references and ensure that their material is culturally relevant and perhaps reflects the news of the day. Ultimately the routine at the end of the tour might take a very different shape and have a very different script than it had at the start of the tour. If performance is to be part of the cultural record of a community, then how is it to be recorded, and how must subsequent performances react to the previous recording(s)? How can the story be told, and captured to enable re-telling? The performance alters depending on audience, especially when we are so broadly defining 'audience' to include congregation within a Eucharistic celebration.

A storyteller telling a story many times won't use exactly the same words, the band can play the same set at their gig night after night and yet the performance doesn't last the exact same length of time, the company of actors using a script will present a slightly different 'play' each time and we begin to question the idea of any performance to any one text being at all fixed. It is the same, using the same script, score, or form... but the end result is not the same at all. Some of these differences might be attributed to the reactions and responses of the audience, but this cannot account for all the differences and variations; if the band or

[120] This comes from the 'Liturgy Office Missal Text' <http://www.liturgyoffice.org.uk/Missal/Text/EP1-A4.pdf> [accessed 7 April 2017]. Other denominations offer similar wording.

company of players were to perform to an empty room, we would still almost certainly have differences in the of the end result, and even in the performance itself. When we add this to the understanding that an audience member in one area of the arena might have a very different experience from someone who happens to be in a different part (or else why would there be varying prices for different seats?), then we start to come across questions of what the 'authentic' end and fixed piece is. If the whole is to be judged to be of cultural importance, is it then therefore by definition worth preserving, and if so, how?

How does this compare to the community and audience who can be seen in the Church? Of course, there are very different settings for ministry, and the priest must react to the circumstances of their placement. They might seek a parish or other responsibility (for example ministry in particular chaplaincies such as universities, hospitals, prisons, the military), or they might be placed. They might simply be moved by their bishop, or apply to adopt a particular charge – depending on their denomination. The ways in which these different groups of people are ministered to is understandably varying, and each context will bring its own challenges. However, in the terms of this study, it is worth noting again the perspective of Ramsey, in *The Christian Priest Today*:

> In the Eucharist the Church is very near to the sacrifice of Christ, for the once-for-all offering is brought into the here-and-now by the memorial. While all the people participate, the priest acts in the name of Jesus in the words and actions of the Last Supper, and he represents also the Church as Catholic[121]

The Eucharist for the priest, its celebration, and the way in which it binds the community, with the 'liturgy belong(ing) to all of the people' is clearly an essential way in which we can understand the development of the community to whom both the archivist and priest respond and lead.[122] For one it is in the celebration of the Eucharist, but for the other it is based upon the collections they hold. For both, this is defined by how they can communicate the essential theory of their institution to their community. Notably, there are differences even in the ways the word institution is used. For the archivist, their 'institution' will be their archive repository. This may be based over different sites as Cumbria Archives (one local authority, one team of archivists, but four archives centres), but this is the exception rather than the rule.[123] For the priest, the institution will probably refer to the denomination to which they have membership (the Catholic Church; Scottish Episcopal Church; Church of Scotland etc.). Overall, there are interesting parallels (and divergences) to be made in the

[121] Michael Ramsey, *The Christian Priest Today*, 2nd Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1985), p. 111.
[122] Ramsey, p. 9.
[123] Cumbria County Council Adult and Local Services, 'Archive Centres' <https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/archivecentres/default.asp> [accessed 14 April 2019].

approach by both the archivist and the priest to their communities. These will be fully discussed in the case-studies looking at St Hippolytus of Rome and Cranmer, and analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

There are key differences between a 'performance', and something being 'performative'. The first indicates an individual event, whilst the latter is a quality that allows a text to be taken and performed. The liturgy is designed to be performative.

This section looks at the possibility of and opportunities for the archivist of trying to capture and record performance, and the treatment of both performance itself and performative texts by the archivists – both in theory and practice. The role of the archivist in this sphere is an interesting one, but one which has thus far only just begun to be explored in existing theory. Typically, the links between oral history and recording of culture have been looked at in the key works and whilst this is useful here, the main contribution to knowledge in this thesis will be in an examination of the move from an action towards the written description or codification of this action, and how this can be managed and interpreted by the archivist. How an action or set of actions can in turn be developed into instructions (or a liturgy in this context) is investigated, as are the ways in which this task can be educated through a reading of the existing archival theory. In particular, the attempt to record a live act and to bestow a privileged status on that recording has implications in both archival and theological practice, which are simultaneously similar and different. The necessity of a revised approach to the content and physicality of digital records are explored as a direct comparison to 'performance', or at least the enactment of the Celebration of the Eucharist, in a physical sense. This thesis explores how the theory of digital archives can be linked with the theory surrounding performance, recording of performance (or at least the way in which a very specific act – the celebration of the Eucharist - is executed), and performativity of texts.

There are links between how the archival community thinks about how the archivist relates to their material, and how the museum curator interacts with the holdings of their repository. Ideas of what might be considered to be a 'performance', and the 'performativity' of a text are both integral to our understanding of what it means for both the archivist and the priest. How can the community - who are central to how both archivist and priest 'perform' their roles – be seen to relate to the record, and the ways groups can see the underpinning of theory and the every-day practice. Concepts and opinions on performance become important for both the archivist and the priest. Crucially, the archive is the collection – be that something which could be considered 'performative' or not, and in the viewing of every collection there can be considered to be a performance. This is true in both analogue material, where there are also contrasts with the approach of the museum curator, and the born-digital collection.

However, the church is represented in the collection, but can never be the collection in the same way; the Church is not able to be simply defined by the archive held in the repository. The Eucharist is an enactment within a living community, and integral to the life of that community. Each Eucharist is a performance of and within the liturgy, just as the archive is a space within which the life of the community is realised. It is always added to and revised and simultaneously continuous.

Performance of the liturgy

Much of the theory which is available for the 'Performance of the Liturgy' depends upon the 'performance' of the ritual, or act of liturgy underpinning the Eucharistic celebration. Although this is an act happening in real-time, there is also an expectation that, somehow, it is desirable to record and preserve the performance of the act itself. However, this is further complicated by the fact that in many Eucharist theologies, the celebration of the act of Holy Communion is seen as a unique and unrepeatable act, the one and only. This begs many important questions, and will be discussed in more detail later. At the moment of consecration, the chalice is the host of the one blood, the bread the host of the one body.[124] The theology of Anamnesis (meaning the deconstruction of the notion of temporal, the remembering, and memorial sacrifice) can only happen once; at the time of the Celebration of the Eucharist. And yet it happens time and time again as the act is legitimately celebrated many times, in many contexts, in many locations. Each is the one and only, the same but different; of a pattern, and yet unique. If we return to theories in the archive world, and especially of digital preservation and access, we can see some parallels of approach.

Ritual

This juxtaposition of performance, performativity, and recording leads naturally to a consideration of the question of ritual.[125] What relevance has ritual in this context? If a minister or priest is fully conforming to a set liturgical text in the celebration of Holy Communion, and celebrating with a clearly defined and sacred ('set-aside') collection, the ritual becomes important. Ritual is clearly an important part of the cultural experience, and therefore if the archivist is to aim to be the 'guardian of the truth', and a curator of the culture of their community; one which many archivists would be interested in trying to capture.[126]

---

[124] Anon, *The Ecclesial Nature Of The Eucharist. A Report By The Joint Study Group Of Representatives Of The Roman Catholic Church In Scotland And The Scottish Episcopal Church.* (Glasgow:nd, 1974).The Ecclesial Nature of the Eucharist p15

[125] Bradshaw.

[126] *A Modern Archives Reader: Basic Readings on Archival Theory and Practice*, ed. by Maygene F. Daniels and Timothy Walch (Washington, D.C: National Archives and Records Service,U.S. General Services Administration, 1984).

Is the ritual which over time becomes embedded in the act, key to ensuring that the participation of the participants (in this instance, clergy and congregation) is valid? How can any validity be measured, and how does this confirm the orthodoxy or authenticity of the celebration? If this is taken to be important, then the questions of how the ritual, liturgy, and performance all influence each other has to be addressed by looking at the influence of memory and authenticity as understood by the archival community. At the heart of the liturgy of the Eucharist is the command to 'do this in remembrance of me'; it is a command to action; a rally call for the priest and the faithful; the liturgy becomes a living part of the community. So to the archive; it is not simply an unchanging collection of records, but living, organic, to be accessed and used as well as preserved.

The archivist and the priest as leaders and enablers

The original title to this section was '*The archivist and the priest as professionals'*. However, it is problematic to think of the priest in this way – are they a professional in the same way as the archivist?

The response of the archivist as the professional with expertise not only in the curation but also the recording and capturing of the record is key to our understanding of how the archivist relates to the communities that they try to serve. This study concentrates on the treatment and development of these aspects of archival theory when looking at the context of a liturgical celebration taking place within a Christian church or community. Theologians and archivists can be seen working in related fields, side by side, undertaking different but complementary roles. The theologian may be reliant on the archivist for access to historical material in their area of research, and the archivist, in turn, needs the theologian for help in identifying sacred texts,[127] and interpreting them. The archivist working in this field is also reliant upon the good-will of the church (or more accurately her representatives, who not only include clergy and other officeholders, but also congregation) in valuing the service offered by the archive enough to deposit collections for safeguarding, and to view the staff as professional and reliable custodians working in a trusted repository. It can easily be argued that archivists have this type of co-dependent relationship with any number of other professional or interest groups in the arts, social science and science communities. However, I would maintain that the relationship between archive and church is especially interesting

[127] A working definition here of a *Sacred Text* would be one which has been 'set aside' The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines something as being 'sacred' if it is "dedicated or set apart for the service or worship of a deity" 'Sacred - Definition and More from the Free Merriam-Webster Dictionary' <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sacred> [accessed 11 April 2013].. Interestingly, there is no definition of 'sacred' within neither Bradshaw's *New SCM dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, nor the SCM Press's dictionaries of *Liturgy & Worship*, or *Christian Theology*. Definitions of the sacred nature of a text, and the text as an object, what comprises a 'text' will be more closely examined later on.

because both archivist and theologian are interested in the basic principles of archival theory as outlined above, but often using the same language in subtly different ways. These similarities and differences will be further explored later in the study. The use of the celebration of the Eucharist as a case study is also more interesting than many of the other vehicles which could have been identified because of its unique position as an act of remembrance which is re-enacted.

The priest often acts as an archivist too, in both an official record-keeping capacity and often in a personal sense. These themes will be fully explored throughout this study.

There are links between how the archival community thinks about how the archivist relates to their material, and the ways in which the museum curator interacts with their collections. Arguably, both the archivist and the museum curator look at the record of the past, at collections, content, and context. If we look at the Museum Association's 1998 definition of a museum as 'Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society', it could also be applicable to the archive.[128] Recent research in Museum Studies can help both fields to understand the ways in which the text can be seen to link with the theory and the action. For example, Maria Economou's Emotive project exists to 'understand how to tell stories using digital tools and how to create a deeper empathetic engagement with our visitors.'[129] Crucially, the archive is the collection – be that something which could be considered 'performative' or not, and in the viewing of every collection there can be considered to be a performance. This is true in both analogue material, where there are also contrasts with the approach of the museum curator and the born-digital collection. However, the church is represented in the collection, but can never be defined by their collection in the same way that the archive is defined by its collections. For the church, their collection has to be something which is recognised as more organic and natural than that. People with their own distinct and individual personalities make up '*The Church'*, which is itself a living community; an ecclesia (gathering or assembly). The comparison with the archive, which also exists as a living community, here is clear. This contrast in the approaches to their different roles can also help us to understand the ways in which the priest and the archivist relate and place themselves within their own community.

[128] Museums Association, 'FAQs', *Museums Association* <https://www.museumsassociation.org/about/faqs/> [accessed 31 July 2021].

[129] 'Wicked Problems | Ecsite' <https://www.ecsite.eu/activities-and-services/news-and-publications/digital-spokes/issue-29#section=section-lookout&href=/feature/lookout/digital-storytellers> [accessed 31 July 2021].

How far are the people with whom both need to develop a working relationship can be seen as a community rather than an audience is a fundamental place to base any comparison of the two roles. This will be fully explored in Chapter 3 which will look at Thomas Cranmer. As previously detailed, the juxtaposition of performance, performativity, and recording leads naturally to a consideration of the question of ritual. We can see the archivist taking on a role similar to the priest as a 'curator of ritual; in his chapter *The Power of the Archive and its Limits* in *Refiguring the Archive*, Achille Mbembe details some of these: 'In terms of the rituals involved, we might look at how an archive is produced, that is, at the process which culminates in a 'secular' text, with a previously different function, ending its career in the archives - or rather, becoming an archive.'[130] For both the archivist and the priest we have to think of the ritual which over time becomes embedded in the act. We can see the relationship between act and ritual as one of the keys to ensuring that the participation of the participants (in this instance, clergy and congregation, and archivist and user) is a 'valid' expression of the theory in practice. Therefore we can see that the questions of how the ritual, liturgy or the text, and performance all influence each other has to be addressed by looking at the influence of memory and authenticity as understood by the archival community.

Key Theological Concepts

From the time of Saint Hippolytus of Rome to the Reformation, the Church had revised and developed its teachings on the celebration of the Eucharist. Even today, however, the Catholic Church point towards the three pillars of 'Tradition, Scripture, and Magisterium' in their practice. The liturgy and associated practice surrounding the celebration of the Eucharist was developed from the time of the very early Church to the time of Cranmer, and there were still clear links to the liturgies of the early Church by the time of the Reformation. The ways in which the liturgy was viewed as an official and authoritative text, and consideration of what these attributes ('official' and 'authoritative') mean in an archival context allow us to further our understanding of the theology and ecclesiology in the practice of 'archiving' the Eucharist.

A passage from 1 Corinthians 11:24 states – 'and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me"' places

[130] Achille Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and Its Limits', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton (Dordrecht : London: Kluwer Academic, 2002), pp. 19–27 (p. 19).

remembrance at the heart of the Eucharistic celebration.[131] It is believed that this is almost certainly the earliest account of the worshipping practice of the church. As articulated by Thomas O'Loughlin:

> All would agree that our earliest textual sources providing descriptions of the eucharist are five in number - Paul in 1 Corinthians, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Didache - and indeed that the earliest of these texts which we can date is 1 Corinthians from some time in the 50s of the first century (the traditions they embody are far more problematic)[132]

Even the shorter form of the prayer, 'do this in remembrance of me' represents a proclamation, a rallying call, and a prompt to remember. Anamnesis is an important concept which is drawn from this proclamation, especially if we explore the ways in which memory is brought to the fore in this, especially when we start to think about this being a two-way process.[133]

The quotation from Corinthians to 'do this in remembrance of me' allows us to understand the history of the Eucharist, and also the place of the Apostolic Tradition in establishing the church order. In *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day*, Bryan D. Spinks states that: 'Paul in 1 Corinthians 11 recites what the Lord did on the night he was betrayed (he doesn't say it was Passover) as a pattern for the churches at Corinth to follow in terms of behaviour rather than a liturgical text', establishing the use of these words within a form of Eucharistic Celebration.[134] Spinks later notes 'For example, in the Roman Missal, the second Eucharistic Prayer was inspired by the *Apostolic Tradition* text, and in the Church of England, the third Eucharistic Prayer of the Alternative Service Book 1980 was based upon it.'[135] It is the *Apostolic Tradition* which links the priests and bishops as set aside from the people, and further establishes the importance of a hierarchical community with clear practices.

---

[131] '1 Corinthians 11:24 and When He Had given Thanks, He Broke It and Said, "This Is My Body, Which Is for You; Do This in Remembrance of Me."' <https://biblehub.com/1_corinthians/11-24.htm> [accessed 19 June 2021].

[132] Thomas O'Loughlin, 'The "Eucharistic Words of Jesus": An Un-Noticed Silence in Our Earliest Sources', *Anaphora*, 8.1 (2014), 1–12 (pp. 1–2).

[133] For some of the literature see Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London, UNITED KINGDOM: Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 2013) <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3306228> [accessed 19 June 2021]; Brian J Vickers, 'The Lord's Supper: Celebrating the Past and Future in the Present', in *The Lord's Supper: Remembering and Proclaiming Christ until He Comes*, by Thomas R Schreiner and Matthew R Crawford (Nashville: B & H Academic, 2010), pp. 313–40; David Gregg, *Anamnesis in the Eucharist* (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1976).

[134] Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London: SCM Press, 2013), p. 16.

[135] Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, p. 64.

The parallels between the roles of priest and archivist are explored further by looking at the time of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer's approach to the ways in which the record was used and developed to influence practice enables the archivist to re-examine the relationships between practice, authenticity, and memory, and importantly to think about how archival theory can be influenced by an examination of theological practice (and in particular the response to and creation of the theological record). This will be fully explored in Chapter 3.

It has been useful to use various dictionaries of Christian Theology and Liturgy and Worship to establish definitive meanings of terms used; just as it is essential in the terms of this study that the reader from theology and religious studies understands the archival context, so must the reader from Information Studies be able to understand the theological and religious (often specifically liturgical) terms. This has been especially useful when we consider that whilst this study necessarily mentions some aspects of theology and theological thinking alongside liturgical terms, it is primarily a study in the discipline of Information Studies. The dictionaries most heavily used are *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* edited by Paul Bradshaw,[136] *A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* edited by J. G. Davies,[137] and *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* edited by Alan Richardson and John Bowden.[138] Different definitions are given in the text in the substantive chapters of this study as and when needed for a wider audience.

These works are usefully supplemented by the work *The Study of Liturgy*, Edited by Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold SJ,[139] and Paul Bradshaw.[140] This volume is a standard and frequently revised textbook; a benchmark. This is useful because it provides the reader with a more in-depth analysis of the liturgy through history and the key figures who helped to shape the liturgy and expose it to a wider audience. The terminology which is used in this study and drawn from the area of theology and religious studies is often informed by this publication. This work is vital in enabling this study to be truly inter-disciplinary by being able to supplement the archival literature with thoughtful contribution from liturgists and other theologians. This is especially helpful when thinking about the terms which can readily and easily be transposed across the disciplines. This is even more critical when we think about the problem in language which is often difficult in interdisciplinary studies and described previously in this chapter. This publication helps to

[136] Bradshaw.
[137] Davies.
[138] *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. by Alan Richardson and John Bowden, New edition (London: SCM Press, 1998).
[139] SJ – Society of Jesus, or a member of the Jesuits
[140] Jones and others.

fix the language used by practitioners and theorists in both domains in order to enable meaningful and informed comparison. An example of this is to be found with the word *Memorial* – which is cross-referenced with the Greek word Anamnesis in the index (and *Memory* not being listed in the index at all).[141]

The most relevant work for all parts of this thesis looking at the liturgy used in the Eucharist is undoubtedly *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* by R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming.[142] This volume '*presents texts in English of thirty-six eucharistic services or descriptions of services from early times until 1662*', and details the ways in which each rite '*handles the four main actions of the eucharist: taking, giving thanks, breaking and giving*' with the remainder of the rite outlined '*in skeleton form*'.[143] This is important because it allows the reader to see *The Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus of Rome in its historical and liturgical context. The *Apostolic Tradition* (estimated to be c. AD 215)[144] is used in this research, but not the *Didache* or *Liturgy of Justin Martyr* – (c. AD 60 to the 3rd Century, and c. 150 AD) respectively,[145] or *The Anaphora of Saints Addai and Mari* (estimated to be the third Century)[146] These accounts are roughly contemporaneous with the Apostolic Tradition, and are useful in contextualising Hippolytus' work, highlighting its importance and similarities and differences As will be discussed later, one of the primary reasons for the privileging in this study of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* over other early contemporaneous prayers of the Eucharist is in the introduction of the rite of ordination in Hippolytus' text. This moved the celebratory act of the Eucharist from one where we could reasonably presume that all participants were equal in the community, to one where one member of the community was able to adopt a different status – that which could be described as a professional. Therefore, the idea of an individual being instituted as a priest, 'the Priest' and therefore set-aside, holding a particular position separate and distinct to the other participants. This is a key consideration when we are comparing the archivist as priest. Usefully Jasper and Cuming's *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* gives accounts of the text of the liturgy of the Eucharist from Jewish Prayers thought to date from c. 70 AD to the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*,[147] and therefore also include not only Cranmer's *Book*

[141] Jones and others, p. 594.
[142] R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd Revised edition (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1975). This has been recently re-edited and re-published as R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw, Fourth edition edited by Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson edition (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press Academic, 2019). Had this thesis been started later, this version would probably have been used.
[143] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, p. 7.
[144] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, p. 21.
[145] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 14–20.
[146] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 26–28.
[147] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 5–6.

of Common Prayer 1549, but also later works which still form the basis of the liturgy used in the churches used for my case studies in the later chapters of this work. This volume provides vital contextual information to the work as a whole. Like Jenkinson, this work attempts to present an authoritative and unbiased account, giving the liturgy itself alongside impartial and relevant historical data.

A particularly constructive source for looking specifically at St Hippolytus of Rome is the 1937 *The Treatise on The Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome*, edited by Gregory Dix (and reissued with corrections, preface, and bibliography by Henry Chadwick).[148] This publication remains the standard edition used by many liturgists, despite more recent versions. In his preface to the work, Chadwick clearly states that Dix's translation wasn't the first (which was produced three years previously in 1934 by B. S. Easton), nor the most recent (Dom Bernard Botte, in 1963).[149] However, he is clear that he still judges Dix's work as being 'a document with transmission of extraordinary complexity… (with a) brilliantly acute introduction… a very necessary compliment'.[150] This work as a whole (including both Dix's original, and Chadwick's additions) clearly allows us to see the ways in which the contributions of St Hippolytus of Rome can be viewed and interpreted. Within this study, I have been clear about the importance of St Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* for this study because of the way in which it codifies the celebration of the Eucharist and the Rite of Ordination. These are both individually important as indicators to the way in which the priest past and present was able to view the written liturgy of the Eucharist and the way(s) it could be celebrated. Like many of the archival texts listed in this section, it is the way in which the academic text enables the links between theory and practice which makes it so important for the analysis of how a leader can build a community in an authentic/orthodox way, whilst promoting the memory of that community in an authentic and/or orthodox way. The liturgy itself is clearly explained, contextualised with background information, and the reader is led through the implications of the liturgy in practice.

MacCulloch's biography *Thomas Cranmer* was the winner of the 1996 Whitbread Biography Award.[151] The overriding narrative is the way in which Cranmer can link theory

[148] Dix and Chadwick.

[149] There are further editions by both Botte and Bradshaw and Johnson, but Dix remains the 'standard' editionBernard Botte, *La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte: Essai de Recon- Stitution*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen Und Forschungen, 39 (Munster: Aschendoff); Paul Bradshaw, T*he Apostolic Tradition : A Commentary* / by Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips ; Edited by Harold W. Attridge. (Augsburg Fortress, 2005).

[150] Dix and Chadwick, p. a.

[151] Paul Ayris, 'Review Article: Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 2.1 (1999), 94–106. P 97 stated that: Professor MacCulloch has done his homework and secured his narrative to the framework of the latest research on Cranmer's life and thought. The book is written on a

and practice; 'life and thought'. The ability to place the biography of Cranmer within a wider context but also to represent him as "just" a priest and therefore both subject to and creating the theoretical constructs which other contemporaneous and the subsequent priests who came after Cranmer's time as Archbishop must live by and practice within is critical to establish the links between belief, the written record, and practice within this context. The relationship between Cranmer, the texts he used as a young priest, and the texts he developed (especially the ones in the vernacular) are useful for the exploration of the argument of this thesis; how did Cranmer first join one community, and then how did he try to move this community forward within the confines and tensions of his time, to fully establish the supremacy of his text as a *standard de facto* as well as a *standard du jour*? There are parallels with the creation and subsequent adoption of archival standards here, and this contrast between the ways in which theory has to reflect practice. This biography of Cranmer also demonstrates that it is important to allow a certain section of the broad community to validate their compliance with the new ways of doing things – for Cranmer's priests this was the new liturgy in the vernacular. This demonstrates how the existing 'user' community (or laity) has to recognise firstly what their community is, even when it transcends the previously comfortable geographical parish system, and become something which is more based on intellectual alliances with how their liturgy is expressed and communicated. This new vision of community can now be mapped on to the notions of community as described in Bastian and Alexander, and an amorphous and organic entity, rather than one which is comfortable and fixed.

The boundaries within both disciplines are movable and changing, and it is the responsibility of the professional priest or archivist and their related theorists to make sense of this so that both groups can move forward in a meaningful way. The lessons from Cranmer's approach will be more fully explored in Chapter 3.

There are several publications that address the ways in which priests should approach the celebration of the Eucharist. These publications include general instructions for how the celebration of the Eucharist should be carried out. For example, the *General Instructions for the Roman Missal*, or *A Priests Handbook: The Ceremonies of the Church*, or the Church of Scotland *Acts* which clearly specify what should be done by their minister – the

monumental scale and is full of insights. It is, in fact, not simply a masterful assessment of Thomas Cranmer's life and work, but a highly original and compelling chronicle of the whole course of the early English Reformation. It is a masterpiece of narrative writing and acts as an important supplement to Eamon Duffy's recent work in The Stripping of the Altars.

consolidating act anent the sacraments - all of which will be discussed in further detail later in this study.[152]

The most relevant work on ways in which the priest in 21st Century Scotland is encouraged to interact with texts which advise how they practice – and to use the theology in their practice – is Michael Ramsay's *The Christian Priest Today*.[153] This volume is aimed at candidates for ordination and covers topics such as the priest's relationship with the bishop, prayer, ordination, and preaching various topics.[154] This volume states from the outset that it is interested in the ways the priest and the laity can establish a meaningful relationship, and this theme is preeminent in the text as a whole. This work specifically covers the ministry of the laity, and the idea of the necessity for ordination at all: '*you are preparing for ordination at a time when the tide flows strongly against the idea that the ordained ministry is necessary or credible.'*[155] However, this piece progresses to justify the importance of the ordained ministry, and overall to explore the relationships of the priest with their congregation. '*In the Church and for the Church he **displays**, he **enables**, he **involves***.'[156] This account of the partnership and leadership role of the priest with their laity, and how they need to accept each other and work together for the greater good is one of the ways in which the archivist might interact with their community. Ramsey pays specific attention to the celebration of the Eucharist, and the role of the priest; '*So too the priest is the man of the Eucharist. The liturgy belongs to all the people.'*[157] This emphasis on the priest's role and the importance of the position s/he plays within the celebration further underlines the importance of ordination, and therefore of the separation of the priest from congregation. These themes will be explored throughout this thesis.[158]

---

[152] Dennis G. Michno, *A Priest's Handbook: The Ceremonies of the Church*, ed. by Christopher Webber, New Ed (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group - Morehou, 1998); Liturgy Office of England and Wales, 'GIRM.Pdf' <http://www.liturgyoffice.org.uk/Resources/GIRM/Documents/GIRM.pdf> [accessed 21 April 2013]; Church of Scotland, '2000_act_05.Pdf', *CONSOLIDATING ACT ANENT THE SACRAMENTS (AS AMENDED BY ACT IX 2003)*, 2003 <http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/1839/2000_act_05.pdf> [accessed 13 April 2019].

[153] Ramsey.

[154] Ramsey, pp. vi–iix.

[155] Ramsey, p. 5.

[156] Ramsey, p. 7. Emphasis as in the original.

[157] Ramsey, p. 9.

[158] It is worth noting that there has been a more recent volume with a similar aim to Ramsey's work. However, Ramsey better meets the needs of this thesis (and is still current). Christopher Cocksworth and Rosalind Brown, *Being a Priest Today* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2002).

The Theory of Religion

This thesis is not involved with the theory of religion as it is generally understood as concerning the expression of the sociology of religion. Instead, it is concerned with the theology and its primary expression in the liturgy. It is not intended to provide a discussion of how religions work within societies but instead with liturgical theory in the Christian church. There are obvious problems when attempting to approach theological topics from the perspective and with the tools of a different discipline (in this case, Information Studies). There are texts available that help to unpick these problems with interdisciplinarity and how an Information Studies thesis can begin to approach the theories of religion. For example, in her chapter *A Body of Questions* in *Using Social Theory*, Gillian Rose examines the ways in which assumptions within various disciplines impact the ways individual researchers approach individual themes within their work.[159] She explores the ways in which language and knowledge impacts these approaches, and ways in which the researcher can navigate his or her way through. This is especially important for this study, where through the comparison of the roles of priest and archivist has necessitated engagement with the history and theory of liturgy, the role of the priest, and the ways this interpretation relates to the archivist in his or her archive. Rose states: 'now there is nothing particularly wrong… in thinking as if everything is understandable through the category of the cultural. It can have highly critical effects.'[160] She continues to list some of these effects, but crucially details the ways in which disciplines can be approached, and the beginnings of understanding be had. For this thesis in particular, Rose's work is useful precisely because it looks at how language and discourse can form part, but not all of the approach, and we can begin to move to a methodology that is more attuned to encompassing the physical or material; thinking 'hard about the language and what lies beyond its limits'.[161] She speaks from a feminist perspective but her argument is nevertheless an important one to consider for this work. Analysing Luce Irigaray's work, Rose addresses the intersection of the body and unanswered questions.[162] We cannot (and should not) assume we understand exactly how the physical and the language map. This can be applied to the Eucharist and the liturgy, and the work of the archivist. In particular, the religious and the secular has a complex history, and this must be acknowledged in order to understand this study.

[159] Gillian Rose, 'A Body of Questions', by Gillian Rose, Sarah Whatmore, and Michael Pryke (New York ; London: Sage, 2003).
[160] Rose, p. 51.
[161] Rose, p. 47.
[162] Rose, p. 54.

Many of these ideas can be progressed and the relevance for this study of the archivist and priest by looking at *Reinterpreting the Eucharist: Explorations in Feminist Theology and Ethics*, edited by Anne F Elvey and others. In her chapter on *Mystery Appropriated: Disembodied Eucharist and Meta-Theology*, Frances Gray states:

> the question, 'What did Jesus mean when he said, this is my body … this is my blood … do this in memory of me?' is not foreclosed forever in arguments that appeal to a quest for (truth and) meaning and how meaning might be understood. nor does one need, even in faith, to be bound by Thomist metaphysics that utilize Aristotelian notions of substance and essence.[163]

Thus allowing us to understand the arguments put forward by Rose on the links between the physical and the theoretical within this context.

This study doesn't necessarily have answers to all of the questions which are posed by adopting Rose's approach (and thereby embracing the uncertainty), but it does provide a starting point for many of the ways in which this specific discourse can be approached.

Purpose and Unique Nature of this Thesis

None of these themes mentioned above can be viewed in isolation; instead, they are all interrelated and interdependent. This interdependency is comforting to the archivist (both in practice and theory), concerned as they are upon ensuring that the entirety of the archives, the collections and individual records in their care can be understood as far as possible in their proper context. The same could be said for the priest; their role is not an easy one to define nor quantify. The archivist's work is supported by theory in various areas as described above, and yet how they work in practice is entirely dependent upon the nature of the records they have in their care, and who is the community they serve. An archivist working with an entirely digital collection such as the Grace VanderVault Digital Archive[164] or the Urban Big Data Centre[165] will have a very different user-base, and the archivists often have different skill-sets and expertise to those found at a repository holding a selection of analogue, born-digital, or digitised collections. So too the priest might feel like they are operating in different contexts depending on their charge or parish(es), but the role is ultimately the same – dealing with people, using the defined liturgy.

---

[163] Gray, 'Mystery Appropriated: Disembodied Eucharist and Meta-Theology', in *Reinterpreting the Eucharist: Explorations in Feminist Theology and Ethics*, ed. by Anne F. Elvey and others, Gender, Theology and Spirituality (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2012), pp. 113–30 (p. 117).

[164] VanderVault Administration, 'Home | VanderVault: The Grace VanderWaal Digital Archive Project', 2019 <https://vandervault.org/> [accessed 14 April 2019].

[165] 'Urban Big Data Centre | Home' <https://www.ubdc.ac.uk/> [accessed 14 April 2019].

The following quotation puts it very well, and is applicable for both the priest and the archivist; they can learn from others with different experiences. Whilst the role might be approached differently depending on the context and perspective, ultimately the function is the same.

> Acts of selecting, storing, and making content available for use are synonymous in analog special collections and data archives, but in each professional context, this set of activities has developed independently. Both domains would benefit from the other's perspectives and experiences.[166]

This study will concentrate on the treatment and representation of a particular act – the celebration of the Eucharist - and how it can be preserved within a Christian tradition, and validated as an important part of the cultural and religious memory and yet still maintain authenticity or orthodoxy. Any number of acts could have been selected, but this study has chosen to focus on the celebration of Holy Communion, the Eucharist or the communal act of the Breaking of Bread. When looking at different Christian traditions we can see huge differences in the way that this act is represented and re-enacted, and yet it is an act which is often held as being highly important by people who are worshipers in very different traditions, and frequently forms a central role within the services when it takes place (be that at least daily, or much less frequently). That it follows a particular set text or liturgy is interesting in this context as the text necessarily influences the collection which is used to enable the celebration, and how the act can be recorded. The special command that almost universally accompanies the celebration to 'do this in memory of me' places the celebration of the Eucharist, Holy Communion, or Breaking of the Bread.[167] This is right at the heart of memorialisation, and the wish of those involved in it to acknowledge the importance of the act to the practice of their faith, and to the way in which tradition is passed down, authenticated, and established over time. This study will include both an examination of the scope and nature of the associated collection which is necessary for this act (which encompasses memory, celebration, and sacrifice) to take place, and consider the contrasting way in which a theologian would look at this particular celebration. This study will seek to unpick these differences and to highlight similarities in the terminology used, and how both groups ultimately seek to preserve memory.

[166] Interactive Mechanics, 'Curating the Analog, Curating the Digital - Archive Journal' <http://dev.archivejournal.net/?p=4691> [accessed 14 April 2019].

[167] In Prayers of The Eucharist by Jasper & Cuming, some version of these words appears in a large majority of the prayers detailed.

Key themes and gaps in the literature

Key themes which have come out of the literature include the importance of memory and authenticity for the archivist and the importance of memory and orthodoxy (including liturgy and church order) for the priest. All of this is set against literature which deals with the importance of community, and what this means for both areas.

Another theme is that of a profession, and what it means to be a professional. The archivist is a professional, and archivists should care deeply about what they do; their role as curator of the archive and their influence within their wider institution. Many archivists are passionate about their role in preserving, protecting, and making available the historical records of their institution, and the experience of being in the archive can feel like an immersive and consuming experience. In the introduction to '*Affect and the archive, archives and their affects*', a 2015 special issue of *Archival Science*, it is argued that 'Through the body and its senses—touch, smell, and sight… users are affectively provoked in the archives. However, it is more than just the users who have, and experience affects—the records themselves are repositories of affect.' [168]

However, it would be unusual to find an archivist talking about having a 'vocation' or of having 'a calling' in the same way as one might find a priest. The notion of a 'vocation' being a way of life; a '*calling'* which excludes other vocations; the excluding and all-consuming nature of being 'called' by God to fulfil a particular role is certainly a term which should be applied to the priest and not the archivist, no matter how enthusiastically and professionally interested the archivist is in their role and the collections. The different approaches and attitudes to the roles of priest and archivist will be fully explored in *Chapter 4: Contemporary Practice*.

This thesis will speak about both archivists and priests in terms of their 'profession' and the 'professionalism' of the roles. These are difficult comparisons to be made, as (as noted above) the two roles are very different in approach to recruitment. However, these comparisons are not intended to in any way diminish the calling of the priest, but instead to recognise that both the archivist and priest undertake selection and training. The priest is expected (by many) to have faith, but this has to be supported by the training which has been designed and delivered (or authorised) by their denomination. Priests have historically been appointed by their bishop in apostolic succession, and this has continued for many denominations, with others (for example as the Church of Scotland) being appointed after a vote by their future congregations or a section of this. Fundamentally though, the role of the

[168] Marika Cifor and Anne J. Gilliland, 'Affect and the Archive, Archives and Their Affects: An Introduction to the Special Issue', *Archival Science*, 16.1 (2016), 1–6 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9263-3>.

priest is in the action; without the priest or minister, there is no Eucharist.[169] Of course, this action is all carried out within the framework of their denomination, and the obedience they are expected to show. It is what the priest actually does (the words or liturgy they use, and the associated actions with appropriate practical supports – *ex opere operato*.) which allow him or her to fulfil a priestly role. After this, what they actually believe is incidental. For the priest, as an archivist, it is usual to have a track record within the institution, and then to build on the practical experience with theoretical study, before going out to practice again. To put this in the simplest of terms, both the archivist and priest are individuals fulfilling professional roles within the defined rules of both their profession and the bodies who regulate what they do.[170]

Performance is another key theme. Here, the 'breaking of the bread' and its distribution is understood to be not simply an historical re-enactment in memory of Christ's passion, but rather a deeply mystical act of sacrifice which, at every Mass, becomes live and present in the *continual moment* of His Act of Redemption for us. Therefore, '*in memory of*' takes on a slightly different meaning as a more mystical actively present sacrificial act of worship, rather than the basic historical and memorial re-enactment. Whilst the congregation are not usually directly the focus of this 'performance', they are directly participating within the celebratory act and their participation is crucial to the *'ex opera operato'* nature of the final performance or re-enactment, with the sacraments conferring the grace that they signify, "from the work performed".[171] There are differences between the scenarios though – ultimately the Eucharist is the body of Christ; the priest and people come together 'Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.'[172] The audience at the concert are performing as one, but aren't actually 'one and the same'; one body in the same way as is understood in the celebration of the Eucharist. For this study these distinctions are important because it demonstrates that the representation is different; the congregation and priest may be one, but the archivist is not one with their user in the

[169] The language here is potentially tricky; many Protestant ministers would not recognise the title of 'priest', and a Catholic priest would not call themselves 'minister'. This work has tried to be respectful about the terminology which different ordained individuals would expect and wish to be referred by.

[170] An earlier version of this piece had 'bodies who employ them'. However, it should be noted that priests aren't strictly 'employed'; they have a stipend and not a salary, they are employed 'by God and not the Church'.'Vicars Are Employed by God Not the Church, Says Court in Landmark Ruling | The Independent' <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/vicars-are-employed-by-god-not-the-church-says-court-in-landmark-ruling-10217078.html> [accessed 11 May 2019].

[171] 'Dictionary : EX OPERE OPERATO' <http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/dictionary/index.cfm?id=33474> [accessed 25 May 2015]; Richardson and Bowden, p. 204.

[172] '1 Corinthians 10 ESV' <https://biblehub.com/esv/1_corinthians/10.htm> [accessed 7 April 2019].

same way. Both priest and archivist are there to serve, but this manifests itself in different ways.

Furthermore, the expectation that congregation and celebrants together will be unified in prayer adds an extra dimension to this focus of study. If we think of the theology of the liturgy as using liturgy as a 'witness to what the Church has believed and believes',[173] then how this witness is preserved allows tradition to be passed on from one generation to another, a sense of continuity to develop and the importance of the particular form of the celebration to grow and develop within a defined and controlled context through time. The sense of tradition, continuity, and also orthodoxy and truth allows congregations on a local level, and the Church (or Churches) in a wider sense to grow and develop, and yet to still be able to recall the 'witness' of their liturgy.

It is also problematic to simply assume users of the archive have the same relationship with the archivist and institution as the congregation, their church, and the priest who serves them. There are clear differences in notions of community and identity in the different areas of the church and the archive and these will be addressed in this study.

The celebration of the Eucharist is an important and worthwhile subject for an inter-disciplinary study such as this precisely because it takes the key themes as described above, and allows us to advance the archival theory through looking at the celebration of the Eucharist.

Scope, language, and comparisons

The language which both areas use presents us with a problem common to the experience of many inter-disciplinary studies; a word that has a deep and profound locus in one area can be a word with no currency in the other. Even more misleadingly, words can be used in both disciplines, but with subtly different meanings. This is the case for this study; in particular 'authenticity' and 'memory' are used differently and carry different pre-conceptions for scholars and practitioners from each area. The same words are used but in contrasting ways; it is not just that the language used is different, but that often the same words are used but with divergent meanings. The language dovetails, or at times is not recognised equally by researchers or practitioners in the other discipline. Several other keywords have been identified which are relevant to enable us to establish where the similarities and where the differences are between the two fields: remembrance, memorial, orthodoxy, and

[173] Jones and others, pp. 5–6.

community. These all link to the place of the individual within the community, and the relationship of the 'professional (the minister or priest, and the archivist) to other members of the community (donors, users or researchers, laity).

Methodology for this study

This is an inter-disciplinary thesis and is situated in the areas of Information Studies as the primary discipline, and Theology as the secondary but important discipline.

The primary methodology for the thesis will involve using historical and contemporary examples to bring the two disciplines of this work together. These case studies will be informed firstly by the body of work available in the field of archival theory, especially that which deals with the themes of memory, authenticity, community, and the role of the archivist. This will establish a sound theoretical framework upon which to allow for comparisons to be made between the two disciplines. This research is then supplemented with texts from theology and religious studies. These include in particular ones which: provide authoritative versions of the liturgy of the Eucharist; commentary on the liturgies of the Eucharist; important historical and/or contextual background to the periods being studied; views of the ways in which ministers and priests were/are expected to operate. Finally, the more recent case studies in this work are informed by interviews with priests and ministers who are involved in celebrating the Eucharist in Scotland today. These individuals were asked for their personal and denominational perspectives on the celebration; what were they doing within the liturgy, and why. These perspectives were then analysed and used to compare the role of the priest with that of the archivist.

The Choice of Historical Case Studies

As stated in Chapter 1, St Hippolytus of Rome and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer address the texts fundamental to the two main Eucharistic Traditions in the West; the Roman Rite and the Protestant Holy Communion (in English). Cranmer and the *Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus are key choices for this study as they together represent the liturgy of the Church.

The written evidence by St Hippolytus of Rome will be used as a means to be able to explore authenticity in the archives. This section will look at the ways in which the approach of both St Hippolytus himself (as a representative of the early Christian Church), and those who came after used Hippolytus' work as a basis to inform their belief in the 'authentic' celebration of the Eucharist. Leading on from this, this section of the thesis will develop this discussion and allow for an exploration of how practitioners and theorists from both fields view memory. In short, how can the archival theorist learn from theological understandings

of memory? Ultimately, is it possible for the different views of memory from both the theological and archival world to be reconciled, and can we use any reconciliation (or divergence / difference of opinion) to lead to a greater understanding of the archival theories surrounding memory? This discussion and analysis will include how these links affect the perceived 'authenticity' of the record. The archival view of 'the record' and how this can be defined is at the heart of archival theory and practice and will be confronted through using this particular context as a means to enable an analysis of the archival theory. Furthermore, the place of 'the record' in the collective memory of the community an archivist sets out to serve is crucial to our understanding of the role of the archivist within their society and community.

These historical case studies will also include a reflection on the perspectives of both the archivist and the theologian, and an analysis of the ways in which their different approaches to authenticity, and memory and the record can help to inform each other. Cranmer (and his work) will be used to allow us to address the views of memory for the archivist whilst using the Eucharistic liturgy. In short, how far can the archivist's attitudes to these attributes be seen in the writings and actions of Cranmer? If we can consider Cranmer's work and continuing belief in the real presence as being instrumental in allowing the liturgy to be brought into a more general currency, then surely we can think of the archivist thus:

> Archivists too express considerable interest in collective memory and many claim a special affinity between archives and memory. Archives are frequently characterized as crucial institutions of social memory, and many professional activities are considered forms of memory preservation.[174]

Their perspectives on memory will be compared and contrasted to establish the similarities and differences between the disciplines, and to enable the discourse in archival theory to be pushed forward. If we think about the view of the Celebration of the Eucharist as not just as a 'memorial' or 'memorialisation' but also as a participatory act which happens, in the words of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer 'by his one oblation of himself once offered', then we can see a clear area of interest in the cross-over of the theory, in particular in the areas of digitised and born-digital records, and user experience in cultural heritage institutions. This phrase is crucial to the understanding of this study; it is not that there in each celebration of the Eucharist it can simply viewed as a repetition, but instead there is one Eucharist celebrated simultaneously and separately as one.

[174] Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret Hedstrom, 'Invoking "'Collective Memory'": Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science', *Archival Science*, 13.2–3 (2013), 217–51 (p. 218).

Finally, St Hildegard of Bingen will be used as a third historical case study to allow an exploration of how the liturgy can be used as a means to explore issues of community and fellowship. Of course, St Hildegard wasn't a priest, but it could be argued that she fulfilled a priestly role in some ways, and she was in Holy Orders in her community. St Hildegard was responsible for her community, maintaining the tradition and liturgical life of her community, and contributing to the liturgy. However, her inability to celebrate the Eucharist does allow us to look at what is important to the community; the text, practice and performance, or a combination.

The Choice of Contemporary Case Studies

The research in chapters 4 and 5 will be achieved by looking at how the priest or minister serve their church and their congregation in Scotland today, and then comparing this to the way in which the archivist operates within their own community. To do this, it is necessary to look at the theological underpinning of how the liturgy of the Eucharist is celebrated in these different contexts. This will in turn help to inform our understanding of how those individual priests and ministers view the act of celebrating the Eucharist as an act of memory. This necessarily includes the official theology of the denomination being looked at, and the ways in which what happens in the celebration of the Eucharist contributes to this. The understanding and perceptions of the priest or minister (who is crucial to this celebration for their own congregation, as they join together in the Body of Christ) is important to help to fix the status of the celebration itself within the parameters already established for this study. This includes a discussion of how the celebration itself both builds identity and community within each setting through the continuation of memory, and also the importance of qualification or ordination in order to establish either the priest or archivist as in a distinct role within their own community. The participation of both priest and community in this act of celebration will be analysed and compared to the way the archivist celebrates in their own domain, alongside their community. Chapter 4 will establish the role of the priest, and this will be followed by chapter 5 which will compare the role of the archivist to the role of the priest.

The above will be accomplished through a selection of case-studies which will look at the liturgy, practice, and status of the celebration of the Eucharist within each of the chosen denominations. These case studies are drawn from different denominations which all have contrasting views of the celebration of the Eucharist. The minister or priest in charge of the congregation was interviewed about their personal experience in the Eucharistic celebration, how they felt this experience related to the official position of their denomination, and how

they viewed their celebration of the Eucharist when thinking about the key themes, research questions, and terms of this thesis. Firstly, it was decided to take one representative from each of the following denominations: Church of Scotland; Scottish Episcopal Church; Roman Catholic Church. Only one representative was taken from each as the purpose was not to commit to a full and extensive survey of the different denominations chosen but to gain a personal perspective from representatives of the denominations. The reasons behind the choice of both denominations and particular churches are fully explained later in this chapter.

Finally, all interviewees were responsible for or had significant experience as minister or priest in churches within a small geographical area in a commuter town close to Glasgow. By limiting the scope in this respect, it was hoped to minimise any differences which might come from serving communities with vastly different socio-economic or lived environments (for example, very prosperous areas compared to those with great deprivation, very rural compared to urban/inner-city). The principles outlined in Conrad L Kanagy's work *Social Action, Evangelism, and Ecumenism: The Impact of Community, Theological, and Church Structural Variables* were considered and this methodology allowed to inform this section of this study. In particular, the churches chosen could be broadly considered to be similar on environmental and structural aspects as defined by this study, allowing consideration of the theological. This section of this thesis did not set out to look at differences between different congregations of the same denomination but instead sought to benchmark the denominations chosen by looking at what might be considered a 'typical' example covering a reasonable broad catchment. The recognition of the ministers and priests interviewed of their own sacramental theology was examined to better understand the starting point for their practice and approach. To establish this, before each interview the 'official' published view of each denomination was established. It is important to look at similarities and differences of approach to be able to get a real view of what both authenticity (or orthodoxy) and memory mean to those who are involved in the celebration on a regular basis.

When undertaking the interviews, the approach described by Alessandro Portelli in *What Makes Oral History Different* has been adopted, whereby we are able to believe in the credibility of the interviews, but in so far as they reflect the emergent 'imagination, symbolism, and desire.' In her volume *Oral History Theory,* Lynn Abrams speaks of the 'process of remembering', and the ways in which through this process one can call up 'images, stories, experiences…' as a textual account. The idea that the interviewee can tell a story, but that this might be one which they wish to tell (or they think the interviewer might wish to hear), and that 'memory is not just about the individual; it is also about the

community, the collective; and the nation… (it) exists in a symbiotic relationship with the public memorialisation of the past.' This perspective is useful here as it acknowledges how the interviewees might tailor their response according to the perceived motives of the interviewer. They were representing their denomination as well as themselves and could be expected to respond to the questions accordingly.[175]

This study will look at the ways the archivist can be compared to the priest in the celebration of the Eucharist, and how can a greater understanding of the similarities and differences in both role and approach enable us to better understand archival theories of memory and authenticity within a community setting.

[175] This section of the research was covered by the Ethics Committee of the College of Arts, and consent forms were signed. Interviews have been transcribed and anonymised. Each minister or priest interviewed had the opportunity to check interview notes and make corrections. All are anonymised as this is what was agreed on the consent forms, although all were happy to be named. The template for the semi-structured interview is available in Appendix A, and the transcriptions in Appendices B, C, D, and E

Chapter 3 – The priest as archivist

> *The offering of the upright graces the altar, and its savour rises before the Most High. The sacrifice of the upright is acceptable, its memorial will not be forgotten.*[176]

Introduction

This chapter will explore archival theories of performance and links to authenticity, memory, and community as understood by the archivist. This is achieved through looking at various liturgical or theological case studies from history. These will concentrate on St Hippolytus of Rome and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, but also include others. This approach will first establish how the text can be viewed as an archive, and then look at the subjects of the case studies to establish how they, as priests, can be compared to the archivist.

'The text' in this instance refers to the liturgy and canon of the Eucharist; the text which is used by both priest and congregation for the celebration of the Eucharist. This text is used as a means to provide for a degree of uniformity and adherence to the tradition for the celebration itself, in a similar way to which a script might be used for the performance. These texts are analysed to understand the ways in which we can think of them as a legitimate archive, and the authors as archivists. This will address the theory which underpins the archive and the archivist by looking at the values of authenticity and community, and how memory is preserved.

The Historical Case Studies

I will use two main historical case studies, and these will be supplemented with other, shorter case studies. These two longer case studies will examine the canonical texts of St Hippolytus of Rome and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.[177] These two individuals are important because of the liturgical basis which the Christian church uses for the celebration of the Eucharist from its foundation into the 21st century.

---

[176] 'Ecclesiasticus Chapter 2' (Catholic Online), vv. 5–6 <http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?bible_chapter=35&id=28>.

[177] Throughout this thesis the *Apostolic Tradition* is attributed to St Hippolytus, in line with precedent. Of course, there are no ways of knowing absolutely who the author is, but in many ways for this study, it does not matter; I am interested in the historical significance of the work and the extent to which it can be considered an archive. Therefore, it will be assumed the St Hippolytus of Rome is correctly attributed authorship. This will be discussed in more detail within this chapter.

St Hippolytus of Rome's text the *Apostolic Tradition* will allow us to examine how the liturgical text and the canon within it can be thought of as an archive, and how this allows us to examine established archival theory of authenticity against theological and liturgical notions of orthodoxy. Thomas Cranmer's 1549 *Prayer Book* will allow us to address how the priest or bishop can be thought of as an archivist, and how they guard, curate, and promote memory in the enactment of the Eucharist. Finally, in this chapter the smaller historical case studies will allow us to begin to look at ways we can use the celebration of the Eucharist to look at community, and how the archivist can learn from this.

The Christian Church in today's Scotland can be divided into Catholic and Protestant. Saint Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition represents the first written evidence in the Church of what Ultimately became the Roman Rite, and represents a clear, unbroken line. Cranmer is key to the Protestant tradition in the English use with his 1549 Prayer Book. Analysing these texts as Eucharistic Liturgy allows us to develop the argument that the archivist can learn much from the priest in the areas of memory, authenticity, and community.

The celebration of the Eucharist rests on the dominical command to 'do this in remembrance of me'. This recalling of the act of the celebration of the Eucharist was purposeful as a reminder of the memory of what happened in the Last Supper and served to ensure that as participants in the Eucharist both clergy and congregation didn't forget the final sacrifice which was made. The differences in this approach between firstly the liturgy (and by extension, the practice) of St Hippolytus of Rome, and later Cranmer, Zwingli, and other Reformation theologians, priests and ministers is useful to help us to understand the ways the clergy communicated their particular view of memory within this context to their congregations, and to explore how we can take what is seen in these different approaches to enable us to view the ways in which the archivist both inspires and responds to their user community and enables them to recognise and build their own memory.

The example of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer is used to further this analysis of how the priest can lead their congregation and operate as a professional distinct from their congregation. This section allows a more in-depth exploration of the relationship of the written record to an act which both informs it and is informed by it. The approach whereby both the record and the act itself can be linked to memory is relevant in this section of this study, and the contrasting ways that both the archivist and the priest view this link between the act and memory is established and analysed to enable the archival theory to be interrogated in a different way.

Finally, other case studies are briefly examined. These include St Hildegard of Bingen who maintained a new tradition of a woman religious, but still needed a priest for Eucharistic

celebration and St John Henry Newman who gives us an insight into community in this context.

What is an archive

In order for this study to succeed we need to define what is meant by 'the archive'. By doing so we can create a set of criteria for an archive which can then be applied to the text.

The Record

Before we look at how we define 'archive', it is also necessary to think about how we define 'record'. Records are what archives contain, and the definition of what comprises a record is important to fix in order to allow us an understanding of what the 'archive' is, and how the definition of both archive and record can allow us an understanding of how we can view the work of St Hippolytus of Rome, and in particular the *Apostolic Tradition* as an archive.

If we look at one of the works which I earlier identified as a key piece in helping to establish the archival theory in the terms of this piece – Millar's *Archives: Principles and Practices*, then a '*record'* is identified as follows: 'A piece of information that has been captured on some fixed medium and that has been created and is used to remember events or information or to provide accountability for decisions or actions.'[178]

All archives are records, and yet not all records are archives. An institutional archive would only keep a small proportion of the records which are created by the institution, but those which have been selected for inclusion in the archive should be a record of something.

Whenever there is an attempt to define the word '*archive'*, the first thing which has to be addressed is that the word archive can be used to mean both the collection, and also the repository in which the collection is held. The ways in which the advent of electronic means of document or record creation, and the associated move from the analogue to the digital has also created a level of semantic disorder. Professionals in the broad area of ICT often use similar language to mean subtly different things, and 'archive' is a prime example of this. So, a researcher might decide to go to visit the 'archive' to look at an 'archive'. For the purposes of this study, I acknowledge both the description of the building in which archives are held as an 'archive', and also the label for the collection of records. However, further definition of this latter element is needed to be able to establish how far the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to St Hippolytus and Cranmer's 1549 *Prayer Book* can be considered archives, and what this means for the view of authenticity, for the preservation of memory, and the building of community.

[178] Millar, *Archives*, p. 267.

A working definition

One definition which I use in my teaching is that an archive is: 'Those records created or received by organisations or individuals and selected as worthy of long-term retention for evidential, informational, or research purposes'. When I started teaching at the University Archive Services (classes from academic subjects such as History or Education, and as described in Chapter 1 of this thesis), this was the working definition that already existed on slide decks and teaching notes from my predecessors.[179] This definition allows us to examine certain characteristics to establish what an archive is for this study.

Context and Content

Firstly, 'records created or received' allows us to think about the ways in which the archival collection came about in the first place. How did the records come together to form a collection? What are these records about, and how are they related? What do we understand about the context which surrounds the records, and how much do we – and any future user – need to understand in order to be able to use the records in an informed way, to ensure research from the records can in-turn be informative?

Selection and Appraisal

The above definition also provides for an element of appraisal. Archivists do not, and would be unable to, keep everything. Decisions have to be made: what is it important to include? How does this archive fit in with the collections held by the rest of the repository? What policy covers this (if any)? How do the individual documents – records – fit in together? Can we establish a story from these records? Who has selected these records, what appraisal has happened before the collection came to us, and how does that impact any decisions we might make now? Some collections would come to the repository already having undergone significant selection, and the archivist would have little to do in this regard, and other collections would require a huge amount of appraisal work before and as the collection is box-listed and subsequently fully catalogued. There should be good reasons for retention – for 'evidential, informational, or research purposes', and these should be able to be clearly articulated within the context of the collection and wider repository interests.

[179] This working definition is supported by similar ones in theoretical texts and from professional bodies. For example see:
Millar, *Archives*, p. 260; Laura A. Millar, *The Story Behind the Book: Preserving Authors' and Publishers' Archives* (British Columbia: Canadian Centre Studies in Publishing, 2009); 'Archives | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/a/archives> [accessed 15 May 2019]; James Gregory Bradsher, *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 19.

Receiving body

This might refer to an individual or another discrete entity – for example an organisation such as a sports or social club, or a business. Who was the 'receiving body'? How did they come into possession of the records; which ones were created by them, and which did they receive by other means? For a sports club, these records might include membership documents and minutes of meetings, and records within their archive created by others might be incoming correspondence. We can see how these principles might be applied to personal archives or corporate collections. How were the records brought together?

When we apply these questions to the *Apostolic Tradition* and other texts used for Eucharistic liturgy then we can begin to understand how it can be viewed as an archive.

What is an archivist?

In order to establish how far we can consider the individuals in the chosen case studies as an archivist, it is essential to establish exactly what we mean by this; what is 'an archivist', what do they do, and how is this title attributed to them?

Millar talks about the role of the archivist throughout *Archives: Principles and Practices*, and defines the nature of the role in the chapter on *Archival Service: A Matter of Trust*.[180] She focusses very much on the service and support nature of the role:

> The act of acquiring and preserving archives is a service that must be performed in an accountable and structured fashion, with respect not only for the archival materials but also for the individuals and groups who created them and the people who may wish to access them now and in the future.[181]

Millar continues to describe both 'the nature of archival service' and the duties and skills of the archivist, whilst stressing the need to comply with legislation such as that which exists to safeguards privacy and property rights, and 'policy framework', both external (so for example recognised archival standards), and internally devised policies and procedures. This is a clear example of how the focus of the archivist must be split between the past with the preservation and management of the collections they have in their care, and the future through thinking of the ongoing needs of the collections and records in their care, and the preservation of these for the future, and for future members of their community of users. Later in the volume, Millar makes the clear point that 'there is no one kind of archivist, and no one kind of archival environment', and that 'different realities' are experienced by archivists in different contexts.[182] However, throughout this volume the notion of 'service'

[180] Millar, *Archives*, pp. 45–72.
[181] Millar, *Archives*, p. 45.
[182] Millar, *Archives*, p. 223.

to the various different groups within the community is paramount. Millar makes it clear that being an archivist is a profession, but one which verges on a calling, and able to 'be what their particular society needs them to be'.[183] This quite clearly brings together the ideas of community and service. She further develops this with the following assertion:

> If an archivist serves her society, she needs to go where her community is going, and in many parts of the world, the direction is away from the bricks and mortar of the physical world to the dynamic and fluid virtual world.[184]

The archivist needs to be adaptable, but above all to place the availability of the record for their community at the heart of what they do.

This view is supported in many writings about archival training, for example in Eastwood's 1988 article for *American Archivist* on *Nurturing Archival Education in the University*, he states that '…many North American archivists writing about the preparation and formation of archivists before 1970 stressed the need for practical training',[185] but that the result of this is that:

> On the whole, students admitted to the program have carefully considered their choice of careers. Many have worked in an archival repository or used archives in their previous studies. By self-selection, they come dedicated to their studies and committed to a career as an archivist[186]

This commitment is not necessarily evidence of a 'calling' in the sense that a priest or minister might talk of it, but does allow us to develop an idea of the commitment of the individuals to their profession.

The professional bodies provide a useful source of information for this section in their role as the front-facing and collective representation of the professional community. For example, the Archives and Records Association of the UK and Ireland clearly define the roles detailed above, and state:

> It is the job of the archivist to preserve and exploit this archival heritage and the information contained within it. This includes assisting users and answering enquiries, promotional work including exhibitions, presentations or media work, as well as the curatorial skills of selecting, arranging and cataloguing archives.[187]

They elaborate on this to detail 6 key areas where an archivist would expect to have strengths; including being (to paraphrase) 'good with people; forward-thinking; logical; able

---

[183] Millar, *Archives*, p. 224.
[184] Millar, *Archives*, p. 225.
[185] Terry Eastwood, 'Nurturing Archival Education in the University', *American Archivist*, 51 (1988), p. 233.
[186] Eastwood, 'Nurturing Archival Education in the University', p. 241.
[187] 'Careers in Archives' <http://www.archives.org.uk/careers/careers-in-archives.html> [accessed 11 April 2018].

to undertake research; committed to professional development; comfortable with new technology…'[188] However, ultimately they state that 'Archivists can gain immense job satisfaction from the variety of tasks they are involved in; handling items hundreds of years old and widening access to heritage.'[189] This clearly gives a nod to the preservation of memory in all forms and addresses the problems of records being created in a diversity of formats. The Archives and Records Association does take a rather pragmatic and practical view of the profession, but has access to information at the heart of its advice for potential new entrants. This is also evident in their section on careers in Records Management, stating that 'Many people also enter records management from an archives background, as members of both professions have a shared interest in the value of information and its uses'.[190]

The importance of recorded information to aid the promotion of memory is further evidenced by the Information and Records Management Society of the UK. They stress the importance of keeping records 'Records are important to all organisations. They form the corporate memory, and thus the basis for executive and operational decisions.'[191] Here we can see an emphasis on the

> In virtually all organisations, the electronic records will form the core of the business. For the reasons above – "corporate memory", description of what has been done, and evidence of compliance – it is essential that they are managed well.[192]

The International Council on Archives (ICA) firmly locate the role of the archivist as a custodian of memory:

> Being an archivist or record keeper is a fascinating role. There are not many jobs where it can be said that what you do today will matter hundreds of years from now. An archivist or record keeper needs a passion for history, an eye for detail and a strong commitment to service. The return is to be a custodian of society's memory.[193]

This is a contrast from the very practical take of the professional bodies who cover the UK and Ireland as it firmly locates the role in a much more strategic role when thinking of the long-term benefits of the curation of archives by a professional and trained archivist. With the view that 'all archival programs and institutions are the contingent products of their time

[188] 'Careers in Archives'.
[189] 'Careers in Archives'.
[190] ARA, 'Careers in Record Management | Careers' <http://www.archives.org.uk/c-careers/careers-in-record-management.html> [accessed 19 June 2013].
[191] Information and Records Management Society, 'MOREQ FAQ', *Information and Records Management Society MOREQ FAQ* <https://irms.org.uk/page/moreq-faq> [accessed 12 November 2019].
[192] Information and Records Management Society.
[193] 'Who Is an Archivist? | International Council on Archives' <https://www.ica.org/en/discover-archives-and-our-profession> [accessed 30 May 2019].

and place',[194] we can begin to locate the archivist within a systematic view of memory and time, and begin to understand how, for the archivist, memory is inextricably linked to the time and place in which the record is produced, and in which the record is consulted.

The National Archives of the UK also provide information for already practicing archivists, and ways in which they can help their archive and community to grow together and move forward through a mutual appreciation of the records. They clearly identify 'community' as an important element within this, having pages of advice on their website devoted to both the identification of community, and how the archivist can serve their community. This includes advice on 'finding your audience; engaging your audience; understanding your audience; demonstrating your impact on audiences; creating an audience development plan.'[195]

The Society of American Archivists (the professional body for archivists in the United States) help to combine these different expressions of the role of archivist. Like the Archives and Records Association, they have a section on careers. Under the heading 'So you want to be an archivist' they state:

> People come to the archival profession for many reasons—to tell the story of a community, preserve a piece of history, hold people and institutions accountable, improve access through technology, connect researchers with the documents they need, and more. Archivists work wherever it is important to retain the records of people or organizations, including universities, large corporations, libraries and museums, government institutions, hospitals, historical societies, and religious communities. They work with digital documents, rare manuscripts, analog film, letters, postcards, diaries, photographs, organizational records—and that's just the start of it.[196]

This is a long quotation, but I have included it in full here for a number of reasons. Firstly, the multiplicity of both the sorts of records that an archivist needs to take care of, combined with the different types of organisations an archivist can work for it important. Interestingly the different organisations can be broadly aligned with the types of places a minister or priest might be assigned as a chaplain. However, the real importance of the approach by the Society of American Archivists is in the first section of the above statement; how the

[194] Adrian Cunningham, 'Archives as a Place', in *Currents of Archival Thinking* (Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2017), p. 55.

[195] The National Archives, 'Understanding Your Community', *TNA - Understanding Your Community* <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/advice-and-guidance/talking-to-your-community/understanding-your-community/> [accessed 12 November 2019].

[196] Society of American Archivists, 'Society of American Archivists - So You Want to Be an Archivist', *So You Want to Be an Archivist* <https://www2.archivists.org/careers/beanarchivist> [accessed 12 November 2019].

archivist brings the community together in memory, to tell a story and to preserve their memory.

These definitions and characterisations of the archivist link well to O'Toole's *Archivaria* article Archives and Historical Accountability: Toward a Moral Theology of Archives as mentioned in Chapter 1 of this study where he establishes the purpose of the archivist, whilst contrasting it with that of the priest:

> the documentation of human affairs has enduring relevance by providing continuity, even self-continuity; that records constitute the collective memory of individuals and societies and that this memory is essential to those societies and the people in them; that records support and sustain other important societal values.[197]

What is a Church?

In this inter-disciplinary study, it is necessary to not only define an archive, but also a church. In *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, Richardson and Bowden describe 'the church as a worshiping assembly called forth by God'.[198] This study takes this broad definition, and also acknowledges other elements at play within this. Just as 'archive' can refer to collection or building, so Church can refer to the gathering of people, but also a church building. In addition, the gathering of people can also be tied to a particular denomination; their church is not just those who gather in their church building, but is a broader national or international gathering too.

What is a priest?

As we have defined 'archivist', so must we define 'priest'. St Hippolytus is very helpful here as his *Apostolic Tradition* was the first record to include a rite of ordination (Consecration of a bishop) in addition to the liturgy of the Eucharist.[199] This marks the privileging of the ordained. By Cranmer's time we can see a clear distinction of those who were in Holy Orders (which is the sacrament); be they priests or religious. They have a vocation which underpins their role and this is recognised by the sacramental definition of their position within their church. We can agree that a priest is an individual who has the authority to preside over the Eucharist, and to consecrate the host. They provide leadership, spiritual care and guidance, and serve their community.

---

[197] O'Toole.

[198] Richardson and Bowden, p. 108.

[199] Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 21–22.

The Selection of case studies

The historical case studies which follow have all been selected to allow an analysis of how the individuals chosen can be used to allow us to understand how their function within their vocational roles. In particular, how can this approach add to our understanding of the role of the archivist, and consequently to see how archival theory can be understood and to an extent re-imagined? Of primary importance for this study is how the individuals who have been highlighted below have been central to significant developments to the text of the liturgy. This study could have looked at many elements necessarily present for the celebration of the Eucharist: collections and collection; art and the aesthetic environment of the church; or notable figures within their denomination itself, and the movement(s) they represented. However the text takes absolute primacy for this study; the archivist necessarily deals with texts and the record as a text as part of their everyday role, and therefore this comparison (and accompanying analysis) will focus on this aspect.

Case studies

St Hippolytus of Rome – The Apostolic Tradition as Archive

Now we have defined 'archive', I will take the *Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus and assess how it meets these criteria.

Several key ideas can be drawn out of the definition of an archive as outlined earlier in this chapter. Firstly, the idea of information being captured in some way is crucial to the application of archival theory to the case study of St Hippolytus of Rome. What St Hippolytus did was to examine the practice of the celebration of the Eucharist of the time, and to capture it. Essentially, he codified the practice of the celebration, creating a record for use and re-use, and ultimately to be part of a wider archive (or indeed an archive in itself). This is important because not only did it provided documentation detailing what was happening, of the words used, the ritual practice, and how this could be enacted and re-enacted by others in the same way, the same form, as before. This creation of '*the record'* of the celebration of the Eucharist is then able to be used to support the memory and to enable new groups (or congregations) to celebrate, and those who are already celebrating the Eucharist to have security in the authentic nature of their own practice. The notion of 'accountability for decisions and actions' as stated by Millar can be directly applied to this situation, and allows us to consider the ways in which The *Apostolic Tradition* might have been used alongside the questions surrounding its creation.

Secondly, the idea of the medium allowing for fixity is important. This understanding of the permanence of the record and of being fixed from a particular period of time is central to

any understanding of The *Apostolic Tradition* as something which can reasonably be stated as performing the role of a record or an archive when looking at contemporary 21st Century definitions of these words. As Millar states, the medium the record is in is useful to think about. Archives and records can be in any medium and might be considered to contain all types of recorded material; from analogue correspondence to digital photographs. This is a development from Jenkinson's description of archives as being 'pieces of writing', although it is important to note Jenkinson also asserts that these may be *'*on whatever material made and whatever form.*'*[200]

To review the ideas outlined above on the archive as a receiving body, there are two main points for this argument. Firstly, that the archivist must work in partnership with the records creators (even after the fact) to ensure that the record can be preserved, managed, and used effectively by users as a performative text, in their 'performance'. Like the *Apostolic Tradition*, if no one visits the archive and uses its collections, then the work is for nought. Secondly that in the process of doing this the archivist becomes inextricably entwined with the record itself and (importantly) in its future interpretation. Whilst there may not have been professionals badged as 'archivists' in the time of St Hippolytus, there were individuals who were in some way responsible for the preservation of the record, and for handing it down to future generations. These Bishops and priests were equally accountable to future generations for the truth and accountability of these records. It is not just the creator of the record who is important, but also those who ensure the record can be accessible to users (or in this particular context, believers) in the future. The acknowledgement of these texts by users, creators, and curators as a 'record' is debatable, and yet the importance of the text, this text, for future 'users' is a clear motivational factor. In order for The Church to survive and traditions passed down, the value of the texts which were created as part of the *Apostolic Tradition* become vitally important. Both the Pastoral Epistles and the Vincentian Canon are clear on the maintenance of 'tradition', and crucially the ways in which the record can be created for use, and evolved through this use over time, therefore creating a new (also organic) record.[201]

Part of this study is to look at how the celebration of the Eucharist has been turned into a record, and then used as a means of distribution of practice. The preservation of the memory

---

[200] Hilary Jenkinson, Roger H Ellis, and Peter Walne, *Selected Writings of Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2003), p. 115.

[201] *The Pastoral Epistles* are written by Paul and presented in the New Testament. The Vincentian Canon refers to the 'The threefold test of Catholicity laid down by St Vincent of Lérins, namely 'what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all'. By this triple test of ecumenicity, antiquity, and consent, the Church is to differentiate between true and false tradition. Oxford Reference, 'Vincentian Canon', Oxford Reference <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803115902789> [accessed 12 November 2019].

and memorial of the Last Supper (which is after all arguably where the liturgy of the Eucharist could be said to have its origins), and the way in which any codification of the Celebration of the Eucharist has contributed to how different traditions both celebrate and authenticate their own versions of the celebration. Commonalities and differences are both important in their own way, as is the way in which this celebration has changed throughout time. What are the requirements for the celebration to be considered 'authentic' or 'orthodox', and how can these requirements be measured? This section will look at what these different prayers of the Eucharist of the Celebration of the Eucharist are, why it was necessary to fix the liturgy at a specific point, how they differ from what happened previously and/or what was happening elsewhere, and how archival theory can help us to understand.

The possibilities surrounding taking an oral culture and recording or encoding it has interested archivists for almost as long as the profession itself has existed. Sir Hilary Jenkinson would not have sanctioned the creation of such records, but did acknowledge the possibility of the capturing in some way of 'documents' created in a non-usual way – for example with the 'Sound Recordings accumulated in Government departments'.[202] Jenkinson would not have thought of the archivist being part of the 'recording' themselves, but only as a custodian of the record which had already been created by others. So, for Jenkinson, the archivist is responsible for the existing records, and not at all involved in the creation of these records. The ways in which we can see the priest who is celebrating the Eucharist in comparison to the archivist is in this lack of ability to influence the record with which they must work. Both the archivist and the minister or priest depend upon discipline which underpins their role; they are both the bulwark against the falsity of records, memory, and practice. These aspects will be further explored in this chapter.

Today it could be argued that the possibilities and potential raised by the will to attempt to record action and ceremony to help establish a record or 'document' forms part of the role of many archivists as they have become increasingly involved in their own organisational culture, and involved in the collection, in particular those who have as one of their aims to serve their community or communities, and the theory in this area is developing and emerging as the identification and notional importance of the 'community archive' also grows. The role of the 'Archivist' is a relatively new one in professional terms, with Jenkinson talking of 'a new type of student to a new subject'.[203] The nature of the growth in professionalisation will also be explored alongside an analysis of St Hippolytus' life and

202 Jenkinson, Selected Writings, p. 238.
[203] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, p. 115.

work. The professional work of the priest is authorised by the bishop (with the role of Bishops explored within Dix's edition of *The Apostolic Tradition*), and they like archivists are dependent upon what has gone before. In his chapter on 'The Performance of the Liturgy' in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Dix lays out the idea that liturgy is inherently performative, and details the clear instructions which are given within the *Apostolic Tradition* which aid how we can view the text as a performative one. For example: 'sitting upon the throne… standing at the altar…'[204]

In terms of the context of this chapter within the thesis as a whole, these questions and points of interest will contribute to how the 'record' - in all its forms – can be defined, created, and used. Crucially, what can the archivist learn from this case, and how can we think about the archival theory in new ways after looking at St Hippolytus, the 'record', and memory?

It is not just in the area of community archives and documentation that the case of St Hippolytus can be used to help understand and later advance archival theory. The way in which archival theorists have looked at 'performance' will be explored in two distinct ways. Firstly, this section of the overall study will look at how archivists view performance and try to capture and record it for future use. The re-use of this information in future performances then helps to add context and authenticity to future performances and thereby legitimises the work done to record the performance in the first place. However, this is often accompanied by many issues such as how and what to record, and how to justify the work put in to do so. Here the work of archivists and archival theorists working in the performing arts and in a wider context community archives will be explored. Therefore, this section will also look at the legitimacy of the understanding of 'performance' in a physical sense and analyse the performance aspect of future events or celebrations which draw upon the record and to either emulate or develop a future performance. Secondly, this section will also look at how archival theorists have dealt with the notion that digital records (and in particular the systems which present digital records) can be used as direct comparisons to 'performance' in a physical sense. Importantly, the systems that present digital records to human viewers are in fact 'performing' those records in a physical sense. This section will look at how the theory of digital archives links with performance theory, and importantly what does this tell the archival theorist?

Jenkinson and Schellenberg

In order to understand the ways in which the definition of an archive has developed, it is useful to look at approaches from the early days of archival theory, and in particular at Sir Hilary Jenkinson and Theodore R. Schellenberg. This piece is not intended to be an ode to

[204] D. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2d ed (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), p. 31.

either man, but simply to acknowledge how archival theory has progressed over the last century.

Jenkinson placed great emphasis on the truth and the integrity of the record above all else. As far as this study is concerned it is very important to fully grasp the role of the archivist as the preserver of this truth. Without trust in the records keepers then the record itself cannot be trusted. The 'Chain of Custody' goes hand-in-hand with the concepts of 'Provenance' and 'Original Order' to establish the bedrock of the main concepts which underpin not only archival theory but also archival practice. These concepts are well known and discussed in archival theory to the present day, and this frequent discussion of the existing foundations of the field helps to establish their importance when framing the landscape which is available to enable the archivist to use the theory to help them to develop their practice. This approach is key to this section of the study; how far can the *Apostolic Tradition* be considered an archive within these constraints and the values that Jenkinson and other theorists have placed as necessary criteria for the definition of the archive?

In her chapter in Eastwood and MacNeil's *Currents of Archival Thinking*, Jennifer Douglas gives a concise summary of *Origins: Evolving Ideas about the Principle of Provenance*.[205] This piece does not only look at provenance itself, but also clearly explains wider archival theory from the archives of nineteenth-century Europe through to the present. Her summary follows Peter Horsman's view that the principle of provenance is 'the only principle of archival theory'.[206] She supports this view with a discussion of the use of provenance as an organising principle, and later as a physical and intellectual construct. The historical context she gives is useful in so far as it understands its flaws, especially when dealing with records created and managed in the twenty-first century. Douglas states that 'One of the most frequent critiques of the classical interpretation of the principle of provenance is that archives from which modern archivists work are very different from those encountered by nineteenth-century archivists'.[207] This understanding is crucial when we are seeking to apply the archival principles of today to the way in which records were managed and viewed in the past. Moreover, the introduction of Jeanette Allis Bastion's writings on the effect of *community* on record making and record keeping allows us to begin to examine how the collective memory affects the formation of records. As Douglas explains,

[205] Jennifer Douglas, 'Origins: Evolving Ideas about the Principle of Provenance', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Heather MacNeil and Terry Eastwood (San Fransisco, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2009), pp. 23–44 (pp. 23–44).
[206] Douglas, p. 23.
[207] Douglas, p. 29.

Both Ketelaar and Bastian extend the Halbwachian theory that "every memory is socially framed to argue that just as records contribute to the formation of society's collective memory, they are also created, at least in part, as a result of the influence of collective memory.[208]

This view is further developed by Douglas as she looks at how the archivist seeks to preserve the truth, but in order to do so ultimately have to play a part in the construct of the record too. In her analysis of Tom Nesmith's 2005 article '*Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice'* for *Archivaria* she chooses to highlight his thoughts on the creative role which archivists must play when managing the collections and records in their care. His argument that:

> Some of what makes a record meaningful is inscribed in it by those who literally made it, but most of what makes a record intelligible lies outside its physical boundaries in its context of interpretation. Archivists, who do so much to shape this context, therefore share in authoring the record[209]

cannot be downplayed here. The appraisal or privileging of the text by the record curator must be acknowledged. It is in part this acknowledgement that has led to the professionalization of the archivist, and the recognition that the theorist, as well as the practitioner, has a part to play not just in the curation of the record, but also in how that record can itself be viewed and used in the future. Context and the expression of it is a theme that occurs frequently in archival theory, and which is recognised by even the newest archival students.[210]

There are two main points for this argument. Firstly, that the archivist must work in partnership with the records creators (even after the fact) in order to ensure that the record can be preserved, managed, and used effectively by users as a performative text, in their 'performance'. Like the *Apostolic Tradition*, if no one visits the archive and uses its collections, then the work is for nought. Secondly that in the process of doing this the archivist becomes inextricably entwined with the record itself and (importantly) in its future interpretation. Whilst there may not have been professionals badged as 'archivists' in the

---

208 Jeannette A. Bastian, 'Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation', Archival Science; Ketelaar, Eric, 'SHARING: COLLECTED MEMORIES IN COMMUNITIES OF RECORDS', Archives and Manuscripts, 33 (2005), 44–61; Eastwood and MacNeil.

209 Tom Nesmith, 'Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives', The American Archivist, 65.1 (2002), 24–41 (p. 32) <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.65.1.rr48450509r0712u>.

210 Each year as part of Orientation week (the first week of the new academic year) the incoming students on the MSc / PG Diploma Information Management & Preservation PGT programme participate in a debate to introduce them to some of the themes and key terminology which they will need to encounter and engage with during their programme. At the end of the day they choose their own key words. 'Context' scores highly each year, and has been chosen as one of the top 6 words or phrases each year since the inception of the course in 2004. (Private records, Adele Redhead)

time of St Hippolytus, there were individuals who were in some way responsible for the preservation of the record, and for handing it down to future generations. These individuals were equally accountable to future generations for the truth and accountability of these records. It is not just the creator of the record who is important, but also those who ensure the record can be accessible to users (or in this particular context, believers) in the future. The acknowledgement of these texts by users, creators, and curators as a 'record' is debatable, and yet the importance of the text, this text, for future 'users' is a clear motivational factor. For The Church to survive and traditions passed down, the value of the texts which were created as part of the *Apostolic Tradition* become vitally important in the maintenance of tradition. Crucially how the record can be created for use, and evolved through this use over time, therefore creating a new (also organic) record.[211]

Cataloguing practice and theory, and how it can help the understanding of liturgy

It might seem an unusual step to have a section in a chapter which is looking at Eucharistic liturgy, and to start to talk about archival cataloguing theory of the 21st Century. However, this is important for this study in so far as it allows an analysis of the work of St Hippolytus and how the *Apostolic Tradition* can be considered to be an archive, and how this evaluation can enable us to better understand the broader issues of how the archivist can be viewed as a priest, and what this tells us about archival perspectives of authenticity, community, and memory.

The main data structure and data content standards that are used today date from the late twentieth century, with an ever-increasing number of archival descriptive standards being developed from the 1980s onwards. The International Council on Archives (ICA) published the first edition of their *International Standard for Archival Description (ISAD[G])*in 1993, with a review in 2000.[212] Part of the preparatory work for the standard included the analysis of relevant national standards already in use, such as the Canadian *Rules for Archival Description (RAD)*, the UK *Manual of Archival Description (MAD)*, and the US *Describing Archive: A Content Standard (DACS)*. These Data Structure Standards were also supplemented with data content standards, notably the ICA's *International Standard for Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (ISAAR [CPF])*.[213]

---

[211] The Pastoral Epistles are written by Paul and presented in the New Testament. The Vincentian Canon refers to the 'The threefold test of Catholicity laid down by St Vincent of Lérins, namely 'what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all'. By this triple test of ecumenicity, antiquity, and consent, the Church is to differentiate between true and false tradition. Oxford Reference.

[212] 'ICA/CDS | History' <http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/history.htm> [accessed 12 April 2016].

213Geoffrey Yeo fully explores the debate surrounding archival standards and their contribution to description and use in his chapter "Debates about Description" in Eastwood and MacNeil, pp. 89–114.

These and other standards reflect the need of archivists to assert order within the records which they hold, and to ideally reflect how the organisation operated or individual managed their life. As Millar puts it in her work *Archives: Principles and Practices*, 'All archives within that unified whole should be preserved in the order in which they were made and used (Original Order)'.[214] The archival community has been sympathetic to the problems of trying to catalogue to prescribed standards and in implementing these standards not only for new collections but also the problems of dealing with legacy catalogues. Retro-conversion is time-consuming and often difficult but is also necessary to present unified and consistent information to the user. Thus, further work has been done by the ICA to take 'a more explicitly relational approach, documenting relationships as well as functions and functional components', leading to the publishing in 2007 of the *International Standard for Describing Functions (ISDF)*.[215] Yeo also speaks of the difficulties in separating records and contexts, and how 'ISAAR[CPF] and ISDF can also be seen as tentative responses to the challenges of multicreator and multifunctional records'.[216]

When we look at the archival standards, it becomes clear that much of the early development came from a move to place the archive world on a more professional footing, with parallels to the Church being on a more institutional footing in the 3rd Century. We can see these developments in the archives sector with reference to what was already happening concurrently within libraries. The library world has often been credited as being ahead of archives and general information science, and it was natural for early archival theorists to look across at what was happening there as inspiration for development in their own field. One area where this was particularly obvious was in the development of standards for the archive world. Librarians developed their own cataloguing standards in the early part of the twentieth century, with the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) working with the American Library Association (ALA) and forming a standing committee on school libraries in 1914, later going on to recommend standardisation, centralisation of description, and data-sharing.[217] The advantages to this are clear; individual libraries own copies of books that are held elsewhere. Developing standards for listing enables consistent resources for both professionals and users with a minimisation of effort. However, the situation for archivists is much more difficult; the very nature of the archive means that repositories would not normally hold copies of items found elsewhere. If each 'thing' within their

214 Millar, Archives, pp. 97–98.
215 Eastwood and MacNeil, p. 97.
216 Eastwood and MacNeil, p. 97.
217 Richard Rubin, *Foundations of Library and Information Science*, Updated version (New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2000), pp. 229–30.

collection should be a record of a transaction, and therefore unique (in context at least if not in content), then any attempt to standardise cataloguing must take full account of these differences and therefore lead to efforts to allow for uniformity of approach, rather than in any uniformity of listing. The parallels when looking at the records of the early church are thought-provoking here; before the printing press how information was shared and disseminated naturally involved a lot of copying by individuals. Therefore, each copy became unique, and yet was intended to be an accurate copy. Some of these tensions will be explored later in this chapter.

The development and adoption of these standards brought into sharp focus one of the problems of archival management, namely that when managing an archive of long-standing can be how archival collections have been catalogued in the past and the standards which professionals are expected to follow now. Many archival collections which have been held for many years have been catalogued before the advent of national and international standards. Dealing with these legacy records can be problematic for any archivists wishing to ensure good archival practice and consistency of experience for the user. The University of Glasgow Archive Service's *Blackhouse Charters* are a case in point; these records represent some of the oldest holdings of the University, with the earliest ones dating back to the thirteenth century.[218] They are undoubtedly a valuable source for any researcher of Glasgow, the University, and its relationship with the wider world. However, they were originally listed as one large numerical list, and in no particular order prescribed by context or chronology. Over time, individual documents have been taken out of the main series and re-catalogued in new series to try to reassert some form of original order within the main University of Glasgow institutional collection. This has obvious problems; not only can the archivist only make a guess (albeit an educated one) on what the original order was. However, even if they were successful with a majority of the collection there would still be the danger of a number of un-connected records being intellectually grouped together simply because another place for them had not (yet) been found. In the *Apostolic Tradition*, we can see that Hippolytus is taking an original order of sorts, through the observation of what was happening in the Church; as Dix says:

> We may safely take it in outline and essentials the rites and customs to which the *Apostolic Tradition* bears witness were those practised in the Roman Church in his own day and in his youth c. A. D. 180. And it is safe to say that this Roman tradition

[218] 'University of Glasgow - Services A-Z - Archive Services - Collections - University Archive - Featured Collections - Blackhouse Charters' <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/archives/collections/university/features/blackhouse/> [accessed 12 April 2016].

> was *mutatis mutandis*, typical of the practice of the Great Church everywhere in the second century.[219]

So, for the archivist, we can see the basic requirements of original order, and the Apostolic Tradition representing the practice of the time, and earlier recordings.

Digital Standards

There has had to be further development of the standards used by archivists to meet the challenges presented by the growth of digital records. Encoded Archival Description (EAD) was developed to enable catalogues to be displayed online by using a tag library closely modelled on ISAD(G) to be used within an Extensible Mark-up Language (XML) framework.[220] However, this is a solution for modernising finding aids and enabling their display whilst (because of the use of XML to encode finding aids rather than proprietary software) trying to ensure that this work would be free from the problems of technological obsolescence without tying individual archives to particular providers. There are also problems with the suitability of these standards for the management of born-digital records at all; a major criticism of the first archival standards was their inability to adapt to the changing ways of the electronic world. As Craven puts it:

> The trouble with archivists is that they have electronic records but paper minds (overheard at conference, 2006)… The fundamental distinction to be drawn between paper records and electronic records is this: with paper records, the paper (or parchment or vellum) must be preserved for this is the authentic record; with electronic records, it is the information which must be preserved, for that is the authentic record.[221]

So even in the archival world, the notion of 'authenticity' is a movable feast, and one which needs to be clarified. This again leads us back to context; the context of the creation of the document, the attribution of the qualities of the record to what has been created, the context in which it is appraised and catalogued, and the context(s) in which it is then used and re-used.

This analysis of archival theory and practice leads us to the question of St Hippolytus, the *Apostolic Tradition*, and issues of 'authenticity' and the record, being as it is dependent on

---

[219] *mutatis mutandis* – when the necessary changes have been made
Dix, pp. xxxix–xl.

[220] Library of Congress, 'EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site', *EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site* <https://www.loc.gov/ead/>; Library of Congress, 'EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site, About EAD', *EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site* <https://www.loc.gov/ead/eadabout.htmlhttps://www.loc.gov/ead/>.

[221] *What Are Archives?: Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader*, ed. by Louise Craven (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), p. 21.

the earlier records of practice within *The Bible* (for example in the Gospels and Paul). However, if we can look at the application of some of the principles of the archival theory to his case in the light of both his work and his legacy we can begin to see how the archival practice can inform this particular archive (or bodies of work in this archive).

Authenticity and orthodoxy in the literature

This section will look at how authenticity is dealt with in the archival literature, and contrast this to the ways in which the religious world might think about orthodoxy. Again, this is to enable us to establish the status of the *Apostolic Tradition* as an archive, and then to discern how well this particular text can be allowed this status. By answering the questions of in what ways can it be considered an 'authentic archive' by the archivist, how can the *Apostolic Tradition* be thought of as an orthodox (and Apostolic) representation of the celebration of the Eucharist, and how can looking at these two aspects enable us to finally judge the validity of the designation of the Apostolic Tradition as one of the first surviving the records of the practice of the early Church.

What do we mean by 'Authenticity' when speaking about liturgy?

As we have seen earlier, the word 'authenticity' is used as a measure of quality with a nod to the history and tradition of all sorts of cultural practice. The word 'authenticity' is used almost as a stamp of legitimacy or validity, and a sign that whatever is being spoken about is an accurate and faithful representation of what has come before; a nod to the past, the subject has a recognised past which has been brought into the future but still maintaining certain readily recognised defining features. This section will look at what is meant by 'authenticity', and how this meaning can differ depending on the context, and the discipline or expertise of those who are using this phrase.

First, it is important to look in more detail at what is meant by 'authenticity', beginning with an examination of why authenticity is important in the Cultural Heritage sector, and then move on to how archival theory in particular (as opposed to the wider cultural heritage sector, also encompassing archives, museums, and libraries) can help to inform our view of what authenticity is and means. Finally, I will develop how this perspective of authenticity can be useful in a liturgical context. In particular, it is important to think of the implications for this concept when applied within a theological context, and in particular in the celebration of the Eucharist.

At this stage it is useful to look at definitions of 'Authenticity'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* online[222] defines it as follows: 'The fact or quality of being true or in accordance

[222] http://www.oed.com

with fact; veracity; correctness. Also (overlapping with sens) accurate reflection of real life, verisimilitude'. [223] They continue to say:

> N.E.D. (1885) notes that by some writers, especially on the textual tradition of the New Testament and other early Christian writings, authenticity has been restricted to this sense, genuineness being preferred for sense.[224]

The notion of something being correct or genuine is of great interest here, as is the idea of the 'authentic' being somehow a reflection of something else; the 'accurate reflection of real life'. Thus, if we accept that the archive is a reflection of the society in which it operates then authenticity and maintaining an authentic reflection must be of concern to the archivist. Importantly, notions of 'authenticity' within archive and information science are important, not least because of the impact of obedience; to the hierarchy and 'professional' standards, and how these ideas can be linked to the idea of an 'authentic' Celebration of the Eucharist in 21st century Scotland. The word 'authenticity' will be explored from the perspective of the archivist and archival theorist, and the definitions used in this sphere will be applied to the theories surrounding the Celebration of the Eucharist in the Church. Indeed, as an interdisciplinary study, one of the areas which has been most difficult has been in the use of this word 'authenticity'; it is easily applied to a collection, document, or other record in archival theory, and yet has little or no currency for the theologian. This difference in approach will be explored, and a consensus reached on how the word itself can be used in both contexts.

Saint Hippolytus of Rome, the *Apostolic Tradition*, and Archival Theory

An introduction to the concept of authenticity

We have seen above some of how the notion of 'authenticity' is key to understanding how archivists work and how they seek to manage the collections in their care. This section will further explore ideas of 'authenticity', and how it can link together the literature from both the archival and theology and religious study fields. It is important to look in more detail here at how the archival literature deals with the concept of authenticity. In addition, this piece will look at why authenticity is important in the Cultural Heritage sector, and then move on to how archival theory in particular (as opposed to the wider cultural heritage sector, also encompassing archives, museums, and libraries) can help to inform our view of what authenticity is and means. Finally, I will develop how this perspective of authenticity can be useful in a liturgical context. In particular, the implications for this concept when applied within a theological context, and in particular in the celebration of the Eucharist.

---

[223] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13325?redirectedFrom=authenticity#eid Accessed July 2014
[224] Ibid

Whilst those working in archives and related fields consider authenticity and how it can be applied to the records in their care, it is useful to establish exactly what is meant by that term. Therefore, it is necessary to look at what is meant by authenticity, and how this meaning can differ depending on the context, and the discipline or expertise of those who are using this phrase. In her introduction to *Archives: Principles and Practices*, Millar devotes two pages to authenticity. From the outset, she states that 'records are authentic, which means that the record can be proven to be what it purports to be'.[225]

A 'traditional view'

Millar talks much about authenticity in the analogue world,[226] for example speaking of 'Original signatures, letterheads, official stamps and seals are all indicators of the authenticity of a record. Similarly, handwriting can be analysed to authenticate the authorship of individual documents.'[227] However, all of the above can be forged. Moreover, whilst the individual professional archivist might have a will to check all of the above, it does beg the question as to how they might reasonably be expected to do this. How could an archivist ever have the time to do this normally? Instead, they must rely on two elements to safeguard the authenticity of records in their care.

Firstly, they are reliant upon the chain of custody (which can be compared directly to the idea of the apostolic tradition of the Church). This is a concept which can be traced back in archival theory terms at least to the writings of Jenkinson; he spoke of:

> the extreme importance attached to the question of custody; an unblemished reputation being… the differentia between an archive or a plain document: it is responsible for a like preciseness as to the place or connection where an archive was first found...[228]

For trust to be established, and for the user to be able to accept the archive is a true representation of what the catalogue says it is, this custodial history needs to be complete. There are clear parallels here to the principle of apostolic succession. The introduction of the apostolic succession here can help us to think more clearly about the way in which the chain of responsible custody can be applied in a theological context. The passing on of office (and therefore authority and responsibility) from one holder to the next in a defined and managed way helps to assure those who are beneficiaries of the office (congregation or laity, and clergy in a theological sense, users and archivists in an archival sense) to have trust

[225] Millar, *Archives*, p. 9.
[226] From this we can presume she means the pre-digital world, and also analogue records which co-exist alongside digital records.
[227] Millar, *Archives*, p. 9.
[228] Sir Hilary Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, First edition (Gloucester Eng.: Alan Sutton, 1980), p. 119.

in the office, what it represents, and in the evidence they use to underpin their service. This is an accepted idea within legal practice; for example, in the US the *Federal Rules of Evidence* have produced guidelines to cover the authentication and identification of records in order for evidence to be admissible: '**(a) In General.** To satisfy the requirement of authenticating or identifying an item of evidence, the proponent must produce evidence sufficient to support a finding that the item is what the proponent claims it is.'[229]

These rules go on to state that:

> For a document or data compilation, evidence that it: **(A)** is in a condition that creates no suspicion about its authenticity; **(B)** was in a place where, if authentic, it would likely be',[230] also stating that 'Evidence that: **(A)** a document was recorded or filed in a public office as authorized by law; or **(B)** a purported public record or statement is from the office where items of this kind are kept.[231]

Therefore, it is important not only to have records deposited and housed in a specified (and sacred) place (in the archival context within an institutional repository or a suitable designated special repository), but also that full details of why the record or collection was there, how it came to be deposited there, and what had happened to it since. However, whilst this is what should happen, and what we would expect to happen today in any well-run archive, it is not always what has happened in the past. The problems with dealing with the legacy of institutions that have not been willing or able to compile such a history from the opening of a deposit file onwards is a persisting one for archives and for all wishing to manage and use the information within them.[232] Trying to re-create this history is at best difficult, and at worst potentially jeopardises the trustworthiness of all the collections within the repository. This situation is a critical one in the modern one of the archive, but of course, also applies to records that have been used as currency for longer. How do we know that St Hippolytus wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*? What information do we have which can prove this to us? Obviously, we don't know who exactly wrote any of the works which have traditionally been attributed to St Hippolytus, just that they are attributed to Hippolytus. We

[229] 'Federal Rules Of Evidence (2015) | Federal Evidence Review' <http://federalevidence.com/rules-of-evidence#Rule901> [accessed 13 April 2016]. Article IX. Authentication And Identification Rule 901. Authenticating or Identifying Evidence

[230] 'Federal Rules Of Evidence (2015) | Federal Evidence Review' (8) Evidence About Ancient Documents or Data Compilations.

[231] 'Federal Rules Of Evidence (2015) | Federal Evidence Review' (7) Evidence About Public Records.

[232] Each year a handful of students on the MSc Information Management & Preservation at HATII, University of Glasgow undertake an extended project placement within institutions without formal archives as part of their preparation for their dissertation. Unscheduled and unauthorised deposits frequently appear within the space designated for the 'archive', originating from both within and outwith the institution in question.

can look at its textual history; Cuming's *Hippolytus: a text for Students* details this well in the notes section on *The authorship of 'X'* (see below), where

> the attribution of X to Hippolytus in the Epitome is supported through the canons of Hippolytus; and further support comes from archaeological evidence. In 1551 a statue was dug up in Rome… though it bears no name, on its base it has a list of titles, many of which are universally accepted as genuine works of a considerable theologian called Hippolytus[233]

This view argued by Cuming certainly suggests that Hippolytus was the author of The *Apostolic Tradition*. However, it must remain largely viewed as at best an educated guess or assumption. Cuming continues with a discussion of the identity of Hippolytus, pointing out the rival claims to authorship of the two Saints Hippolytus; the one who was martyred in 235 with pope Pontianus, or Saint Hippolytus of Rome, martyred later, concluding that 'scholarly opinion' favours attributing the authorship to Saint Hippolytus of Rome, and this is the assumption taken in this piece. [234] It is fair to say that we will never have evidential proof (to revisit some of the arguments put forward in the legal definitions of the Chain of Responsible Custody discussed previously in this chapter) of who actually wrote it. In Cuming's section on the *Authorship of X* ('X' being the Canons of earlier work collected together, and first discovered and published in the nineteenth century). [235] It seems likely that these canons had been collected, amended, and added in the time of the early church, with comparable (but not identical) documents having been discovered in a variety of languages and locations. The fact that the *Apostolic Tradition* is widely attributed to St Hippolytus of Rome is interesting when thinking about archival theory on several points; the *Apostolic Tradition* can be seen to represent many of the characteristics of recordness described in the introduction to this study. The privileging of some sources over others is crucial to help the understanding of the way in which it was used, especially when thinking of its purpose to 'guard the tradition which has remained until now'.[236] This source is undoubtedly '*a record*' if not '*the record'* of early liturgical practice (in so far as this can be measured, being highly variable), and the importance placed on it by theologists is evident in the way in which it is treated in the literature in this field. In a way, the actual identity of the author does not really matter; we attribute it to an individual whom we believe held a

[233] Geoffrey J. Cuming, *Hippolytus: A Text For Students* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1987), p. 4.
[234] Cuming, p. 5.
[235] Cuming, pp. 3–4.
[236] 'The Date and Setting of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus', *Anglican Theological Review (USA)*, 30 (1948), 38–44; Cuming.

certain office. That an individual with those privileges, overview, status, and responsibility wrote it for use is what is important.

Secondly, the archival community can only ever facilitate the research of others. It is one of the challenges of being an archival educator that some come into the profession with a dream that when they qualify they will be able to spend their days in a basement surrounded by old books and researching. This is not the case for a clear majority, if not all, archive professionals today. Ultimately the professional archivists often end up knowing a little about the many collections in their care but rarely have the time nor resources to fully investigate each one, much less do in-depth research themselves. Even when a professional has spent their whole working life in the one repository with the same collections, there will still be much of their archive that they do not know fully. Instead, they are reliant upon scholars who are the experts in their field alerting them of any discrepancies; for example, if the handwriting on one document purported to have been written by an individual does not match another. This highlights the different forms of evidence, both tangible and intangible, which are encountered in both fields of study. Conservators can often play a role in the analysis of tangible evidence as they are often best-placed to examine the diplomatic of an item, and may (for example) be the ones with the expertise to see if the seal were composed of an unusual wax, or the paper could not have been produced before the supposed date of the document.[237] Scholars, archivists, conservators, and others have to work together to try to ensure as far as possible that the records within the archive can be trusted and used for research, just as the *Apostolic Tradition* facilitates both community and partnership within the Church.

The Jenkinsonian approach is characterised by several features, including authenticity and impartiality. As is discussed elsewhere, it is very difficult to separate the two. Jenkinson also 'Connected the authenticity of archives with their continuous, responsible custodianship'.[238] When dealing with any records much of this has to be taken on trust, but this is especially true when we are looking at records dating from not just decades but many centuries ago. Here we have to look not only at the records and their custodial history, but also how the information had been copied, disseminated, and also how it was viewed contemporaneously. A degree of trust is essential to anyone who would be looking to use records of this type in the future. This links with the need for the student of diplomatics[239] to

[237] 'IDENTIFYING THE REAL THING - Identifying_the_real_thing.Pdf' <https://www.si.edu/mci/downloads/RELACT/identifying_the_real_thing.pdf> [accessed 13 April 2016].
[238] Eastwood and MacNeil, p. 9.
[239] "Diplomatics" here referring to the study of the structure and composition of the document being analysed.

look at the piece as a whole, but again much of the debate seems anchored in the analogue world. And yet when we look at the impact of this approach to all records, not just those created and stored in an analogue format, the debate becomes very interesting in the context of the work of and on early writers of the church (see below).

In his article for Archivaria on *Why Archival Theory* is important, Terry Eastwood states that:

> (Authenticity) is contingent to the facts of creation, maintenance and custody. Records are authentic only when they are created with the need to act through them in mind, and when they are preserved and maintained as faithful witnesses of facts and acts by their creator or legitimate successors. To hold authentic memorials of past activity means creating, maintaining, and keeping custody of documents according to regular procedures that can be attested.[240]

Again, the debate is underlining the need to have a strong custodial history in addition to secure storage and accurate cataloguing. Being able to prove that this has been done, and the stakeholders of the record having confidence (as a form of Faith) in this is key to the authenticity of the record and collection.

This approach is defined by Anne Gilliland-Swetland: 'the need for creators to rely upon their own active records, the fixity of these records, a documented unbroken chain of custody from the creators to the archivists, and the description of the records within a finding aid'.[241] The chain of custody is important, but there also needs to be further elements added; the relationship between the creators and archivist is crucial. This is apparent both when accessioning and preserving records but also later for use and re-use of the records, and the way in which the archivist can facilitate this.

Authenticity and forgery

In Michael Moss' piece on *What is an Archive in the Digital Environment?* in Craven's volume *What are Archives?*, he directly equates 'authenticity' with 'veracity'.[242] This brings us back to the idea that above all, archivists are seeking the truth. Moss states that 'If we accept (and some do not as we shall see) that all documents are records of something then it follows that they all have different degrees of bindings to support their authenticity and veracity'.[243] The debate on exactly what is seen as a record and how this is defined is key to archival practice, especially when looking at appraisal and description of the collections in

[240] Terry Eastwood, 'What Is Archival Theory and Why Is It Important?', *Archivaria*, 37 (1994), p. 127.
[241] Anne J Gilliland-Swetland, 'Electronic Records Management', *ARIST: Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, 39 (2005), 219–53.
[242] Michael Moss, 'What Is an Archive in the Digital Environment', in *What Are Archives*, by Louise Craven (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 71–88.
[243] Moss, p. 75.

their care. If archives are inherently records of something, they must represent the authentic truth in order to be valid and worth their place within the archive. Moss goes on to assert that 'for a forgery to be successful, it must mimic the bindings or processes that endow authenticity', therefore even if something does not prove to be the absolute truth, if it appears to be, there is still potential value within it.[244] This idea of the juxtaposition of the real and the (potential) forgery within the boundaries of what is considered to be authentic is a pertinent one when we are looking at a body of material such as the writings of and about St Hippolytus. If we do not know something is a forgery, is not truly the 'real' writings of an individual, does it not still have a value because we believe it to be true? Is authenticity which we confer upon (for example) a particular text because we believe it to be true a good enough substitute for the actual real, true, and authentic text? For example, a relic within a church may be real, or it may not be, but its power comes from the faith of the viewer. If we believe it to be real, then it holds for us a certain power and provokes a reaction in us. If we believe in the Real Presence within the Eucharist it becomes an integral part of our faith and how we live it. There may be no evidence, but the belief in itself becomes the proof. This has to be a question of faith, but the end result ultimately comes down to the faith of the individual and the church.

If we return to the *Apostolic Tradition*, we can see that 'the recovered church order is unquestionable a product of the first half of the third century',[245] and that it can be analysed by scholars as such, and (perhaps more importantly) can be inserted into a chronology of liturgy which enables us to trace the liturgy from the time of the early church (or at least the first half of the third century AD) until the present day. This continuity is important from an archival perspective; not only does it enable us to attach a degree of authenticity to the celebration, but also to link the Chain of Custody as viewed in the archive, and the *Apostolic Tradition*. The continuity of celebration allows a degree of legitimacy to be attached to the celebration of today.[246] It is not always possible to do as Millar states and prove that '(a record is) what it purports to be', or to demonstrate authenticity 'if it can be shown that the person who appears to have created, sent or received a record did actually create, send or receive it.'[247] If it is not possible to prove this even with records created today, then how can this be possible with records created in the last century, let alone the last millennia? Surely whilst endeavouring to see how the archival theory can help us to understand the issues within the theology and religious studies world, we must also accept that it works in reverse

[244] Moss, p. 75.
[245] Dix and Chadwick, p. g, h.
[246] I am talking here in archival terms. This will be further explored in later chapters.
[247] Millar, *Archives*, p. 9.

and the archival world can also benefit from looking at information, records, and authenticity from a different perspective. How does faith link to the available evidence?

Digital records

One of the areas where archival theory has been found lacking is in the management of electronic records. Perhaps because many professionals are still attracted to the archive because of the historical aspects, traditionally archivists have been reluctant to engage with the debate in historical records. This led to much of the early literature surrounding the management of electronic records and digital resources to be produced by ICT professionals and researchers rather than archival theorists. This presented the obvious problem that just as the archivist or records professional didn't understand the ICT, nor did the ICT professional understand the archive. Language was often confused, key terms and words such as 'archive' were used in different ways, and the literature was often not relevant to the practical problems faced by the records keeper in their work. Language shifts, and the profession has to be aware of the sematic differences and development. However, perhaps as a growing urgency for the records professionals to take ownership of the problem and demonstrate to their institutions that they were capable of the management of all records, no matter what format they were created in, the situation began to improve and resources to help the practical management on a day-to-day basis began to be produced, and the archival theory surrounding the management of the digital began to catch up.

A good introduction to some of the issues surrounding authenticity and the digital can be found in the 2008 article for the Journal of Applied Logic *Authenticity: a Red Herring?*[248] This piece examines how the accepted wisdom of authenticity in the analogue world can be translated into the digital world, and gives an overview of the issues in doing this. They state that 'it is not an absolute: an object that might appear perfectly authentic from one perspective may be considered to lack sufficient tokens of authenticity in another, and may later from both viewpoints be considered invalid.'[249] The introduction of the idea of 'tokens' is important here: there may be evidence that a document or record is (or is not) authentic, but it is a balance of evidence that needs to be assessed and evaluated. How do the different pieces fit together, how does internal and external evidence together help the user to build up a full picture? It isn't just about one particular document or record, but about the full picture and the composition of different evidence juxtaposed and analysed. There are clear links to be made with this theory surrounding authenticity and evidence, and the celebration

[248] Currall, J.E.P., M.S. Moss, and Stuart, Susan, 'Authenticity: A Red Herring?', *Journal of Applied Logic*, 6.4 (2008), 534–44.
[249] Currall, J.E.P., Moss, and Stuart, Susan, p. 534.

of the Eucharist. When the believer (be that clergy or congregation) enters a church of almost any denomination, there are key elements or tokens which are available to them to help them to legitimise and authenticate their experience. Some of these are taken on trust for the most part; for example, that the clergy will be appropriately trained and appointed, licenced to carry out the celebration. Others will be visible and obvious; the built environment and material culture of the church and its contents will be familiar and expected, even in a previously unvisited church. These visible and invisible tokens are often assimilated unconsciously by the clergy and congregation, the cumulative effect being that the church is accepted or rejected as an appropriate place of worship for them. In the *Apostolic Tradition* this can be seen to have come from a long historical tradition:

> Who "didst foreordain from the beginning" the race of the righteous from Abraham, institution princes and priests and not leaving Thy sanctuary without ministers; Who from the foundation of the world hast been pleased to be glorified in them whom Thou hast chosen[250]

The tradition here is defined, and both the succession and the links between the sacred and secular are clear. Similarly for the archivist, the evaluation of these tokens will vary from one individual to another, just as a document may be considered authentic proof in one context but not another; for example, your neighbour's pictures of them 'on their skiing holiday' might be taken at face-value; enough for you to believe they were at the exclusive resort, and yet not proof enough in a court of law. The celebration of the Eucharist might feel orthodox or real to one participant, and yet simultaneously feel unsatisfactory to another; tradition within their own denomination, and their own (often long-held and practiced) expressions of their beliefs are key to their view of their participation and the satisfaction which they feel from their participation in the memorial act. The difference is that the archival 'proof' of what makes a record is tangible and bound by rules and convention. It is not that rules and convention do not exist in the theological world for of course they do (and ordination of and subsequent licencing of priests to fulfil a particular role is one example), but that the acceptance or rejection of these rules is likely to be a matter of faith at least amongst the congregation. They choose or accept or reject them on faith, the idea that their belief becomes proof. They may be able to talk about some of the reasons for this; it might be as simple as they check the diocesan website (or equivalent) for details of churches and clergy, and attend a church listed there, placing their trust in the church organisation and administration that any service there will be orthodox and in-line with what they want and expect. Or it might be that they attend a church, and like it there, perhaps feel that they

[250] Dix and Chadwick, p. 4.

experience grace whilst there. The latter is obviously more difficult to quantify but is perhaps more important if church attendance is to be more than an exercise in community but ultimately a religious one. These expectations will be explored further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Authenticity in the Digital World and the Apostolic Tradition

If we return to the measures of authenticity in the digital world, the work of my own Institute, the Humanities Advanced Technology and Information Institute (HATII) at the University of Glasgow was instrumental in helping to establish a framework whereby creators and managers of electronic records could begin to try to systematically gather metadata and other digital attributes. Established in 1997 by Prof Seamus Ross, one of the early aims of HATII was to explore 'how information and communication technology can shape our knowledge and understanding in the arts, humanities and cultural heritage sector'.[251] This included an analysis of what provision there was within the cultural heritage sector (including archives) for the preservation of born-digital materials and moves towards establishing a framework of resources for cultural heritage institutions to use for the establishment of digitisation projects. HATII wasn't the only institution working to this end, but was part of a select international network of similarly-minded organisations who were seeking to help those in the sector to effectively deal with the challenge of electronic records, and make resources available. There were a number of research projects which were established in the late 1990s and into the new millennium which aimed to plus this gap.[252]

The outputs of these projects were followed by a number of volumes that aimed to help practitioners in archives, records management, and libraries to keep up with the latest thinking in the area. Ross Harvey's *Preserving Digital Materials* was useful in so far as it provided a thorough introduction to the theory, and allowed practitioners and researchers (including students) to gain a basic grasp of the theory supported by an introduction to the various research projects which had help to develop the theory alongside test implementation. [253]

It was clear that the issue of authenticity was as relevant in the digital world as the analogue. However, Harvey also talks about the problems of 'definitions of terms taken from pre-digital preservation paradigm are not always appropriate when applied to digital preservation. Discussions about digital preservation are further confused by the difference

---

[251] *HATII* is now known as '*Information Studies*'.

[252] This Includes the ERPANET project, established to preserve 'viable and visible information, best practice and skills development in the area of digital preservation of cultural heritage and scientific objects.' ERPANET, 'About ERPANET', *ERPANET* <https://www.erpanet.org/about.php>.

[253] D. R Harvey, *Preserving Digital Materials* (Boston: K.G. Saur, 2005) <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=429332> [accessed 16 April 2016].

in terminology… The term authenticity is one of these…'.[254] Harvey reviews the literature available and establishes three terms related to authenticity in digital preservation: *integrity*; *essential elements or significant properties*; and *identity*. Ultimately, he confirms the UNESCO definition which states that:

> Authenticity derives from being able to trust both the identity of an object – that it is what it says it is, and has not been confused with some other object – and the integrity of the object – that it has not been changed in ways that change its meaning.[255]

Despite the earlier warnings of the difference in terminology, this focus is not very different from the previous definitions of authenticity which we have established in this piece, where truth and trust form the foundations of the approach by both user and professional.

Harvey also grounds this definition of authenticity within a strong historical context which is highly relevant to this study; looking at the work of the Athenian government and their view that 'a key function of the library should be '*to serve as a repository of trusted copies*',[256] at least for the works of their privileged authors (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides). If it is not possible for everything to be preserved and managed in order to protect its authenticity, then it is a reasonable and accepted fact that certain records will take precedence. How this is decided can happen during accession, appraisal, management, and review. However, it is accepted that not only will this privileging happen but is desirable in order to safeguard the records which are important to the repository.

Harvey also stresses the need for the records creators and users to consider the authenticity of their records, both at the time of creation and later on when using the records which have been fixed by virtue of entering into the repository. This view is especially relevant when we think of the debate surrounding both records of performance, how text as script is used, and how oral history and culture can be captured for inclusion within the archive.

Thomas Cranmer: The Priest and Bishop as Archivist

It is clear from the above attempts to define the broad role of 'archivist' that access to information is key. It is here where we can really start to see a link with how Cranmer can be thought of as an archivist. In their volume *The Study of Liturgy*, Jones and his fellow editors state of Cranmer that:

> …his greatest gifts became apparent when he took a share in the task of reviving English vernacular literature, by creating an English liturgy. The Book of Common

[254] Harvey, p. 88.
[255] Harvey, p. 89.
[256] Harvey, p. 89.

> Prayer has an originality and power that are often lacking both in the Reformation liturgies and in attempts to restore the worship of the primitive Church[257]

Cranmer had clearly thought clearly about identifying his audience, and how to engage them. Looking again to Jones et al., 'He seeks to attain intelligibility, edification, and corporateness, by producing, for regular use, a single, simple liturgy in the vernacular'.[258] When thinking about why this is important to this study, we need to think about how the liturgy which Cranmer prepared and published can be seen as an enabler to the community (meaning here the priest and the congregation in partnership) to work together with mutual understanding. Beckwith writing in Jones et al. outlined the changes:

> Cranmer's Prayer Books show the following significant changes: the language has been altered from Latin to English; a multiplicity of service books has been reduced to one; a number of regional uses has been reduced to one national use; the rubrics have been pruned (even to excess), simplified, and fully integrated to the liturgical texts; the lectionary has been reformed; preaching has been revived; the congregation has been given a considerable part in the service; the cup has been restored to the laity… [259]

Of course, Cranmer viewed this as a 'reform' of what had become corrupt, rather than as something new. The previous 'authenticity' had been restored to preserve the memory. This links to the work has been done on the archival view of memory, and how the preservation of memory can be thought of as one of the primary purposes of the archivist.

The status of Memory in the Eucharistic Celebration

To progress this study, it is important to look at what we mean by memory and memorialisation, and memorium? How do these concepts overlap and differ? Importantly, how is this reflected in the literature? If the celebration of the Eucharist is ultimately an act of memory, 'having in remembrance… we offer' then the approach by Cranmer, and how it intersects with the approach of the archivist to preserve memory must be examined. [260]

When we look at the treatment of 'memory' in the literature of theology and religious studies, things begin to get a little more complex. The celebration of the Eucharist is interesting to the archivist because it is simultaneously an act of memory, a memorial, and a never-ending cycle of the celebration being re-visited and still happening simultaneously as one un-broken celebratory and participatory act. The Eucharist, celebrated by St Hippolytus is essentially the same as the one celebrated by Cranmer, and by a minister or priest in the

257 Jones and others, p. 104.
258 Jones and others, p. 104.
259 Jones and others, p. 105.
260 Bradshaw, p. 11.

present day. The language and situation might be different, as will the external elements necessary for the celebration to happen (the chalice, ciborium, fixed liturgies, and the bread and wine themselves), as well as the external 'desirable' trappings which are deemed important (vestments, linens), and yet the actual celebration itself is the same. Essentially, the interest for the archivist is in this simultaneous experience which transcends time and place whilst still retaining the same status.

This approach is further progressed in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*.[261] This volume of individually authored chapters, arising from a conference at the British Academy in 2014, looks specifically at records and information in the Early Modern world.[262] This piece can reasonably be seen to act as a bridge between the two areas of theology and archival theory, featuring both theological historians and archival theorists in the list of contributors. In his foreword to the piece, Eric Ketelaar states that 'Historians and archivists are both implicated in the archives: research in the archives for the former, managing archives for the latter'.[263] This view perfectly crystalizes the availability of the archive for use, and also the difference in the use and benefits of the use from both the manager and researcher. This can also be applied to the way in which the minister or priest and the congregation approaches the Eucharistic liturgy.

Differences in Memory and Memorial

This section of the study is hinged on the understanding of what memory really is. It is important to understand the differences between memory and memorial. We can believe that *memory* can be thought of as something which an individual does or experiences, how they are able to recall the past. Whereas *memorial* is something that is given to others, and *memoria* is the capacity for remembering. In *History and Memory* Geoffrey Cubitt demonstrates the importance of both in a wider sense: 'Society depends not just on memory, but on the capacity to communicate it.'[264] Therefore the role of the archivist is pivotal to this communication, and how the community can respond to the record. Stephan Feuchtwang in Susanna Radstone's *Memory and Methodology* states that '"Archive" is a term for the authoritative storing and inscription of memory. Writing of archive as a process and an act, and their symbioses with never-to-be-captured live memory in its own moment…'[265] This

261 Archives and Information in the Early Modern World, ed. by Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: The British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2018).
262 Corens, Peters, and Walsham, p. xi.
263 Ketelaar, Eric, 'Foreword', in Archives and Information in the Early Modern World (Oxford: The British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1–25 (p. xv).
264 Cubitt, p. 120.
265 'Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and Europe', p. 64.

enables us to move away from the Jenkinson ideal of the 'impartial archivist', and towards a recognition of the importance of the archivist in allowing the community (their community and would-be community) to access their archive. Their input is crucial; as the priest has the liturgy to work with but can interpret it practically and physically in many different ways.

The Importance of Anamnesis, and Memory in the Archive

Any inter-disciplinary study is going to come across challenges of language and how it is used. Vocabulary can work very differently in different situations and contexts, and this can be clearly seen in this chapter. Specifically, it is important to look at the keywords of memory and remembrance. In particular, how are these used, and how does the drive of the archivist to contribute to their repository's status as an institution which acts as a 'memory institution'[266] contrast with the role of the priest to "do this in remembrance of me" in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The concept of anamnesis is important to this study because it represents the idea of memory in this context. The relevance of anamnesis to this study is clear; its place as the liturgical statement in which the Church refers to the memorialisation of the celebration of the Eucharist. This word is uncommon outwith theological circles, but essentially means 'the recollection or remembrance of the past; reminiscence', with the further detail of 'a prayer in a Eucharistic service, recalling the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ.'[267] Here we see the realisation of the past in a performative act in the present; the past becomes present. This definition allows many questions; the nature of remembrance; what is needed for this recollection to take place, and how the 'recalling' of the last few days of Christ takes place, and how we can think of these events and subsequent memorial as a means to allow us to look again at archival theory.

It is useful here to explore the writings of Cranmer once again. Memorial is emphasised in Cranmer's literature as a consequence of the presence of Christ within the Eucharist. In the *39 Articles,* where Cranmer asserts that the Eucharist is a sacrament,[268] we can see that Cranmer is on the cusp of the outward and inward expressions of memory within the sacrament of the Eucharist. There is a clear difference between Cranmer and Zwingli, where Zwingli can be seen to view the Eucharist as an evocation rather than as an entering into the Eucharistic memory. For example, McGrath comments that :

---

[266] *Eastwood and MacNeil, p. 163.*

267 'Anamnesis | Define Anamnesis at Dictionary.Com' <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/anamnesis> [accessed 16 May 2018]. It is a Greek word, rather than an English one, and it is therefore not surprisingly little-known.

268 David Lowenthal, The Past Is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 41.

> Zwingli thus presents a narrative theology of the Eucharist, making no discernible metaphysical or ontological claims, in which it is maintained that, as a matter of history, the existence of both the community and its particular values and outlook are derived from the tradition concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The Eucharist evokes the memory of this narrative, and lends it added realism on account of the presence of suggestive symbols such as bread and wine.[269]

For Cranmer, the actual celebration of the Eucharist is happening multiple times, and in multiple locations. Each one is a remembrance in itself, and yet is also an entering into the first, the only, the true time that this happens; 'His one oblation of himself once offered' meaning there is only one Eucharist. Moving back to the archive and the archivist, this leads us to the question of what is the end-purpose of archival memory, and what are the archivists trying to achieve? And how does this then relate to the theological memory and anamnesis?

We can start to think about the archivist and their work as being more of an evocation rather than a true entering into the memory itself. However, within the Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums (GLAM) sector, there have been moves to think about how individual users and visitors can more fully experience the past, and to engage with the collections (and therefore the institutions) in different ways.

If we think of some museums the historical narrative and how the 'feeling of being there' is encouraged. Is this the poor relation of the celebration of the Eucharist, or at least a move towards Zwingli's theology, and falling far short of Cranmer's? In order to try to allow the visitors to 'be present' or at least to start to feel as if they are inhabiting the past, the museum requires specific suspension of disbelief. The collections will often contain items which will be able to trigger memories; the sight of an ancestor's handwriting, or a photograph of former home or workplace. However, this is identifying individual memory, whereas Cranmer and the celebration of the Eucharist is looking at collective (and community memory). There are parallels here too, as explained by Jacobson, Punzalan, and Hedstrom:

> Archivists too express considerable interest in collective memory and many claim a special affinity between archives and memory. Archives are frequently characterized as crucial institutions of social memory, and many professional activities are considered forms of memory preservation.[270]

Here memory, (or at least its preservation) seems to be defined as a result of practice ('professional activities') and the underpinning theory. That memory is at the heart of what

269 Alister McGrath, 'The Eucharist: Reassessing Zwingli', Theology, 1990, 13–19 (p. 16).
[270] Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom, p. 218.

archives (and therefore archivists) intend to do is clear. The importance, or 'special affinity' is, whilst not necessarily at the heart of what an archivist does, it is certainly an important part of it.

However, where we can see the archival theorists becoming excited about memory is when we start to see accountability and the record as a means to evidence truth, or as playing an integral role in the preservation of societal memory. For example,

> We could not trace our ancestry, explore our collective and individual identities, or challenge established views of the past. Without this collective memory, the evidence store for our histories, we could not hold governments and organisations to account.[271]

Memory theory again comes into play, with David Lowenthal asserting that 'The past is integral to our sense of identity… Ability to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose, and value.'[272] Here we can think about the purpose of the archive as evidence of history, and as a means to preserve memory for the community. This must be done in a way that allows consideration of authenticity, and the experience of the user community. The memory of this community is not just an individual thing (as the museum visit described above could be seen to be). For example:

> Archivists too express considerable interest in collective memory and many claim a special affinity between archives and memory. Archives are frequently characterized as crucial institutions of social memory, and many professional activities are considered forms of memory preservation.[273]

The archive as an institution, and therefore for the archivist becomes a means of memorialising the past, and then allowing others access to this memorialisation, to the memory. The work of the institution is to enable the archivist to allow access to this memory, and for the user to trust that this memory is the authentic presentation (and re-presentation) of the history.

However, with the Eucharist for Cranmer it IS the one true authentic experience, and simultaneously a memorialising act, and the one and only act. In theology, we can think about the many different types of memory: social; corporate; theological; ecclesiological… but for this study they are all potentially leading us to the celebration of the Eucharist, to a moment of grace. Clearly, the issue for the archivist is different; traditional archival work

---

[271] The National Archives, 'Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential', *The National Archives - Archives Unlocked* <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/Archives-Unlocked-Accessibility-Version.pdf> [accessed 12 November 2019].

[272] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 41.

[273] Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom, p. 218.

involves looking at the physical object, the record, just as the museum curates the physical object. However, with the necessity to look after digital records as well as analogue, the new paradigm that the archivist has been forced to engage with more fully reflects how the archivist is moving closer to the experience of the Eucharist as understood by both Zwingli and Cranmer. The document sent digitally needs to have something done to it for it to be viewed; it has to be rendered in some way. The document I have emailed and which is now open on my colleague's machine is the same, and yet different to the original which is on my machine, and which was forwarded exactly. It has different metadata, which describes how it came into being; the author, date, programme used and so on.

An earlier version of this chapter began with a hymn from the book *Liturgical Hymns Old and New*, a hymnbook that is in common use in the Catholic Church today. [274] The lines from this hymn: 'Lord, Accept the gifts we offer | at this Eucharistic feast, | bread and wine to be transformed now | through the action of thy priest. | Take us too, Lord, and transform us, | By thy grace in us increased' allow us to identify the transformative action of the priest, but also the bestowing of grace with the transformation of the bread and wine, given by the priest and received by the congregation. [275] This contributes to the discussion here because of the link between the experience by all in the church at the celebration of the Eucharist and the experience the user has within the archive; there is the need for a mediator to be present in order for the experience to be. There are some parallels to be drawn between the archivist and priest; both are to be the gatekeepers of the memory, and without them, this memory becomes very difficult to access. They are the gatekeepers of the memory, and to an extent the creators to, allowing (through their expertise, training, and authority) access:

> An alternative school of thought, advocated here, defines the archivist not as a mere instrument of the real creators of our memory of the past, but as an autonomous creator. As the author of the archival record, the archivist plays a critical role in the construction of our knowledge of the past and, its logical obverse, in creating silences—gaps in memory.[276]

So with this in mind, what are the differences between the archivist and the priest? Where do the roles overlap, and where are they different? The phrase '*ex opere operato*' is appropriate to reflect upon here; it is often considered relevant when thinking about the sacraments.[277] This can be translated from the Latin as 'from the work, worked', or 'Through

---

[274] *Liturgical Hymns Old and New: People's Copy*, ed. by Robert B. Kelly and etc (Suffolk, Eng.: Kevin Mayhew Ltd, 1999).

275 Liturgical Hymns Old and New: People's Copy, ed. by Robert B. Kelly and etc (Suffolk, Eng.: Kevin Mayhew Ltd, 1999), p. xx.

276 Robert McIntosh, 'The Great War, Archives and Modern Memory', Archivaria, 46 (1998), 1–31 (p. 2).

277 Ex Opere Operato – from the works worked

the performance of the work' and is used to express how the Celebration of the Eucharist (or any other action supported by liturgy and considered a sacrament by the tradition concerned) has grace conferred upon it by Christ, simply by virtue of being performed within the church.[278] Essentially, in the end, there is no 'good' or 'bad' Eucharist, but simply the Eucharist. The participants (both priest and congregation, being joint contributors to the act) can both be seen to gain value, or Grace, from their participation. This can be compared to how the archivist views the 'record'; it is not the role of the archivist to judge the research the user completes from the sources or records the archive holds, but the archivist does have to privilege the records before they gain the status of being included in the archive's holdings. Do the processes of accession, appraisal, cataloguing, and finally exposition place the archivist as being more akin to the theologian than priest by virtue of the decisions which are made in both the roles of the archivist and the theologian? It is the role of the priest to perform the liturgy as it is given to him/her, and to then allow the congregation to celebrate alongside them, equally but differently.

In their *New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, Richardson and Bowden make the distinction between *ex opere operato* and *ex opera operantis*, stating that 'the contrasting term *ex opera operantis* would imply that the sacraments depend ultimately on the merits of the minister or recipients.'[279] There are clear parallels here with the archive; the user is dependent upon the accuracy, detail, and overall effectiveness of the catalogue which is produced by the archivist, and the value of the final research is dependent upon the skill of the researcher/archive user. The 'audience' for both the archive and the research is also important, as what the archive user can take from the archive starts with their ability to interpret the catalogue and navigate their way around the finding aids and other resources the archivist has produced. The end-value of the research depends not only on the skill of the researcher, but the ability of the reader to interpret the research themselves. For example, a technical volume produced after the researcher has accessed shipbuilding records might be inaccessible to readers who have not themselves had a technical training. However (as will be discussed in the following chapter), the Eucharist has to be accessible to all who 'come to the table' in 'good faith', no matter what their understanding is of what is happening. So for example, the Catholic Church has established a 'SPRED' (SPecial REligious Development) project to enable adults with learning difficulties to fully participate in the Eucharist, by providing appropriate support and specially designed education which allows

278 Richardson and Bowden, p. 204.
279 Richardson and Bowden, p. 204.

the promotion of an understanding and faith development amongst the people they have set out to help. The motivation behind this is that:

> In the 1960s three priests in Europe struggled with the question of HOW to do Religious Education with people who had a learning disability. Realising that a rational, logical and wordy method was totally inappropriate, they developed an intuitive approach, paying much more attention to the environment and the sense of the sacred within the context of community. [280]

This led to the establishment of a method that would enable this sort of inclusive approach to the liturgy, so that individuals of all ages and abilities would have the education to enable them to gain as much as possible from the liturgy. The SPRED Programme was introduced to the Archdiocese of Glasgow in 1984, and since then has been rolled out to the other Catholic dioceses in Scotland (Motherwell; Edinburgh; Paisley; Aberdeen; Galloway), Down & Connor in Belfast, and also to the Church of Scotland, churches in Malta and the Church of England.

This approach is something that the archivist has also had to adopt. In recent years there have been many attempts to make archives more accessible for 'different' types of users, in an effort to try to break away from the stereotypical view of archives being full of history academics and genealogists. If 'An oral and vernacular, yet at the same time literate, society is conscious of its limitations, and values the written record as preserving the memory',[281] then surely they must also be aware of the people who are recorded and present within the archive, and those who are not, but should still be represented as part of the community. Is this memory to be inclusive? If it is not already, should it not at least try.

Authenticity, Orthodoxy, the archive, and the Eucharist

This thesis has posed the questions of what is meant by the archivist by 'Authenticity', and how does it differ from 'Orthodoxy' (a term much more readily used by theologians)? There are obvious problems of using 'authenticity' to an audience unused to thinking of 'authenticity' as the archivist does. To use an example which the archivist might come across often, let us think about minutes of meetings. Each person who is expected at a meeting and on a distribution list would receive a copy (now usually in electronic form) of the agenda for a meeting, papers, and previous minutes. Each copy received would be absolutely identical. It is then down to each member of the committee to decide how to deal with the documents they have received. Some may choose to print them off and take to the

280 Glasgow SPRED Centre, 'SPRED Special Religious Develoment', SPRED Special Religious Development <http://www.spred.org.uk/origin-development>.

281 Hugh Taylor, 'The Collective Memory: Archives and Libraries as Heritage', Archivaria, 15 (1982), 118–30 (p. 129).

meeting in analogue form. Some might only print off the papers they deem important, and some may choose to access the papers etc in electronic form at the meeting. Furthermore, some committee members might choose to annotate (either electronically, or on the analogue) their papers.

If we think about the minutes of the last meeting, they are not yet a record until the committee has reviewed them, requested changes, and agreed that they are '*a true record*'. However, Committee Member A has printed off her minutes in preparation for the meeting, and thoughtfully annotates them with caricatures of her fellow staff. This 'draft' (potential, in the future) record then becomes a separate record in its own right, as an informal but potentially valuable reflection of what one committee member thought of her fellows. It isn't a 'true' institutional record, but instead documentation of something else, which may be as or more important to some researchers.[282] It would meet all of the criteria of 'Recordness' as discussed in Chapter 1,[283] and yet is a different record to the one it began as, and a different record to the 'official' committee records. However, the researcher can look at each record (the 'official committee papers, and the annotated ones), and make immediate judgements about the contents, validity, and authenticity of it within the first few moments of seeing the record. These immediate judgements are often valid as the diplomatic is essentially the framework by which the user begins to interrogate the record in front of them. This is described in further detail in Delsalle's History of Archival Practice and elsewhere and is a recognised technique in archival research.[284] Assumptions are made in every walk of life, and this is true in a religious context. The materiality of an unfamiliar church can be immediately analysed by those who are regular church-goers, and conjectures made about how that church would operate, and even the theological stance that might be the norm for that congregation. For example, the presence or not of items such as Stations of the Cross, a tabernacle, altar linens, or sanctuary lamp all give clues about the likely nature and character of worship for that community. This is universally recognised; for example, the BBC Bitesize religion revision guide details some of these differences along with the significance of the items which might be identified. They do put it rather simply (and contentiously) that 'Anglican churches are often a lot plainer than Catholic churches, and have fewer statues and candles', but the main case stands.[285]

---

282 With thanks to Dr Grant Simpson of the University of Aberdeen, who used this example when talking to me about the possibility of becoming an archivist, before I even knew that such a role existed.

283 'Basic Concepts and Principles of Archives Management' <http://john.curtin.edu.au/society/archives/management.html> [accessed 2 June 2015].

284 Delsalle and Procter, p. 137.

285 'BBC Bitesize - GCSE Religious Studies - The Church - Revision 4', BBC Bitesize <https://www.bbc.com/education/guides/zsgbtv4/revision/4> [accessed 5 May 2018].

However, with born-digital records, the situation for both the user and the archivist becomes less straightforward. Assumptions can still be made based upon the format of the record, but this is often more difficult to do as skilfully as the record has to be viewed using the screen as an intermediary. The ability to use the diplomatic of the record has been reduced, as is the certainty when looking at digitised records (rather than born-digital) these clues become muted, and there is no longer any confidence that the record which is being looked at is an accurate representation. Are the colours which are represented on the screen the same as in the original analogue record? Whilst good digitisation practice might mandate the use of a colour-bar, this is often not included in online resources for user access – for example, The National Archive's digitisation of Cranmer's letter to the Privy Council in 1552 does not have such. Nor are physical characteristics given.[286]

This can be further developed when we look at the fact that the digital record starts off in exactly the same words in all copies. They may be rendered with slightly different pagination, and the fonts required have been substituted. This alters the appearance but not the content. However, if we apply this to a liturgical concept, then the content is the same but the presentation of it is different if we take the same words, same service, but different. It is the act that involves certain things… The thing at the heart is the anamnesis, the making present of the single event. A record is a single event, and how it gets presented is not a singular event. Even in the analogue world, the experience of the viewer is going to vary according to the conditions.

St Hildegard of Bingen

Hildegard of Bingen is a useful additional case study for this thesis. St Hildegard was (of course) not a priest, but can be said to have occupied a priestly role within her community. At the time, St Hildegard did not qualify as a priest, but now she would in many denominations. A German abbess of the Benedictine order, St Hildegard lived between 1098-1179. She was elected to lead her community as abbess in 1136 and founding her own communities in the following decades.[287] Like St Hippolytus and Cranmer, St Hildegard has been chosen for this thesis because she made significant contributions to the liturgy of the Eucharist. In addition to her works on medicine and theology, Hildegard wrote choral music for the liturgy, and her music is still available today; her influence lives on just as with St

286 The National Archives, 'Cranmer on Religious Practice', Cranmer on Religious Practice <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/the-english-reformation-c1527-1590/cranmer-on-religious-practice/>.

287 Fiona Maddocks, Hildegard of Bingen: A Woman of Her Age (London: Headline, 2001), p. xvii.

Hippolytus and Cranmer.[288] She has been described as 'One of the most influential female authors of the middle ages', and as having 'unprecedented achievements for a woman of her time'. [289] It is possible to regard St Hildegard as fulfilling some of the characteristics of a priest as established earlier because of her position at the head and heart of her community. This can be seen with her election as Magistra, and later the success of her founded communities in Rupertsberg and Eibingen.[290]

If, as we have seen with the liturgies of St Hippolytus and Cranmer, liturgical texts provided the means for all parties to authenticate (in archival terms) or establish the legitimacy and orthodoxy (in religious terms) of their celebration, we can start to see why the contribution of St Hildegard is valuable for this study. St Hildegard's musical additions to the Eucharistic liturgy have been described as having been created to establish 'a kind of secret language to instil a sense of mystical solidarity among her nuns'.[291] The cohesion and spiritual wellbeing of the community here is directly attributed to the liturgical text.

Let us return to Dix and *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Here he makes it clear that there is one Eucharist, and this binds the community:

> Probably the most moving of all the reflections it brings is not the thought of great events and well-remembered saints, but of those innumerable millions of entirely obscure faithful men and women, every one with his or her own individual hopes and fears and joys… yet each one of them once believed and prayed as I believe and pray… each one of them worshipped at the eucharist.[292]

A priest was still needed because it was he who was authorised to consecrate, whilst St Hildegard's music provided an additional element to allow the celebration to draw the whole community together.

Michael T Clanchy wrote about the importance of the liturgy not only to those in religious orders who would have access to liturgical texts, but also in terms of those who were participating in the liturgy. Clanchy declares 'the church's liturgical chant and readings… (as the) most important record of all because they enshrined the very words of God in script.'[293] This liturgical text (defining the celebration of the Eucharist using words which

---

288 Mark Atherton, Hildegard of Bingen: Selected Writings (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2001), p. xii.

289 Mike Kestemont, Sara Moens, and Jeroen Deploige, 'Collaborative Authorship in the Twelfth Century: A Stylometric Study of Hildegard of Bingen and Guibert of Gembloux', Digital Scholarship in the Humanities, 30.2 (2015), 199–224 (p. 199); Barbara Finlay, 'The Origins of Charisma as Process: A Case Study of Hildegard of Bingen', Symbolic Interaction, 25.4 (2011), 537–54 (p. 537).

290 Barbara J Newman, 'Introduction', in Hildegard of Bingen (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), pp. 12–14.

[291] Newman, p. 13.

[292] Dix, pp. 744–45.

[293] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 - 1307* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 111.

had been passed directly down from Christ through scripture), was necessarily at the heart of the celebration of the liturgy, and Hildegard's contribution was to add to the liturgical text in a way which would allow her (female) community to participate in this celebration actively and vocally. Their voices would be heard within the celebration which was predicated on the presence of a male celebrant, and upon Eucharistic liturgies which had been passed down by largely male creators of the record (including the original authors of the texts and the scribes who reproduced them) and from a tradition which was directly descended from the *Apostolic Tradition* and therefore from the gospel records which underpin it. The continued popularity of her music to this day further establishes the position of the celebration of the Eucharist as a timeless and transcendent event, and the fact that this can help to establish and build community in both a micro and macro sense.

The Eucharist remains constant throughout. St Hildegard's music was an addition, but the Eucharist was the same.

Other case studies

Other notable figures in the church who have not been responsible for major contributions to the Eucharistic Liturgy can also be seen to have made similar contributions to St Hildegard towards the development of their own communities. For example, St John Henry Newman was renowned for dismissing the church as an individualistic endeavour, instead promoting the Church as a means to allow Christians to unite.[294] Furthermore, St John Henry Newman believed the Church was a place which was 'primarily (for) the communion of those who have received the Holy Spirit in baptism'.[295]

The key document for St John Henry Newman *is Development of Christian Doctrine*, which was developed on the cusp of his conversion to Catholicism from Anglicanism. In this work St John Henry Newman clearly articulates the view that there is a constant Christian tradition, and this is rooted in the Eucharist:

> I betake myself to one of our altars to receive the Blessed Eucharist; I have no doubt whatever on my mind about the Gift which that Sacrament contains; I confess to myself my belief, and I go through the steps on which it is assured to me. "The Presence of Christ is here, for It follows upon Consecration; and Consecration is the prerogative of Priests; and Priests are made by Ordination; and Ordination comes in direct line from the Apostles. Whatever be our other misfortunes, every link in our

[294] Ian Ker, 'The Church as Communion', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 137.
[295] Ker, p. 138.

> chain is safe; we have the Apostolic Succession, we have a right form of consecration: therefore we are blessed with the great Gift."[296]

However, this is not to deny the changes from the practices of 'the primitive centuries', but more to embrace this change as development; 'Small are a baby's limbs, a youth's are larger, yet they are the same'.[297] For St John Henry Newman, tradition is preserved in authenticity and orthodoxy, unchanged but adapting to cultural shifts. The idea remains constant but we continually need to preserve the idea because ideas become corrupt; it is the idea that is embodied and enacted in the Eucharist, as the person is embodied in the changing and growing form of the body. If the idea is expressed in words, our understanding of words changes, and therefore it is the words that need to shift and not the idea.

For St Hildegard and St John Henry Newman we can see clear self-selection of those within the community. However, as St Hildegard's music even today reaches those who are not formal members of this community, so we can see St John Henry Newman's theological ideas around education and hierarchical relationships as having a wider, appreciative audience.[298]

Conclusions

This chapter establishes three principles in order to allow an enquiry into the ways in which the archivist can be compared to the priest in the areas of authenticity, memory, and community. It has looked at some of the differences between the archivist and the priest, with reference to the cases of St Hippolytus of Rome, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, and St Hildegard of Bingen (amongst others).

The Apostolic Tradition and Authenticity

By looking at St Hippolytus of Rome's *Apostolic Tradition* it was possible to determine how far it could be considered an archive and how authenticity (or orthodoxy) can be viewed in both archival and liturgical practice. This was done firstly by looking at how both archival theorists and practising archivists defined an 'archive', and how the dual meaning of the term 'the archive' - as collection and 'archive' as repository – can help to establish to what extent the *Apostolic Tradition* can be thought of as an archive. This section of the thesis looked specifically at how different approaches to the role of archiving – in analogue and digital – can help us to understand the place of the *Apostolic Tradition* within church practice

[296] 'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Introduction' <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/introduction.html> [accessed 30 March 2021].
[297] 'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Chapter 5' <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/chapter5.html#return1> [accessed 30 March 2021].
[298] Ker, pp. 139–42.

and community, and how thinking of this church order in this way can help us to better understand archival theory of what an archive is.

it was not only important that the *Apostolic Tradition* and other works were recorded, but that they went on to be used, living within a living community. This use helped to not only legitimise the work themselves by helping to establish the authority of the piece (in a similar way to a musical score being played in concert helps to legitimise it as a work of art) but also became something which can be comparable to that which can be found in an archive. So, is the *Apostolic Tradition* an archive? It certainly can be viewed as a sort of institutional archive, similar to the records of the University of Glasgow which are found in the university archive services. Here we see the records can be created and used in an organic way, and the collection itself is not fixed in the same way that (for example) a deposited collection might be post appraisal and cataloguing. As the archive world has to increasingly deal with digital as well as analogue records we can also see growing similarities with the use through time of a church order like the *Apostolic Tradition* and how a born-digital archive might be used, migrated to updated file-formats, and digital documents rendered on different machines – akin to the use and re-use of a source like the *Apostolic Tradition*. Looking at the two areas of theology and religious practice, and the archive we can see a different concept of time. Going back historically to preserve what is past, the *Apostolic Tradition* is about the living life of Christ in present and future; there is an eschatological component. This theology makes the difference between the archivist and priest.

Perhaps the *Apostolic Tradition* can be more accurately compared to an archival finding aid or collection catalogue; something which helps the user or community navigate their way through the archive and is a constant point of reference to enable them to engage with the archivist, with the collection, and to become part of the community in the first place. If we think of the Eucharist is itself an archival moment rooting itself in the dominical moment, we can then see the development of the idea that we are able to view the *Apostolic Tradition* as a working annual, which we have beside us as we practice – celebrate the liturgy, or plan and execute our research in archival terms. Neither the archive nor the celebration of the Eucharist are about nostalgia, but about the presentation and re-presentation of something important, be that in liturgical of archival collection terms. In his *Apostolic Tradition*, St Hippolytus of Rome created something which was designed to be used and to help draw people together into a community that fully appreciated the historical and contemporaneous context of this use. Here we can clearly see there are clear parallels with what the archive, and the archivist aims to achieve.

The important questions here are the perceived differences between the archivist and the priest? Where do the roles overlap, and where are they different? If we look again to the phrase '*ex opere operato'* we understand that it is relevant when thinking about the sacraments. It expresses the way in which the Celebration of the Eucharist (or any other action supported by liturgy and considered a sacrament by the tradition concerned) has grace conferred upon it by Christ, simply by virtue of being performed within the church.[299] Essentially in the end, there is no 'good' or 'bad' Eucharist, but simply the Eucharist. The participants (both priest and congregation, being joint contributors to the act) can both be seen to gain value, or Grace, from their participation.

If we can consider Cranmer's work as being instrumental in allowing the liturgy to be brought into a more general currency, then we can start too to understand how collective memory can be enhanced by an acknowledgement of how the archive can be considered as a repository of authentic and authoritative records, which is implicitly and explicitly designed to promote memory. Verne Harris, writing about his experiences in South Africa and as head of the Memory Programme for the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue at the Nelson Mandela Foundation stated that the archive can be responsible for 'Creating space for the voices and the narratives repressed or silenced by apartheid is an ethical imperative.'[300] However, this can't be done by the archivist on their own, but must be part of a partnership 'by bringing people together in the search for sustainable solutions; by building memory resources which are fundamentally about a shared future.'[301] So, like Cranmer, the archivist must think about how the public (in this context, the congregation) can participate:

> …his greatest gifts became apparent when he took a share in the task of reviving English vernacular literature, by creating an English liturgy. The Book of Common Prayer has an originality and power that are often lacking both in the Reformation liturgies and in attempts to restore the worship of the primitive Church[302]

The liturgy being available in English certainly made it more accessible, and available to the laity. It acted as a record of the act, the celebration of the Eucharist, and how the congregation could become a real and participant part of the community. This had to be accomplished through some mediation, although the role of the priest in this was not as vital

[299] Richardson and Bowden, p. 204.
[300] Verne Harris, 'Jacques Derrida Meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame', *Archival Science*, 11 (2011), 113–24 (p. 114).
[301] Verne Harris, p. 119.
[302] Jones and others, p. 104.

as before because the liturgy as enacted was at least understandable in a way which it had not been before. The priest was still essential, as a mediator, and necessary to ensure the validity of the celebration (even though authentic and orthodox liturgies were being used). To contrast to the archivist,

> Since the French Revolution, archivists as preservers and communicators of society's documentary memory consistently have allied themselves with historians who are interpreters and communicators of our political, social, economic, technological, and cultural experience.[303]

We can see a difference in so far as the archivist is a mediator, but not necessarily the only mediator for the collections which they hold. The priest works with their congregation as the archivist does. Cranmer enabled the congregation, the community, to feel involved as never before, despite the fact that their presence was their participation.

St Hildegard of Bingen and Community

St Hildegard was able to use her skills to enable greater contribution and involvement from those who were not in the role of the priest. This then allowed those who were participants in the liturgy of the Eucharist to feel more fully involved, and for all (whether contributors to the liturgical music, or 'audience') to benefit from her work and through this to allow communities to come together.

Finally, we can see that the archivist can validate, authenticate, and authorise the records in their care as the priest does for the celebration of the liturgy in their church. They can allow access to memory as Cranmer's priest does, can but in both cases some sort of mediation is necessary. Finally, they can be a lynchpin for the establishment and growth of the community. This might be in the form of the liturgy, a well-crafted finding aid, or in the active collection and interpretation of the communities' memories.

[303] Eastwood, 'Nurturing Archival Education in the University', p. 238.

Chapter 4: The priest in Scotland today – the priest as user of the archive and practitioner within the church.

> What amazed him more than anything was the number of the cast assembled round the altar, each purposefully pursuing his part… It was almost like a floor show, with everyone so well trained: bowing, crossing, kneeling, rising with a synchronised discipline… to these manoeuvres the equally well-disciplined congregation would match its own reactions [304]

Introduction

This section begins with a quotation from fiction where an English fictional detective Inspector Morse (not normally a churchgoer), attends the celebration of the Eucharist in a high-Anglican church. This might seem to be an unusual opening to a chapter in an academic thesis, but in the context of this work it is relevant because it illustrates one way in which the Eucharist is portrayed, and also represents a view of the actions and motivations of the priest on the altar, celebrating the Eucharist. This characterisation of the way in which the Mass is conducted is useful for this section of the overall study where I will look at the role of the priest; what are they doing, what is their understanding, and how can it be seen by the rest of the community? Specifically, this chapter will detail how the actions of the priest in contemporary Scotland be seen to promote memory and authenticity as understood by the archivist. This chapter is intended to be read as the first of a pair of chapters. Both will address the understanding of the role of the priest as explored and interrogate the role of the archivist in the areas of memory and authenticity. This section is not just about the priest or minister in isolation, but about the role they play in partnership with their congregation; the community as a whole.

This includes an examination of how the Eucharist is celebrated in Scotland in the early twenty-first century, and allows me to demonstrate how this contemporary celebration can teach us much about building and representing community, including establishing the ways in which identity can be established and consolidated. This will move to an analysis of the ways that this approach from the religious communities surveyed can help the archivist to understand and identify different ways of viewing these dual elements of community and identity. Both these elements have always been important in society and therefore should

[304] Colin Dexter, *Inspector Morse: Service of All the Dead* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), pp. 84–85.

be important to those who seek to serve that society; be they archivist or priest. The chapter will specifically look at the views of those who preside at the Eucharist (explicitly the minister or priest) and how they approach this sacrament. The approach of the priest or minister is necessarily informed by the denomination of which they are part, and which they can be openly be seen to represent. The published eucharistic position of their denomination is important as these necessarily inform the theological imperative which drives the celebration of the Eucharist in their own context. This is to say that the established practice of their denomination is underpinned by the recognised theology of that denomination, and this in turn influences the ways in which this theology is represented; the ordinances, liturgy, and established practice are all key to how the priest or minister can celebrate the Eucharist. This thesis hinges upon ideas and perceptions of memory in both the archival and religious spheres. Specifically, this section will look at the relationships between the way in which the celebration of the Eucharist by the minister or priest is conducted for and with their community, and how the archivist can learn from this approach. The following two chapters will look at the priest and their role as celebrant, and the archivist and their role as priest.

Through examining the ways in which the Eucharist is viewed and treated in twenty-first century Scotland we can specifically analyse how the Eucharist is celebrated, performed, in various different settings in contemporary Scotland. This will include an examination of the different methods of celebrating the Eucharist, specifically how the act of celebration can contribute to the understanding of archival theory of memory and authenticity.

Specific Methodology of Chapters 4 and 5

The research in this chapter and chapter 5 will be achieved by looking at how the priest or minister serve their church and their congregation in Scotland today, and then comparing this to the way in which the archivist operates within their own community. To do this it is necessary to look at the theological underpinning of the manner in which the liturgy of the Eucharist celebrated in these different contexts. This will in turn help to inform our understanding of how those individual priests and ministers view the act of celebrating the Eucharist as an act of memory. This necessarily includes the official theology of the denomination being looked at, and how *what* happens in the celebration of the Eucharist contributes to this. The understanding and perceptions of the priest or minister (who is crucial to this celebration for their own congregation, as they join together in the Body of Christ) is important to help to fix the status of the celebration itself within the parameters already established for this study. This includes a discussion of the ways in which the celebration itself both builds identity and community within each setting through the continuation of memory, and also the importance of qualification or ordination to establish

either the priest or archivist as in a distinct role within their own community. The participation of both priest and community in this act of celebration will be analysed and compared to the way the archivist celebrates in their own domain, alongside their community. Chapter 4 will establish the role of the priest, and this will be followed by chapter 5 which will compare the role of the archivist to the role of the priest.

This will be accomplished through a selection of four case studies which will look at the liturgy, practice, and status of the celebration of the Eucharist within each of the chosen denominations. These case studies are drawn from different denominations which all have contrasting views of the celebration of the Eucharist. The minister or priest in-charge of the congregation was interviewed about their personal experience in the Eucharistic celebration, how they felt this experience related to the official position of their denomination, and how they viewed their celebration of the Eucharist when thinking about the key themes, research questions, and terms of this thesis. Originally it was decided to take one representative from each of the following denominations: Church of Scotland; Scottish Episcopal Church; Roman Catholic Church. The original plan was to take only one representative was taken from each as the purpose was not to commit to a full and extensive survey of the different denominations chosen, but to gain a personal perspective from representatives of the denominations. All of these representatives happened to be male, but it was felt more important to ensure that there was a geographical and socio-economic coherence to the selection of case studies than to achieving gender balance. However, during the course of this study one of the ministers who was interviewed retired, and was replaced by a woman, this allowed me to ensure there were no previously unidentified responses that hinged on the gender of the celebrant. All interviewees were responsible for or had significant experience as minister or priest in churches within a small geographical area in a commuter town close to Glasgow. By limiting the scope in this respect it was hoped to minimise any differences which might come from serving communities with vastly different socio-economic or lived environments (for example, very prosperous areas compared to those with great depravation, very rural compared to urban/inner-city).

Finally, the principles outlined in Conrad L Kanagy's work *Social Action, Evangelism, and Ecumenism: The Impact of Community, Theological, and Church Structural Variables* were considered and this methodology allowed to inform this section of this study.[305] In particular, the churches chosen could be broadly considered to be similar on environmental and structural aspects as defined by this study, allowing consideration of the theological. This

[305] Conrad L. Kanagy, 'Social Action, Evangelism, and Ecumenism: The Impact of Community, Theological, and Church Structural Variables', *Review of Religious Research*, 34.1 (1992), 34–50.

section of this thesis did not set out to look at differences between different congregations of the same denomination, but instead sought to benchmark the denominations chosen by looking at what might be considered a 'typical' example covering a reasonable broad catchment. The recognition of the ministers and priests interviewed of their own sacramental theology was examined as a way to better understand the starting point for their practice and approach. In order to establish this, before each interview the 'official' published view of each denomination was established. It is important to look at similarities and differences of approach to be able to get a real view of what both authenticity (or orthodoxy) and memory mean to those who are involved in the celebration on a regular basis.

When undertaking the interviews, the approach described by Alessandro Portelli in *What Makes Oral History Different* was adopted, whereby we can believe in the credibility of the interviews, but in so far as they reflect the emergent 'imagination, symbolism, and desire.'[306] In her volume *Oral History Theory*, Lynn Abrams speaks of the 'process of remembering', and how through this process one can call up 'images, stories, experiences…' as a textual account. The idea that the interviewee can tell a story, but that this might be one which they wish to tell (or they think the interviewer might wish to hear), and that 'memory is not just about the individual; it is also about the community, the collective; and the nation… (it) exists in a symbiotic relationship with the public memorialisation of the past.'[307] This perspective is useful here as it acknowledges the ways in which the interviewees might tailor their response according to their perceived motives of the interviewer. They were representing their denomination as well as themselves and could be expected to respond to the questions accordingly.

This section of the research was covered by the Ethics Committee of the College of Arts, and consent forms were signed. Interviews have been transcribed and anonymised. Each minister or priest interviewed had the opportunity to check interview notes and make corrections. All are anonymised as this is what was agreed on the consent forms, although all were happy to be named. The template for the semi-structured interview is available in Appendix A, and the transcriptions in Appendices B, C, and D.

The selection of case-studies

In preparing for this chapter of the study, the first task was to select the denominations which would be looked at in detail to help situate and establish the place of memory and authenticity in Christian practice in Scotland today. It was decided that several different

[306] Allesandra Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Diffferent', in *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge Readers in History, Third (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 53.
[307] Lynn Abrams, Oral History Theory, second edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 78–79.

denominations should be chosen in order to be able to see if there were differences and similarities in their understanding of the place of memory in their services where the Eucharist was celebrated, and to allow information to be gathered on how these celebrations helped them to establish identity and build their community. The rationale behind choosing these denominations is explained later, but it should be acknowledged that different churches within each denomination have differing theologies and different histories. There are new congregations housed in old buildings, and old congregations moved to new premises. Like many communities, churches come together for a common purpose. However, for those within the church community this purpose is to worship God but is also theologically understood. A theory of the 'community process' is detailed in *Toward a Community-Oriented Action Research Framework for Spirituality: Community Psychological and Theological Perspectives* by Paul R. Dokecki, J.R. Newbrough, and Robert T. O'Gorman, through looking at Roman Catholic Ecclesial Traditions. They identify:

> three elements included: communion, the bonding of people in affirmative celebration; reflection, the study of the meaning of individual lives in the light of the Scriptures; and service, the engagement in activities of daily living that exemplify one's discipleship by working on improving the world for others[308]

This is pertinent to this study because the three elements detailed of communion, reflection, and service map very well onto the themes of memory and community which have been identified as key to this section of the research. How far do the ministers and priests who were interviewed reflect these themes in their understanding of their function within the community?

Case study methodology is helpful here when trying to unpick some of these questions. The case studies in this study are 'explanatory' as described by Winston Tellis in *Application of a Case Study Methodology*, and designed to familiarise researchers with case study theory.[309] The research uses of case studies are also explored; primarily from a social science perspective, but also more broadly. Tellis states that 'Case studies, on the other hand, are designed to bring out the details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data', and this approach is used to be able to understand the position of the priest or minister from the different denominations. Using further definitions from the same article, the case studies are also 'instrumental'; 'when the case is used to understand more

[308] Paul R. Dokecki, J.R. Newbrough, and Robert T. O'Gorman, 'Toward a Community-Oriented Action Research Framework for Spirituality: Community Psychological and Theological Perspectives', Journal of Community Psychology, 29.5 (2001), 497–518 (p. 501).

309 Winston Tellis, 'Application of a Case Study Methodology', The Qualitative Report, 3.3 (1997), 1–19 (p. 1).

than what is obvious to the observer.'[310] The interviews were designed to allow a more theoretical insight into Eucharistic practice than what could be gained from attending and participating in a celebration of the Eucharist. Without the interviews, it would not have been possible to have fully understood the perceptions of the celebrants surrounding the practice, memory, and authenticity (or orthodoxy).

Looking further at case study methodology which deals specifically with oral history, Lynn Abrams discusses how the personal testimony produced in the interview mediates between personal memory and the social world, and it is this which the interviews were designed to capture.[311] With this study there were no ethical considerations of safety or wellbeing such as described in Erin Jessee's study on Bosnia, but it was certainly necessary to be mindful of the ways in which the interviewees were exposing their professional practice and how it conformed (or not) to the established liturgical practice of their denomination, and the consequences of this.[312]

Social and economic context of Paisley

The congregations chosen were all from Paisley, a town situated 7 miles west of Glasgow, in the Central Belt of Scotland.[313] They are all within easy walking distance (to walk from the Catholic church, one would walk past the Church of Scotland Church, before reaching the Scottish Episcopal Church. This journey would take around 10 minutes in total). They all (broadly speaking) cover the same catchment areas for their congregations. The location itself is not important, but the proximity of the congregations is as it allows us to think about the community which is being served by the denomination without needing to isolate this from the external social community within which the church itself sits.

Paisley, and Renfrewshire (the local authority of which Paisley is the county town) present a complicated socio-economic picture. On the one hand, the local authority has a slightly higher than the Scottish average employment rate (75.5% / 74.5%), and yet 20% of the population are economically inactive, and the authority has '4 .3% of the 20% most deprived areas in Scotland'.[314]

Looking more closely at the Scottish Index of Multiple Depravation (SIMD), the churches visited all came within decile 2, quintile 1 using the 2020 measure, and either decile 2

310 Tellis, p. 1.

311 Abrams, p. 7.

312 Erin Jessee, 'The Limist of Oral History: Ethics and Methodology Amid Highly Politicised Research Settings', in The Oral History Reader, by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 3rd edn (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 676–77.

313 'Paisley History', Paisley Scotland, 2010 <https://www.paisley.org.uk/paisley-history/> [accessed 2 June 2018].

314 Renfrewshire Economic Leadership Panel, *Renfrewshire's Economic Strategy 2020-2030* (Renfrewshire, nd), p. 18 <https://paisley.is/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/RenfrewshireEconomicStrategy2020-2030.pdf>.

quintile 1 or decile 1 quintile 1 using the 2016 measure.[315] Local geography ensured that all congregations drew parishioners from outwith the boundaries of their immediate local area, including from areas in the 10% least deprived which exist in adjacent areas. As detailed in *Renfrewshire's Economic Strategy*, 'While deprivation exists across all of Scotland's more sizeable cities, it is this proximity of those areas to some of Renfrewshire's strongest and developing economic assets which is a striking juxtaposition'.[316] The ministers and priests interviewed needed to be mindful of this contrast. That all three congregations were in the same situation with overlapping geographies and similar socio-economic groups was important for this study as it allowed a degree of conformity of approach which would not have been found if the churches visited were from vastly different socio-economic contexts.

Local religious context

One representative was taken from each of the following denominations: Church of Scotland; Scottish Episcopal Church; Roman Catholic Church. This was to seek a personal perspective from representatives of the denominations. It was decided not to broaden the denominations (in particular to additional Protestant non-conformist denominations or to other groups such as the Church of the Latter-Day Saints who of course also hold very specific views and have very particular practices surrounding the Lord's Supper). These particular denominations are often statistically small within the religious framework already established, and in addition some of them (for example the Church of the Latter Day Saints) could be considered to be on the fringes of the Christian tradition. Denominations whose representatives were interviewed for this study would recognise the terms catholic and apostolic. It was felt that where there is less conformity within a denomination, it became difficult to analyse it in the terms of this study where a clear idea or religious orthodoxy is required in order to establish the degree of authenticity using archival principles.

Attitudes towards ordination and the Apostolic Succession was also important in the selection of the churches which were eventually chosen; St Hippolytus gave us an insight into the place of ordination and the celebration of the Eucharist, and this was carried forward into this analysis of contemporary practice.

The Catholic Church and the Scottish Episcopal Church churches have very similar theologies concerning both ordination and apostolic succession. This is important because it can allow us to situate the attitudes of the individual congregation within a wider, historic, community. The apostolic succession represents a theologically (if not strictly historically)

[315] Scottish Government, 'Scottish Index of Multiple Depravation', *Scottish Index of Multiple Depravation*, 2020 <https://www.gov.scot/collections/scottish-index-of-multiple-deprivation-2020/>.
[316] Renfrewshire Economic Leadership Panel, p. 19.

link from the time of the apostles and allows the churches who claim this to add authenticity to their ordination. Their priests have been ordained by a bishop who was himself consecrated by someone who had themselves in turn been ordained and so on back through time, forming an un-broken chain from the time of Peter, the first bishop of Rome. The Church of Scotland has a different attitude towards ordination; ministers are ordained, and in 2010 the Church of Scotland created the office of 'Ordained Local Ministry', (as part of a review of the role of Auxiliary Ministers) whereby an ordination can be offered to those involved in the church in a voluntary way, and to support the church. This was in response to the need identified in presbyteries for 'a more flexible form of non-stipendiary ordained Ministry of Word and Sacrament'. The Church clearly stated the belief that this 'would be of great value to the mission of the Church'. The church states that 'This would often, though not exclusively, be in support of those working in leadership roles as Parish Ministers (whether full-time or part-time).' They continue, to offer various contexts where this would be helpful, including urban and rural contexts, where 'Living in and being known by the local community where the Parish minister is not regularly around'. As is evident from the choice of St Hippolytus of Rome's Apostolic Tradition for the first case study in this thesis (Chapter 3), so the theology of ordination is important to discuss; what qualifies an individual to call themselves a minister or priest?[317] And for this study, how does the process to become a minister or priest differ from the process to become an archivist? The idea of the profession and what it means to be part of the profession, serving the community, will be discussed later in the following two chapters.

Within broad geography of this study there are a number of different active Christian denominations. These include various different Protestant denominations, both conformist and non-conformist. The 2011 Census logged the religious make-up of Paisley as a local area as below.

[317] Of course, in the Church of Scotland the notion of apostacy is transferred and sustained through scripture, linking the minister and congregation with the apostles.

	Paisley	Scotland
Religion		
All people	76834	5295403
% Church of Scotland	28.6	32.4
% Roman Catholic	23.9	15.9
% Other Christian	3.9	5.5
% Muslim	0.8	1.4
% Other religions	0.9	1.1
% No religion	34.8	36.7
% Not stated	7	7

Table 1: from Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion, Scottish Census 2011[318]

Within the area of the chosen case studies it should be noted that there are some other congregations who could have been chosen for this study, and many more which covered broadly similar catchment areas. These included Life Church; Methodist Church; Evangelical Church; Free Church.

It was decided to not broaden the scope of this study to include other churches or denominations who have some sort of celebration of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. For example, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints (commonly known as the "Mormons" or "LDS Church") and Jehovah's Witnesses and others would have had contrasting practices and beliefs surrounding the Eucharist. In addition, a range of Protestant churches also have some form of Celebration of Communion. It would have been interesting to have looked at all of these in some detail, and in particular to have looked at the view of memory within these different Christian denominations. For this study, it would have been impossible to have looked at such a wide range, and so it was limited as follows.

The data was collected by firstly examining what each denomination stated their theology of the Eucharist was, including how the Eucharist should be celebrated in their individual churches, how often, and who is permitted to receive. The authorised, published liturgy was also an important source as this sets out clearly in a performative text the authorised (by the denomination) wording which has been provided for use by the priest or minister and congregation. An examination of this was able to give us an overview of the expected form of the service and allow us to see up-front the wording which has been authorised in some way by the church.[319] This liturgy is often slow to change, and represents an overview of the wider beliefs and can allow us to see where these beliefs influence practice. The place of the

[318] National Records of Scotland, *Scotland's Census* (Edinburgh, 2011) <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/home.html>.

[319] This might be in canon law, by the bishop, or the presbytery.

priest (including the ordinal and sources available on training) was identified using publicly available material produced by the central overarching body of each denomination. The next step was to identify individuals who were working as ministers or priests within the church within my chosen geographical area and to contact them to see if they were available for interview, and happy to participate in this study.[320]

Background Research on Each Denomination

To fully contextualise the interviews, the official position of the denomination they represent was examined. This concentrated on their theology of the Eucharist, and the place of both the priest and congregation within the celebration of the Eucharist. This was done by looking at the official published material available in analogue and digital form, with the official websites of each denomination being the primary source.

As might be expected, there was a variation in the ways in which the different denominations chosen for this study represent their doctrine on the celebration of the Eucharist in their official and unofficial publications. The Catholic Church have material available at an international level, but very little at national level. This is in contrast with the Scottish Episcopal Church (SEC) which, whilst part of the worldwide Anglican Communion, is autonomous whilst following their general principles, and provide a lot of information at the Scottish, national, level. Similarly, the Church of Scotland has links with other churches worldwide but has a position that is autonomous as a Presbyterian church and the established church within Scotland. Information given on the view of the Eucharist as sacrament, and how these denominations choose to represent both the practice of the celebration of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, and the theology underpinning it within their own publications is analysed below.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church of Scotland is part of a universal church, and there are several international websites detailing their beliefs and practices which are relevant to this study. The official Catechism produced, authorised, and hosted by the Vatican web domain,[321] is where the official stand of the Church is expressed through a summarisation of doctrine, expressed thematically and on topics ranging from an understanding of God, the 7 sacraments, the 10 Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Other catechisms exist too, from specialist children's ones, to ones by notable theologians, to ones designed for those in

[320] This was carried out with approval from the College of Arts Ethics Committee.

[321] 'Catechism of the Catholic Church - Contents Page' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019]. Of course official documents of the Catholic Church would have originally been produced in either Latin or Italian, and it is reasonable to question if there is anything lost in the translation to English.

specific vocations or roles (for example, teachers). Official catechisms (which are authorised by the Church) would have an imprimatur[322] of a cleric in a position of authority (for example a bishop, archbishop, cardinal, or noted theologian) for those using the resource to have confidence in its orthodoxy. How the organisation (the Church) creates the record, which is then designed to be used is important here. The official record of the organisation is specifically intended to help to promote the community understanding of the place and status of those fulfilling different roles within the church, and to contextualise how practice is expressed whilst observing the ritual and custom of the denomination.

There are also websites specific to Scotland. Notably, the Bishops' Conference Scotland, which exists to enable: 'the Roman Catholic Bishops in Scotland to work together, undertaking nationwide initiatives through their Commissions and Agencies'.[323] The Conference site does not contain many published policies of other advice on the site. However, they are bound by the rules of the Universal Catholic Church, and as such more global sites are also appropriate to interrogate. Liturgies and lectionaries are available in various places as publications and online.

Theology of the Eucharist

The official sites of the Scottish Catholic Church detailed above remain quiet on the nature of the Eucharist for Catholics. However, the position is clear from various other sources. The Eucharist is one of 7 sacraments, the others being: baptism; confirmation; marriage; holy orders; anointing the sick; reconciliation.[324] The official catechism states that:

> At the Last Supper, on the night he was betrayed, our Saviour instituted the Eucharistic sacrifice of his Body and Blood. This he did in order to perpetuate the sacrifice of the cross throughout the ages until he should come again, and so to entrust to his beloved Spouse, the Church, a memorial of his death and resurrection: a sacrament of love, a sign of unity, a bond of charity, a Paschal banquet 'in which Christ is consumed, the mind is filled with grace, and a pledge of future glory is given to us.

The Eucharist is here presented very clearly as a 'memorial', and one which is not only important in an historical sense, but also to be able to bring the historical act 'throughout the ages' and into the present; a 'perpetual' enactment of the one sacrifice, which is viewed not as an enactment or re-visiting, but as entering into the one celebration throughout time. The

---

[322] 'Imprimatur | Roman Catholicism', *Encyclopedia Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/imprimatur> [accessed 23 June 2019].

[323] 'Catholic Bishops' Conference of Scotland' <https://www.bcos.org.uk/> [accessed 23 June 2019].

[324] 'Catechism of the Catholic Church - IntraText' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P3W.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019].

priest is key to this as they are required for the celebration to exist; it is not just a matter of an individual saying the 'right words' according to the liturgy, but the ordination of an individual into the priesthood means he is 'enabled to act as a representative of Christ, Head of the Church, in his triple office of priest, prophet, and king'.[325]

Full details of the importance of the celebration and the priest's position for it are given within the Catechism, describing the event as

> The Mass is at the same time, and inseparably, the sacrificial memorial in which the sacrifice of the cross is perpetuated and the sacred banquet of communion with the Lord's body and blood. But the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice is wholly directed toward the intimate union of the faithful with Christ through communion.[326]

The priest's position is firmly identified as vital for the celebration in the position of acting as Christ, but one which is firmly rooted within the wider community of the faithful:

> *All gather together.* Christians come together in one place for the Eucharistic assembly. At its head is Christ himself, the principal agent of the Eucharist. He is high priest of the New Covenant; it is he himself who presides invisibly over every Eucharistic celebration. It is in representing him that the bishop or priest acting *in the person of Christ the head (in persona Christi capitis)* presides.[327]

The Scottish Episcopal Church

The Scottish Episcopal Church publishes liturgies, and lectionaries on its main website for users to download. This makes it easy to locate their stated position on the celebration of the Eucharist, and to understand how it is celebrated.

Theology of the Eucharist

The church states that:

> Often called The Eucharist and The Liturgy, Holy Communion is the most common worship service in our Church. The service recalls and celebrates Jesus' Last Supper with his disciples the evening before his death on the Cross, and encourages us as the Christian family today. As such the Eucharist is a sacrament of the Church, a channel of God's love and grace in our lives.[328]

This clearly positions the Eucharist as a sacrament. It also has very similar indications on the memorial aspect of the celebration to the Catholic Church, although it is expressed a

---

[325] 'Catechism of the Catholic Church - VII The Effects of the Sacrament of Holy Orders' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P4Y.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019].
[326] 'Catechism of the Catholic Church - Article 3 The Sacrament of the Eucharist', l. 1382 <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P3W.HTM#$1KW> [accessed 4 November 2019].
[327] 'Catechism of the Catholic Church - Article 3 The Sacrament of the Eucharist', l. 1348.
[328] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion', *Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/spirituality/worship/holy-communion/> [accessed 6 November 2019].

little differently; the 'recalls and celebrates' of this is further expanded on to state: 'The second stage takes us to the heart of the sacred meal, both historically and in the here and now. We celebrate the glory of God our creator, the sacrifice of his Son Jesus Christ and the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit. Bread and wine are taken, blessed, broken and given.', with the blessing being accomplished by an ordained priest.[329] The idea that the celebration is simultaneously in the present and also historical is key to the idea that within this celebration we do not view time and this celebration in a conventional linear way. The description also includes a recognition of the community element in order to 'acknowledge each other as a community, and whilst memory or memorial is not specifically mentioned in this text, it is implicit in the ways the sacrament is described as a means to both recall and celebrate Christ's sacrifice.[330]

The SEC have their liturgy, calendar, and lectionary freely available on their website, including an explanation of the different sections and their relevance.[331] They also have a brief explanation of the celebration of the Eucharist; they state that: 'the most common worship service in our Church. The service recalls and celebrates Jesus' Last Supper with his disciples the evening before his death on the Cross, and encourages us as the Christian family today. As such the Eucharist is a sacrament of the Church.'[332] The site is less clear on the role of the priest, but they do indicate the pivotal role of those in this role at the end of this section of the website: 'Finally the congregation is blessed by the priest'.[333] This is clearer within the 1984 Ordinal the role of the priest is made clear: 'They preside at the Eucharist and draw together in worship those who come to the Lord's Table, so that fed by the Body and Blood of Christ they may go out to serve God in the unity of the Spirit'.[334] It also provides full details of vocation, the church hierarchy and governance, and the process towards becoming ordained elsewhere on the site, alongside information about the role of the laity.[335]

[329] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion'.
[330] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion'.
[331] Scottish Episcopal Church, 'Scottish Liturgy 1982 with Propers and Revised Common Lectionary', *Scottish Episcopal Church* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/who-we-are/publications/liturgies/scottish-liturgy-1982-with-propers-and-revised-common-lectionary/> [accessed 6 November 2019]. (Includes an explanation of the importance and relevance of the different sections: Narrative of the Institution; Anamnesis And Oblation; Epiclesis…)
[332] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion'.
[333] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion'.
[334] Scottish Episcopal Church, *Scottish Ordinal* (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1984), p. 13 <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/scottish-ordinal-1984.pdf>.
[335] 'Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion'.

The Church of Scotland

Like the SEC, the Church of Scotland has a great deal of relevant information on their main website. Unlike the SEC they do not have copies of the liturgy available, but they do provide clear directions on how to obtain the texts.[336] Unlike the SEC, they provide very little information on the celebration of the Eucharist (called 'Holy Communion' or 'The Lord's Supper').

Theology of the Eucharist

The Church states that 'Holy Communion, also called the Lord's Supper, is open to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ and have made public profession of faith.'[337] They do, however, provide a link to a discussion paper by one of their ministers which provides more detail. Here Rev Peter Donald talks of 'Communion Memories being strong and highly visual,'[338] but this is in a personal sense for each individual member of the community rather than the community as a whole. This paper also states that:

> Sacred space and sacred time, therefore, are the human experience as Christ comes into our midst, through the reading of Scripture and the breaking of bread. The encounter with the incarnate God is entirely dependent on God's grace, and thus profoundly a mystery. Christ is made known to us in the power of the Holy Spirit. There is no question of our grasping this merely on our own, in our flesh and blood. What is known, tasted and seen, intimates eternity…[339]

It is clear from the paper as a whole that the Celebration of the Lord's Supper is a community act, a sacrament, and that the minister has a role in this. Therefore, we can see that the liturgy exists in a performative sense in order to revisit the memory through the action and scripture. Donald's paper also describes the huge variation in Eucharistic practice and the benefits of this.[340] The links to the Westminster Confession are also highlighted:

> The Westminster Confession is at pains to emphasise that the event of the Lord's Supper is an event of a sacrifice of praise, lest anything be detracted for Christ's original and decisive work. Therefore the relationship between the outward elements relate sacramentally to the body and blood of Christ, "in substance and nature ... still ... bread and wine, as they were before". What is sacramental in relationship could

---

[336] 'Church of Scotland - Books for Worship', *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/worship/books_for_worship> [accessed 6 November 2019].
[337] 'Church of Scotland - Our Faith', *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about_us/our_faith> [accessed 6 November 2019].
[338] Rev Peter Donald, 'The Tradition of the Lord's Supper', *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0014/3155/tradition_lords_supper.pdf> [accessed 6 November 2019].
[339] Donald, p. 5.
[340] Donald, p. 2.

> be otherwise described as a "spiritual" relationship. In that the names and effects of body and blood are applied to ordinary bread and wine, the "work of the Spirit and the word of institution" guarantee the efficacy, i.e. the communicants spiritually receiving and feeding upon "Christ crucified and all the benefits of his death"[341]

This very clearly demonstrates the importance of the Eucharistic celebration, and the link to the relationship between the individual communicants and the tradition. The importance of the minister is also underlined, with the recognition that the minister was acting in persona Christi, 'with Christ being the host of the meal, the tradition almost certainly continued through the Reformation of the Minister serving himself first.'[342] This re-enactment is still an important element of the celebration today, and underlines the importance within the Church of Scotland (along with the elders) to their congregation.

The information demonstrates that the theology of all the denominations whose representatives were selected for interview is similar in the importance that it places upon the celebration, and the role of the minister or priest at the centre of this celebration. However, the understanding of the meaning of the elements in the celebration is different. These similarities and differences are important to allow an analysis of the ways I which the key themes of this thesis can be seen across the different denominations, leading to evaluation of the degrees to which the archivist could be thought of as acting in a ministerial or priestly way in their work.

Key Themes Explored in Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured, and details of the questions asked is available in Appendix A. The full transcriptions are available in Appendix B, C, and D. The following key themes were explored.

Authenticity

As discussed in earlier chapters, the word '*authenticity'* is a difficult one to try and translate across the two disciplines which are covered by this thesis. However, the concept as seen by the archivist is key to allowing an understanding of the way in which the archivist and priest can be compared when thinking about their position within the community, and their ability to preserve and use memory.

Memory

This is a useful approach to take simply because we can consider the priest him or herself as a preserver of memory, albeit in a very particular instance. In particular, when celebrating

[341] Donald, pp. 7–8; Quoting *Westminster Confession of Faith* (London, 1647) chs. xxvii, xxix-xxx .
[342] Donald, p. 5 n. 11.

the Eucharist, what is the impact of the theological imperative of the priest? The archivist seeks to preserve memory in a multitude of different contexts and to use this preservation of memory to allow the building of cohesive communities within the boundaries of their particular remit. The dominical command to 'do this in memory of me' is a crucial factor in this, and in enabling us to think about the difference between memory – which as we saw in chapter 4 on Cranmer, refers to the response of the individual or a community to the different ways of celebrating and preserving memory. This includes how both communities promote remembrance, in an active way. For the archivist this is not just in the keeping of collections, but in the using of them to help bring the community together, in a similar way to the priest actually using the liturgy in the celebration of the Eucharist.

Community

This theme includes the views of the interviewees on the ways in which the Eucharist can be seen as a binding force for their community, and on an individual and communal level as a means to seek unification within this community. Of course, in a theological context, there is also a perception of congregation being a group of people who have gathered together for religious worship, and who have chosen to be there. This will be explored later in this chapter.

The priest, the archivist, and this thesis

This and the subsequent chapters will look at the priest and the archivist in 21st century Scotland, and specifically at the way in which key questions for the thesis as a whole will be addressed in this context. In particular the key words identified in Chapter 1 will be applied to this contemporary context, and their relationship to this context will be analysed. In particular: memory; authenticity; community; are to be addressed across chapters 5 and 6.

The minister or priest arguably functions very much as a product of the time in which they are serving. The have their own context within which they must operate, in terms of the denomination within which they practice, and the needs of the parish (if indeed they have a charge) they look after. Inner-city ministry could reasonably be expected to differ from that in a suburban or rural context, and the job of a minister or priest who operates solely in these contexts from that of the chaplain in a prison, school, university or other more regulated and defined context. And yet these individuals are dealing with the same liturgy, the same celebration, the same Eucharist. So too for the archivist, the context of their archive informs to an extent what they do, and how they do it, but the job is in principle the same across different repositories and contexts.

The priest functions as the active preserver and enactor of memory today; the memory of the Church as an institution, the place within that memory of their congregation, and how the celebration of the Eucharist contributes in a very real way towards the preservation of this memory. The celebration of the Eucharist is an ecclesial matter; the way in which a church as a denomination, and as a body responds to the celebration of the Eucharist is key to our understanding of the celebration itself and the role of the priest within this. The role of the priest is crucial to this ecclesial understanding; they are functioning in a community of faith as the leader and figurehead of that community. The archivist too serves his or her community and are responsible, as the priest is, for allowing their community members to develop their understanding in what could be described as an ecclesial way. This might feel a little fanciful, but the relationships between memory, the community, and the individual are key for the success of both the priest and the archivist as the figurehead of their community. The following two chapters will establish the ways in which the archivist and the priest can fulfil a similar function within society, and specifically for the community which they serve. This raises further questions surrounding the place of the individual within the community. However, this study will concentrate on the roles of the priest and the archivist, and how they serve their community.

What do we mean by 'Community' in the Church in 21st Century Scotland?

When we think about community, it is an amorphous concept, meaning different things for different people. All of us will belong to several communities simultaneously each with their individual purposes and structures, and this does not diminish the importance of any individual one. Communities overlap and change through time. For example, one individual is a member of her geographic community, and yet this is not as simple as it might at first appear. It is comprised of the town where she lives, and it can be both smaller and lager than this; the council area, the country, and also the area of the town, the street she lives on. She could also be a member of a choir, a workplace, a dog-training club; all communities in their own right, overlapping and intersecting. The community of the church is similar; there may be formally 'registered' members of a congregation, committed members who attend all or most weeks, and those who attend more sporadically. There might also be those who had received sacraments (in the broad sense, baptism, marriage) and yet rarely or never attend the church in later periods of their lives.

The archival theory considered will include links back to chapters 2 and 3, where memory and authenticity have been considered in turn, and culminate in an analysis of how modern

celebrations can be considered both authentic[343], and how they can be said to both preserve the memory of the celebration of the Eucharist as previously examined, and re-enact it. This will necessarily include particular reference to the practice and writings sometimes ascribed to St Hippolytus of Rome, and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, and their contemporaries who thought and practised in a similar way to them.

The ways in which the clergy and congregations of different denominations in Scotland in the early 21st century understand the celebration of the Eucharist will be used as a vehicle to allow us to apply archival theory to these specific contexts. To be able to do this guidance and instructions issued to ordained clergy and other ministers, the form of the liturgy itself as used by the congregations in their standard celebration of the Eucharist (be that every or most days, weekly, or quarterly, depending on the denomination), and the views of different participants will be sought. To be able to progress this section of the research it is important to establish what happens each Sunday in Ordinary Time.[344] This study is to look at the 'ferial' celebration of the Eucharist when it is celebrated in the 'usual' or regular way.[345] However, if the usual celebration of the Eucharist is only occasional rather than weekly or daily, then this too will be considered the 'usual' celebration.

Essentially, what would the participant members of this community consider to be 'normal' when the Eucharist is celebrated? This will be to be able to establish exactly what their beliefs of what happens in the Eucharist, are. Precisely, what is happening in the celebration of the Eucharist, how does the liturgy tie in with tradition, and how does this reflect (and is reflected in) their underlying beliefs, and the teachings of their denomination in a macro sense, and their congregation in a micro sense. These answers will be interrogated so it can be established how important the liturgy and actual practice of the Eucharist is thought to be, and how belief influences practice and practice, in turn, underpins belief. The physical environment and worship space is also important to encourage and allow for growth of community through the use of the liturgy. This is important for this study for two reasons. Firstly, because of the role the archivist has in the preservation of memory (as will be discussed in Chapter 6), and how external factors such as the perception of the 'user' when engaging with the collection (who could be loosely compared to the clergy and congregation who are engaging with the liturgy), including the phenomenological and kinaesthetic

[343] Accepting of course the difficulties in using the word 'authentic' in a theological context.

[344] Ordinary Time denotes a day when there is no special overarching reason for the celebration over and above the normal purpose of the church service. For Example, Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter are not Ordinary time.

[345] For example, not when the Eucharist forms part of a service such as a nuptial or requiem Mass, when, whilst the Eucharist is still central to the service, where there is an additional focus. This is important because it would be thesis in itself to try and compare the different types of Eucharistic celebration

elements of this engagement. Secondly where the physical opportunities and constraints of access - play a part in this, when looking at the archive and record in both the analogue and the digital.

The place of the priest

The priest or minister of any congregation is at the centre of the Eucharistic celebration, and in a more general sense to the community of the congregation, and within their wider geographic community. They are the first visible individual many who are new to the congregation will encounter when attending a new church, and the person upon whom, literally, upon whom are all eyes and ears during most services. They will often be the first point of contact on any websites and publicity, and any enquirers seeking to join the church will be directed to him or her. They are the person who is responsible for guiding their church and specifically their congregation through the services. They, under the authority of the presbytery or bishop, are responsible for the way in which the liturgy is used, for guiding their congregation, and for overseeing the general running of their church or 'charge' including the buildings, agreeing to and promoting any parish groups, and providing spiritual guidance for their flock. They are the head of their particular community. They are in turn part of a wider community, that of their wider church. They use the liturgy, lectionary, and other authorised sources[346] which have been agreed by the hierarchy[347] of their denomination (be that in the sense of bishops, or presbytery). They also have access to training, support, and guidance, and all of this comes as appropriate and necessary at every stage of their priestly or ministerial career, from initial enquiry, through training, ordination, and ministry itself. Archbishop Michael Ramsey says of the priest 'St Peter is addressing the presbyters and charging them about the various relationships in which they stand – to Christ, to one another within the ministry, to the people whom they serve, and to the world around them',[348] clearly explaining the different sections of the community of the church, and to whom the priest must be accountable in some way.

All of the denominations which have been used in the case studies stress the importance of the minister or priest. The Church of Scotland say 'It's one of the most challenging yet rewarding jobs in Scotland. It requires leadership, resilience, compassion and energy….and that's just for starters. The role of parish minister is at the very heart of Scotland's

[346] Such as an agreement as to which version of the Bible is to be used

[347] This is a difficult word within this context, but is intended to represent both the authorisation of the Bishop (to whom the priest pledges obedience) for the Catholic and Scottish Episcopalian priest, or the General Assembly and Presbytery in the Church of Scotland.

[348] Ramsey, p. 69.

communities and central to the Kirk's 1,400 congregations.'[349] The mention of community is significant, and it is clear that the role of minister is not just seen as an individual and autonomous role, but one which is integral to and embedded within a larger body of people. Here it is useful to think of the actions of the minister or priest not just as those of an individual man or woman, but as work which has been undertaken as part of the role; in the celebration of the Eucharist it is the ordained priest who is important, rather than the individual who is filling that role. This will be contrasted by looking at the remit of the archivist in the following chapter.

The building of community

When asked, all the clergy spoke about the importance of the Eucharist for 'community'. When asked about the benefits of the Lord's Supper, the Church of Scotland minister stated 'The benefits? It's a ritual that we join in together, so there's a community element to it.' He went on to describe the efforts that the congregation went to in order to ensure that the elderly and infirm of the congregation were able to receive the sacrament as well as this effort was mutually beneficial; 'there's a community and social aspect to it, you get the Sacrament and get to share in the spiritual unity of the Church. There's also an opportunity for them to share in that. Tangible, real human community, as well.' [350]

Issues of Gender and Educational Attainment

When looking at Eucharistic liturgy and practice it is unsurprisingly overwhelmingly male. This can be seen when looking at Chapter 3, historic case studies. It can also be seen in the case studies chosen. The Roman Catholic Church do not ordain women (although the Scottish Episcopal Church has since 1991, and the Church of Scotland since 1968), and all three individuals in the initial interviews happen to be men.[351] This was not a conscious choice to exclude women from the study, but a reflection of the primacy of a coherent socio-economic context for the studies. This said it is relevant to address issues of both gender and educational attainment here.

Women have been able to serve as ordained ministers for several decades, and now clearly take a significant place within their churches. For the Church of Scotland, numbers of women being ordained can be seen to be increasing, both in a proportion of total ordinations

[349] The Church of Scotland, 'Tomorrow's Calling', 2015 <http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/serve/ministries_council/education_and_support/tomorrows_calling> [accessed 2 June 2018].
[350] Appendix B p. 6
[351] Steve Bruce, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland, 1900-2012* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p. 112.

and in real terms; 'In 2003 and 2005 50% of the total ordinations were women. The general trend line shows the percentage of women being ordained rose quite steeply even although the total numbers being ordained showed sharp deterioration'.[352] For the Scottish Episcopal Church numbers of women being ordained have helped to secure the future of the priesthood, and their first female bishop was consecrated in 2017.[353] In 2019, the Scottish Episcopal Church published a series of reflections from the first women priests, and this sense of the institutional need to ordain women combining with the internal calling comes through;

> People were becoming aware that women had unused talents. (Male) Clergy were in short supply, and there was a fresh awareness of the value of lay ministry, not least by our bishop, Ian Begg. When I discovered that women could become Lay Readers I talked to our then Rector, Bob Allsopp. When I spoke diffidently about my sense of calling to Lay Readership, he laughed, 'I thought you were going to say you wanted to be a priest.[354]

Now in 2021, we can see women priests in 2 of the 3 churches used in the modern case studies in this research.

The archival sector is predominantly female; the 2020 ARA diversity report states that 65% of the profession is female, and the ARA page on diversity points out that the profession is 'overwhelmingly female'; strikingly similar proportions.[355] women are under-represented in senior management in the archival sector, and there is a striking gender pay-gap, only 1/7 bishops in the Scottish Episcopal Church is a woman, and there have only been 4 female Moderators of the Church of Scotland.[356] However, the difference this gender (im)balance makes seems to be negligible when considering the roles of archivist and priest; when the only female interviewee was asked if being a woman 'has any bearing on the way that you practice or even the way that the congregation see you', she replied:

---

[352] Anne Logan, 'Doing It Differently?": Forty Years of Women'sOrdained Ministry in the Church of Scotland', *Practical Theology*, 2.1 (2009), 27–44 (p. 33) <https://doi.org/10.1558/prth.v2i1.27>.

[353] 'First Female Bishop in the Scottish Episcopal Church Is Elected the New Bishop of Aberdeen & Orkney', *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, 2017 <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/first-female-bishop-scottish-episcopal-church-elected-new-bishop-aberdeen-orkney/> [accessed 29 April 2021].

[354] *Called by Name: 25 Reflections from the First Women Priests*, ed. by Elaine Cameron and Jeanette Allan (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2019), p. 5 <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/Called-by-Name.pdf>.

[355] Archives & Records Association of UK and Ireland, 'ARA Equality Monitoring Information 2020', *ARA Equality Monitoring Information 2020*, 2020 <https://www.archives.org.uk/images/Diversity/ARA_Equality_Monitoring_Information_2020.pdf>; Archives & Records Association of UK and Ireland, *ARA: Diversity* <https://www.archives.org.uk/what-we-do/diversity.html?showall=1&limitstart=>.

[356] 'Scotland's First Female Bishop, Anne Dyer, Consecrated for Aberdeen & Orkney' <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2018/03/scotlands-first-female-bishop-anne-dyer-consecrated-for-aberdeen-and-orkney.aspx> [accessed 3 June 2018]; The Church of Scotland, *The Church of Scotland - History* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about-us/our-structure/history>; Archives & Records Association of UK and Ireland.

> That's a very, very interesting question I would say in terms of the Eucharist. Not one bit because I feel deeply, I'm there as a human being well, I hope I am. But in church and practical terms, it has made a big difference in terms of how I'm viewed and treated and all manner of things that I would never have imagined and some I would. So yes, it is and it's interesting how often still people say, well, not so much here, are you the new lady vicar. It's like I guess with men being a nurse at a particular point in history, you are male nurse no I'm a nurse that sort of thing So yes, it has it had all sorts of consequences but say eucharistic itself, you know it's, it's just you know we're All human beings, put crudely.[357]

Training

All the interviewees were asked about their training for their role as minister or priest, and this covered both formal and informal training. All the interviewees had completed degree-level qualifications in conjunction with their denomination and secular Higher Education Institutions. The Catholic priest trained in Rome, whilst the Church of Scotland minister undertook training at the University of Glasgow as his second degree. The priests I interviewed from the Scottish Episcopal Church undertook training at 'TISEC'; Theological Institute of the Scottish Episcopal Church which was based at Edinburgh, or through a postgraduate qualification at Cuddeston.[358] This high-level training was expected; the role of the clergy a complex one that necessitates both a high level of knowledge and communication. In addition, there can be seen to be some advantages to a discernment and training process lasting some time to allow each individual to be secure in their vocation. Could the same be said of the archivist? The traditional model which has been common in at least the English-speaking world for the last four decades or so has involved a first degree, work experience, and a postgraduate diploma or Masters programme. These could be undertaken as part-time distance learning or as a part- or full-time student in person. This is broadly similar to the priest, where placements ('work-experience') can be said to have a similar effect. The fourth interviewee spoke of not only her academically-based training, but also the training put on by the diocese when a curate to supplement the previously theoretical and current practical learning; 'once we were all curates we'd have the diocese who would put on days. Like we had a training day to do with you and Christ which covered everything'.[359] There has been a move in recent years to try to move towards the opportunity

357 Appendix E p. 52
358 TISEC is now called SEI – the Scottish Episcopal Institute. The SEI participate in a degree scheme called Common Awards which is based in Durham University.
359 Appendix E p.44

of a postgraduate level apprenticeship to broaden the intake into the profession. However, there is still work to be done in this regard.

In terms of general perception, it could be considered that the view of many would be broadly similar to both priests and archivists; As Bruce states

> In the conventional social class divisions used by sociologists, clergy were usually placed with doctors and lawyers: a reflection of their university education, their social influence and the freedom they enjoyed in how they performed their jobs. [360]

The Interviews

Views of Memory in the Mass

The final question in the semi-structured interviews was to ask the interviewees their view of the celebration of the Eucharist as a form of memory, or a memorial. All three priests had a very clear sense of how the celebration of the Eucharist was able to be thought of in this way, and how this impacted both the form of the celebration and their approaches to it. The Church of Scotland minister stated clearly that it was:

> a Sacrament of memory, it's a Sacrament in which you remember the promises. It's like a knot in your hanky, it reminds you to pick up the milk. I mean that's - at its simplest level, that's what it is, it's a reminder that Jesus said this, and he said if to us, for us. But nothing miraculous happens in this.[361]

On being asked if the Catholic Priest thought the Eucharist was an act of memory, he stated 'Jesus said to do this in memory of him. And our understanding is that as you do this he becomes present for us.'[362]

The SEC priest stated

> It is a memorial; it is a memorial as they say. That's part of it that we "do this in remembrance of me". So the whole thing is a memorial service too - it's for us, but it's also a reflection on Christ's life and suffering and his gift of the Last Supper, his pattern of celebrating something that is rich, and strange and… mysterious.[363]

These views are subtly distinct, and it is clear that there are differences between both the set liturgy and official position of the denomination, and the ways these individuals view the celebration. The above quotations are in answer to a direct question, but all memory and remembrance feature heavily in all the interviews; a seam which runs through their view of

360 Bruce, p. 110.
361 Appendix B p. 11
362 Appendix C p. 24
363 Appendix D p. 40

the Eucharist and their own Eucharistic theology. Looking again at Michael Ramsey, he states that:

> Your prayer then will be a rhythmic movement of all your powers, moving into the divine presence in contemplation and moving into the needs of the people in intercession. In contemplation you will reach into the peace and stillness of God's eternity, in intercession you will reach into the rough and tumble of the world of time and change[364]

The idea that this celebration may be in the present, but is also an eternal celebration which transcends our perception of time and space; 'sharing in the worship in heaven',[365] as 'the once-for-all offering is brought into the here-and-now by the memorial'.[366]

If we accept this view of the celebration of the Eucharist as a memorial but in a very specific way, this leads us to question how the archivist views their work. How far are they able to use the records in their care to create the sort of memorial which can be akin to Ramsey's 'eternal celebration', transcending time and space? This will be addressed in Chapter 6.

Ordination and its importance

The idea of having a 'calling' or a vocation, and answering God's call is (as previously noted) evident in the websites of all three denominations examined as part of this study. Ramsey states that 'Jesus Christ himself is priest, and the whole Church is a priesthood'.[367] He also speaks of the importance of ordination (the book itself consisting of a series of addresses to be given to ordination candidates) and unpicks the relationship between the theology and practice for the priest, and the relationship the ordained have with Christ. It was also an important subject within the interviews.

The Church of Scotland minister spoke at length of how the ministry will need to change moving forward: 'I think ministers like me are probably the last generation of ministers like me that the Church will have'.[368] Citing the reducing numbers coming forward to seek ordination, and the numbers of ministers expected to retire (or otherwise leave) in the coming years. This led him to reflect 'I think the whole way the Church does things needs to change… we need to find new ways of doing Church in which we don't have ordained, or set apart, or paid clergy because we're just not going to have an ordained and set apart and paid clergy in 10 years time...'[369]

364 Ramsey, p. 13.
365 Ramsey, p. 14.
366 Ramsey, p. 111.
367 Ramsey, p. 106.
368 Appendix B, p. 13
369 Appendix B, p. 13

The other interviewees spoke about the importance of ordination as a means to both set them (or anyone fulfilling their role) aside, and to convey authority upon them. The Catholic priest said he felt ordination is important

> because that's the way that God, the way the church has passed down the authority to actually celebrate the Eucharist with the people. So, we understand, that this is both this is what God calls for people to give their lives in a particular way, and those people are deputised into act, in the person of Christ, for the Sacraments[370]

Similarly, the SEC minister reflected that:

> That goes back to this notion of calling, which they made great stress on you - you had to feel as though you'd been called to the Church, and that no - nobody would actually want to pin that down to Jesus calls you to this. What does that mean!? It depends on how you define ordination? I was examined, I was selected, I was trained, taught, and ordained. In the sense that you do need a formal service in terms of marriage, and baptism - burial, an ordination one, too. So you do need to stand up publicly and say, this person, or these people are now *claps* recognised by the Church as capable of serving the community. How you frame that and how you do that can change. The language can change the emphasis can change, but essentially you're going to have some kind of service, some kind of public recognition of the change in status these people have.[371]

How far does the archivist face the same challenges? There are not shortages in those wanting to do the job as the Church of Scotland minister described. However, the pressures of funding mean that archivists have to make decisions of how to do more, with less, and look to volunteers to fill the gaps; the pressures are similar and present. This is especially true in 'traditional' archival roles (rather than in information and records management), and there are frequent battles fought against the cutting of services.[372] However, the Church of Scotland minister had optimism: 'It's not bleak! Well, it's scary, but there's an excitement in it - this is like 75 AD they were all setting out how they were going to do Church, that's where we are again. That's exciting.'[373]

---

370 Appendix C, p. 26

371 Appendix D, p. 37

372 For example, the proposals in 2019 by Northamptonshire County Council to reduce opening hours and levy heavy charges to users, alongside the closure of several libraries. Although this was later re-visited, it is one of a line of cuts to the GLAM sector. Northamptonshire County Council, 'Statement: Northamptonshire Archives & Heritage Service', Jiscmail Archives_NRA Listsere <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=ind1708&L=ARCHIVES-NRA&P=R6690&X=D22B10CB5C47A71FA7&Y=adele.redhead%40glasgow.ac.uk> [accessed 10 November 2019].

373 Appendix B, p. 14

Theory, practice, and the Priest

The ways in which theory and practice inform each other has been key through this study, from the perspective of the archivist and the priest.

Ministers and priests are expected to have to reconcile theory and practice. In the interview, the Church of Scotland minister spoke very clearly about the tensions between the official theology of his church and the expectations and practice of his congregation:

> Certainly, we have rules, and I've looked up the rules, hand on my heart, I don't know I adhere to it. I don't. And it's not because I decided not to. I just don't. And the rules are about [gets paper to check]- "The Lord's table was open to any baptised person who loves the Lord and responds in faith to the invitation to eat". And then it says, the minster is obliged to test the faith of the person who is taking the Lord's Supper. What I say at the start of the service for the Lord's Supper is "the Lord's Supper is open to anyone who loves the Lord", so I do depart from the Churches rules…[374]

The well-being of the community, as expressed in their ability to receive the Eucharist is the important thing here. There are rules laid down, but there is an element of freedom to allow the minister or priest to use their imagination when adhering to them; much as the archivist needs to when allowing entry to the searchroom, or when cataloguing collections. The priest from the Roman Catholic Church described a similar tension, having stated that those who were able to receive were:

> Any baptised, Catholic who's attained the age of reason, who has celebrated the Sacrament of Penance and who, so they can receive Holy Communion after being properly prepared. So generally speaking, thereafter, people who are in a state of grace without any knowledge of a grave sin, as baptised Catholics.[375]

On asking how this was policed, he responded 'By them knowing that. So it's not that -- at the time of Holy Communion it would be presumed that those who present themselves for Holy Communion are able to receive Holy Communion.'[376] The question of refusal by the priest was also asked. Here the priest was clear; there are rules which exist, and the congregation are expected to follow them. However, in cases where it is suspected that a member of the congregation should not be receiving the Eucharist, it is rarely refused, mostly for the good of the wider congregation:

[374] Appendix B, p. 4
[375] Appendix C, p 21
[376] Appendix C, p 21

> there might be times where you have a concern about whether someone should or shouldn't receive Holy Communion, but generally speaking it's not the thing to do to take action on that in front of the whole congregation because that can be a cause of scandal. So you have to, you would tell them to be careful. So, for instance, not that long ago, there were people here who looked a bit hesitant and I wasn't really sure if they really knew what it was that they were doing, but nevertheless they were there[377]

The (male) minister from the Scottish Episcopal Church also stated that, whilst he technically should, in practice he would not refuse anyone the Eucharist:

> We're very liberal - any baptised Christian can take part, can receive Communion, it doesn't matter what tradition they are from… you can't enforce that. If they come up to Communion, I mean, you wouldn't deny them it. I mean if they - I mean, if someone wanted to specifically abuse it, then I suppose we could, because you're not going to stop and - I'd never withhold it. It's not what I'm there for.[378]

The other SEC minister had a similar view and experience: 'I feel very strongly I'm not a gatekeeper. I also wouldn't want to, I haven't had to really.'[379] She continued to say 'God can look after himself.'[380]

Thus the community – at least as far as receiving the Eucharist is concerned – is potentially self-selecting. Each church is open to all, and there are no checks of membership cards on the door. The minister or priest must trust that each member of their congregation who receives is 'allowed to' according to the rules set by the denomination. There is a clear community, but this needs to be imaginatively interpreted by the priest.

The archivist can learn much from looking at the celebration of the Eucharist. There is often a pre-conception that archival collections are accessioned, catalogued, and stored… remaining fixed and immobile, occasionally brought out for the benefit of users, but ultimately never changing. However, it is also acknowledged that archives do change through time both through use and environmental factors, and if this is true in the analogue world, it certainly is in the digital. And the 'curation' of archives be they analogue or digital is an ongoing task; collections should be regularly reviewed, appraised, conserved, as necessary. In accepting this, there are real issues surrounding both memory (and its preservation, and how the archivist engages with memory and memorialisation), and authenticity. This study uses the Eucharist as a vehicle to explore these questions and to further archival theory in these areas. In what sense is theology an archive, and how can the

[377] Appendix C, p 21
[378] Appendix C, p 34
[379] Appendix E, p 45
[380] Appendix E, p 48

priest be seen as an archivist? If the archivist sets out to preserve the records which are in their care, how far can this be compared to the minister or priest using theology and their liturgies as a preservative for their tradition? The Church has kept the memory of the Eucharist alive for 2,000 years. What can the archivist learn from this? In essence, in what sense can the theology of the liturgy be an archive? When we are thinking as an archivist, can we recognise (and we, as archivists, learn from) theology as an archive? The following chapter will answer these questions.

Chapter 5: The archivist as builder of community and preserver of identity

This thesis has been designed to enable a meaningful comparison to be made between the roles of archivist and priest. This is to allow discussion surrounding how the archivist has a similar function to the priest within the context of the celebration of the Eucharist, and to establish if we can consider the archivist to hold a similar role to the priest as both a builder of community and a preserver of memory. Previous chapters have looked at how the archivist can be compared to a priest. This chapter is taking a slightly different approach, looking at how the archivist can be thought of as a celebrant. As we have seen, the minister or priest is the individual who is acting as a celebrant, in many situations – for example for weddings and funerals (although for this study we are, as discussed, looking principally at the celebration of the sacrament of the Eucharist in Normal Time). However, a celebrant is not necessarily purely a minister or priest, but instead, the term refers to a wider pool of individuals, encompassing those of other religious beliefs and of no religion. The scope of this study is deliberately widened here to enable a broader look at the role of the archivist, and how this role can be seen to have parallels with the way in which the minister or priest celebrates the Eucharist. The validity of this approach can be seen when thinking about the crucial elements of the role of the priest or minister when celebrating the Eucharist (as established in Chapter 5) and the role of the archivist.

The word '*celebrant'* means 'one who celebrates… from French cèlèbrant "officiating clergyman" (in celebrating the eucharist) or directly from the Latin celebrantem… "assemble together; sing the praises of; practice often",' This definition helps to establish the importance of bringing together the community in this way.[381] For this section of the study it is necessary to explore the ways in which 'community' is defined in both spheres, and the impact this definition has upon how the authenticity and memory within the community can be viewed and preserved. It is especially pertinent to compare the respective professional positions of both archivist and minister or priest within their community, and what their role is within this to ensure both the preservation of the community memory, and how they ensure that any such preservation is authentic. The celebration of the Eucharist is

[381] 'Celebrant (n.)', Online *Etymology Dictionary* <Etymonline.com/word/celebrant> [accessed 9 July 2019].

of course important to our understanding of both of these elements of memory and community: the Eucharist is built upon the preservation of memory within the community, and the Eucharist needs to be celebrated in a way which is meaningful and 'authentic' to the community as a whole to be a carrier for this memory and presence. The role of the priest, and comparing the role of the archivist alongside it will allow us to demonstrate in a meaningful way how the archivist can be considered as 'celebrant' and this final chapter of the thesis will bring together the themes of the previous sections and allow final conclusions to be made.

Methodology of this section

This section will use a similar methodology as Chapter 4. Serving priests from different and complimentary denominations were interviewed, and their answers were analysed and set against the basic tenants of archive theory. This was particularly useful to enable a comparison to be made between ways in which different communities within one tradition of faith seek to allow the Eucharist to act as a means to preserving cultural shared memory, in particular how presence is linked to memory in these two areas of archives and religious practice. How can the ways in which memory is viewed within these different communities enable us to think about the approach of the archivist, and can these comparisons allow us to re-visit the archival theory surrounding community and memory, and ultimately how does this let us think about the role of the archivist within the preservation of these elements which are vital to community identity?

Relevant Literature for this Section

Earlier sections have examined the importance of the work of Sir Hilary Jenkinson, and how he laid the groundwork for archival theory which has been developed and applied over the last century. For example, Chapter 3 on the work of St Hippolytus looked at how The *Apostolic Tradition* can be considered an archive when we apply the definitions which have been used by archive practitioners and theorists today. It is important to remember that Jenkinson writing in a very particular context – his *Manual of Archival Description* was produced in London in 1922, shortly after the end of the First World War.[382] Jenkinson's stance actively removes the archivist from the body of the community by instructing the separation of the professional from the people whom they immortalise within their collections. This applies to both users and creators of records as the stakeholders in the archive as a repository. This group of people are important not only as of and in themselves,

[382] Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.*

but also as part of a wider group who - alongside those who fund the archive – are responsible for ensuring the continued preservation of the memory which can help to define their identity both communally and individually. However, Jenkinson contends that the place of the archivist is to be (deliberately) remote and dispassionate. This view to a large extent places the archivist outwith the usual place of the influencer of how memory can be preserved. If they are to be so un-involved in the records and how they are selected and described, how far is the archivist able to actively promote memory to their community (and especially to particular sections of the community)? However, it does allow for a real play for the 'authenticity' of the means of transmission for this memory. For Jenkinson and later theorists, we have seen within this study that the archivist is there to ensure that there is a guarantee of authenticity within the records they accession to their repository and preserve within. For Jenkinson, there should not be the engagement by the archivist with the community. This could be argued to be at direct odds with the way in which archives operate in the 21st Century – for example, if we look at the example of the Glasgow Women's Library – lauded as an exemplar Library, Museum, and Archive, and nominated for the Art Fund UK Museum of The Year Award in 2018). [383] Jenkinson soundly argues that the archivist should leave the collection as they find it and not be involved in order to ensure authenticity and to maintain the chain of custody:

> …we have the moral defence of archives, including all problems attendant on the archivist's task of making his archives available for students and the problem (if he feels called upon to face it; I do not myself think he should) of selecting what is worth preserving[384]

In short, for Jenkinson, the archivist was concerned with the preservation of the records which came to him, and not in soliciting records or even appraising them once they had come into the archive. In order to maintain the *Moral Defence*, the archivist had to be separate from the community.

This is a view which the archival theorist Theodore Schellenberg soundly disagreed with. His work responded to Jenkinson's view, and addressed the deficiencies he could see. Of course, Schellenberg was writing some 20 years after Jenkinson, and from a different national perspective. They held differing views, but these differences were severe enough to be seen to transcend these contextual differences. In terms of the importance to this study, Schellenberg's expression of theory is important simply because he would expect the

[383] 'Glasgow Women's Library: Museum of the Year for so Many', *Glasgow Women's Library*, 2018 <http://womenslibrary.org.uk/2018/07/19/glasgow-womens-library-museum-of-the-year-for-so-many/> [accessed 9 July 2019].

[384] Sir Hilary Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, First edition (Gloucester Eng.: Alan Sutton, 1980), p. 119.

archivist to try to become much more involved with the community and how the communal memory can be seen to be represented by future generations. Schellenberg

> …advocates selection based on the value of records for perceived research needs of those other than the creator"[385] and furthermore 'encourages the solicitation of the professional historian's and other social science researchers' opinions as to the research value of records.[386]

Since then, archivists have moved away from the impartiality of Jenkinson, and towards a much more collaborative approach where the archivist works in partnership – and to serve – the community.

This has been especially true over the last 20 years when archivists became increasingly aware of the need to examine the communities which they have been established to serve, and to ensure that they are fully representative of those communities. One example can be found by looking again at the success of the Glasgow Women's Library and their response to the appetite for Women's History. In addition, approaches to the history of other minority groups is important, as demonstrated by small specialist repositories such as the Scottish Jewish Archives, based in Glasgow in Garnethill Synagogue, or the archives at small independent institutions like the Govanhill Baths or Hutcheson's Grammar School. These repositories are often staffed by a professional archivist (often part-time) and have their work heavily supplemented by volunteers from the community which they seek to represent.[387] The ways in which archival repositories have been able to reflect upon and represent the entirety of individuals within their communities. Efforts have been made over the previous few years to allow this sort of collaboration and cooperation between professionals and community to flourish. For example, from 2008 – 2013 Dr Andrew Flinn of The School of Library and Information Science at University College, London (like Glasgow, also home to programmes accredited variously by CILIP or ARA) was awarded grants from the Arts and Humanities Research Council in order to enable research and practice in community archives, with an emphasis on documenting and sustaining community heritage.[388] As this funding proves, in order to function in the 21st Century Archives are expected to identify their communities and to work with them.

---

[385] Reto Tschan, 'A Comparison of Jenkinson and Schellenberg on Appraisal', *The American Archivist*, 65.2 (2002), 176–95 (p. 181) <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.65.2.920w65g3217706l1>.

[386] Tschan, p. 183.

[387] Both these examples have professional archivists. – graduates form the programme I convene – employed for 2-3 days a week.

[388] 'UCL Staff Pages - Andrew Flinn', *UCL Staff Pages - Andrew Flinn* <https://ucl.ac.uk/information-studies/andrew-flinn>. [accessed 9 July 2019].

Identification of Community

As we have seen in Chapter 4, ministers and priests have communities that are in a sense clearly defined and based on church membership, but also potentially fluid and rather adaptable depending upon many different circumstances. The members of the church are easy to define; there will be a registration at some level (be that at confirmation, baptism, locally when someone new comes into the parish or otherwise joins the church). However, there are those who may live locally and feel part of the church community but not members in the formal sense. There may be those who do not normally feel part of the church community, and who would not normally countenance the Church as being part of their life, and who do not engage with the community at all (or only for prayers in desperation when in dire-straights). As Michael Ramsey says in *The Christian Priest Today* 'fewer people today have the poetic feeling which builds an imaginative bridge from one culture to another.'[389] There may also be those who might outwardly be identified as members of the community (again, for example by baptism or confirmation) and yet do not participate in community life. The minister or priest must try to serve all of these individuals.

The identification of community is similar in archives; the people who the archive might reasonably expect to be part of their community might not even be aware of their existence. For example, the University of Glasgow Archive exists to serve the University as an institution and those people who make up the institution. And yet a huge proportion of undergraduates, postgraduates, and staff have ever used the archive, even in subjects where they might have been expected to (History; History of Art; English Language…). Despite never having used it, they are still part of the 'archive community' the archive holds records that have defined their degree, their institution, their study, and will eventually contain records of these individuals themselves. The archive represents all of the community, no matter what the awareness of each individual is. Similarly, people who are attending church on a Sunday might pray 'for the Church and for the world' in the intercessions, the community is beyond easy definition and beyond the recognition of those who might be 'part' of it.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the minister or priest can keenly see the ways in which they have to balance theory and practice. It is important to remember that the priest is not just a theologian, just as the archivist is not just an archival theorist. For both, we can find the theory (archival or theological) is stimulated by practice. Theory and practice both have an important and impactful relationship when we examine the practical work of both the

[389] Ramsey, p. 29.

archivist and the priest. Individuals acting in both roles need to have an appreciation of the theory which underpins their work. To perform their roles to best benefit their community (which will be discussed further later), they must have an understanding of the possibilities and limitations of their role, and an appreciation of what they are required to do. This includes an appreciation of what their employing organisation requires them to do in these areas.[390] In particular, it is important to understand how the requirements and needs of the wider organisational community (archive or church) converge against the needs and wishes of both the professional and their community; be that their church, the bishop, their line-manager.

We can see that in many fields with an accompanying professional role it is deemed necessary to undertake appropriate training in order to practice that theory must underpin the practice, but in turn, good practice informs the theory and allows the profession to grow and develop. Within this context, it is reasonable to think of both the priest and the archivist as the 'professional' in their own realm. We can take as examples the examples of the teacher, lawyer, archaeologist, and numerous other professions, responsible for preserving tradition and passing this on to others. If we look at those in these roles and other similar ones, we can see that their status is confirmed by virtue of them firstly having undertaken a pre-ascribed training programme, usually at degree or postgraduate level, and secondly that this training is acknowledged and valued by their own community and wider society. For the priest, 'the Church' acts as the accrediting body, in the same way that the GMC decides which Universities can award medical degrees in the UK, after oversight into their curriculum. This is important within this study because as I have demonstrated, the ways in which the archivist and the priest can enable the links between theory and practice within their respective fields certainly help to ensure that theory progresses and develops in the light of the practice, and that it is continually updated in the light of what is happening in the life of the community. Both archivist and priest deal with communities which are

[390] This word is used advisedly when we think about the work of the priest, who is of course not employed in the traditional sense, but instead 'employed by God' rather than the temporal institution. 'Employment Status of Clergy: Goodbye to the "Servant of God"? | Law & Religion UK' <https://www.lawandreligionuk.com/2016/05/09/employment-status-of-clergy-goodbye-to-the-servant-of-god/> [accessed 2 March 2019]. This piece goes on to quote "The concept of a minister as a person called by God, a servant of God and the pastor of His [ie, presumably, God's] local church members seems to me to be central to the relationship.' 'Davies v Presbyterian Church of Wales: HL 1986 - Swarb.Co.Uk' <https://swarb.co.uk/davies-v-presbyterian-church-of-wales-hl-1986/> [accessed 2 March 2019].
For the purposes of this study this status, without an easy parallel in 21st Century life, this is recognised and acknowledged but the status of the priest is recognised as being comparable in practical terms to that of the archivist, who is 'employed' in the traditional sense.
Similarly, the priest is referred to in this study as a whole as a 'professional' but with the acknowledgement that they are not a professional in the same way that others might be considered to be (for example, the archivist)

simultaneously historical, living, and evolving, and both theory and practise has to reflect the reality of the day.

The remit of the archivist

Every archive has a community for whom they exist to serve. For some archives this is easy to establish: the University Archive exists to primarily serve the University community, and secondarily to serve local users (the "Town and Gown" concept), and academics from elsewhere; the academic community. The Local Authority Archive has its first responsibility to the local area covered by its council boundary, and secondarily researchers from elsewhere; possibly academics or people with a link (possibly generations previously) to the area. Specialist repositories can be a little more difficult. A business archive might exist to serve their own company, and only their company, or they might be open to external users too. Each archive would normally have a Collection Policy, which would allow them to build their collections, and to locate themselves firmly within the community which they seek to serve.

Service and community

Both roles of priest and archivist can be seen to work best when they are fully established and integrated themselves within their respective communities. For this to happen it is necessary to first establish what is meant by 'community'. Who does this encompass, and how can it be defined? The importance of community to both archivists and priests is key to this chapter, and when we contrast the ways in which people in authority in both areas view and interact with community, we can see that there are clear analyses that can be made surrounding the ways in both communities underline the importance of their community to them. If we view the archivist and the priest as being in various ways a focal point of their communities, where does this lead this analysis? For the religious and archival communities there are several areas that are important to highlight.

Firstly, it is usually possible to analyse what cultural heritage professionals would view as their existing user community. Who is already coming in to visit the archive, library, or museum? Where have they come from, and do they already have a link with the host institution? For the priest, this immediate and active community would comprise of those who are already attending their services and (particularly for this study) participating in the Celebration of the Eucharist in their church congregation. However, for both groups, there are additional factors that should be considered. The archivist will want to look at those who are accessing resources online; who is interrogating their online catalogues, and retrieving

other digital resources; for example, digitised images. This information is more difficult to be able to access (if at all) from users who are remote rather than sitting physically present in the search-room. Even if the archive is tracking who is accessing these remote resources, it is likely that only very limited information will be able to be gathered, kept, and available to be analysed. Requiring users to register with personal details, interest, and areas of research would help, and could potentially be used alongside records of what they had accessed would provide a level of detail which, as we have seen, could certainly add granularity to the understanding of what the existing user 'community is. Nevertheless, this would at present only be a possibility (and then only after gaining explicit consent for collecting, processing, and storing the data in this way and for this purpose) if each service had made the decision to host their own catalogue data, digitised images and other surrogates.

However, recent trends which have been focussed on making archives – be that catalogue data, original records, or surrogates, have led to the creation of large catalogue portals where the data of several institutions are brought together to enable users to identify where archival holdings are which might be of use to them in their research.[391] Presently the large projects in the UK do not require this but instead promote ease and freedom of access over this type of data collecting. The National Archives have a page dedicated to describing these, stating "*Contributing to an archives network can open up access to your collections*".[392] For example, to use one of the largest, the UK Archives Hub which allows the searching of archival descriptions across over 300 institutions in the UK, no registration is required and no user data is collected.[393] However, these are the places where many researchers will go in order to remotely access information about archival holdings at the macro level, and images of individual records at the micro level. If a researcher is in the archive itself then staff can have a greater understanding of the researcher's motivations, collections accessed,

[391] This began in the UK with the establishment of the Historic Manuscripts Commission in 1869, which was set up in order to collect together the catalogues of collections (archives) which were in private hands. The National Archives, 'The National Archives - Historical Manuscripts Commission - The National Archives', *Archives Sector* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/our-archives-sector-role/historical-manuscripts-commission/> [accessed 2 March 2019]. From this grew the idea that archival theory was important, and The National Archives (home to the configuration of the HMC today) has spearheaded not only the development of union catalogues for archival description, but also the development of theory and its integration in practice -Sir Hilary Jenkinson was employed by the predecessor body to The National Archives, the Public Record Office).

[392] The National Archives, 'The National Archives - Cataloguing Systems and Archives Networks - The National Archives', *Archives Sector* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/advice-and-guidance/managing-your-collection/documenting-collections/cataloguing-and-archives-networks/> [accessed 2 March 2019].

[393] 'Home - Archives Hub' <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/> [accessed 2 March 2019].

depth and subject of research… In short why they have placed themselves within the user community of that repository.

Understanding the potential community is even more difficult than understanding the remote user community; as described in Chapter 5, The priest also faces similar challenges; the community of the church – their church – is often made up of registered members, yet more who have not registered will attend their events (and the Celebration of the Eucharist is particularly relevant for this approach), and yet the church is, as the archive, open to all. In addition to those registered and un-registered community members, there are also those who would consider themselves to be part of the community through attendance at particular events such as weddings, funerals, and celebrations at times of liturgical significance ('Midnight Mass' at Christmas or the Easter Sunday Service for examples). This underlines the important place the church has within the community. Like the archive, it is there when people need it to be. However, like the archive, it is difficult to see how this wider community can be fully integrated within the close, engaged community. This section is titled "Community and Service" because of the acknowledgement of the need to 'serve' within the community, but there are no easy answers about how this can happen – either in the ecclesial or archival realms. In particular, there will be those who can be easily identified as forming part of the community, and those who benefit from the community without direct contact. Examples here are the people who are prayed for each service ('we pray for the church, and for the world…' followed by a list of intentions both spoken and silent). The archive too serves those who are not even consciously aware of its existence; those who have their own records created, kept, and made available for use, and those too who benefit from this happening to others. In the context of a university archive this might be the doctors, nurses, lawyers teachers… who need to follow a set academic curriculum in order to be thought of as fit to practice – the records which are kept surrounding this (records of individuals and also the institutional-level curriculum details and correspondence with professional bodies).

The community in a wider sense benefits from both church and archive, and the trust placed within both institutions. The key in all of this is continuity, and continuity even in change, and ultimately the notion of service; 'I was simply, as I said, a servant of servants,'[394] for the minister or priest, whilst the archivist might simply talk of their service to their organisation and their community.

[394] Appendix D, p. 40

Communities in the religious sphere

The three denominations which have been examined in more detail in this study – The Church of Scotland, The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, and The Scottish Episcopal Church all have stated policies and programmes which are designed to enhance their place within a community. The easiest place to find this is at an organisational level, and it is often linked to the ability to provide funding for small community projects. The Church of Scotland has a scheme called the *Go for it Fund*, 'which aims to encourage creative ways of working, which develop the life and mission of the local church, and are transformative for both communities and congregations.'[395] The Catholic Church has similar, although this is usually organised at diocesan rather than national levels. For example, the Diocese of Paisley has the St Mirin's Fund, with similar aims to "awards small grants from our Episcopal Charities Fund for good causes that promote the work of the Kingdom of God among us."[396]

It is a little more difficult to find information on the view of the Scottish Episcopal Church regarding their view of community. No equivalent way of funding community projects is publicised. However, they do have a section of published 'Faith in Action' prayer guides (produced in conjunction with the Produced by the Church in Society Committee of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church in Scotland and the Church & Society Committee of the United Reformed Church Synod of Scotland) on their site which focuses on different elements of their wider community – including children and young people, homelessness, prisons, and Asylum Seekers.[397] Many of these not only encourage prayer but practical involvement – for example by encouraging visiting to Dunvagel Detention Centre or joining societies and groups which would help asylum seekers in the community.[398]

Therefore, we can see that it is not only part of the responsibilities of the individual priest within a congregation to ensure the growth of their church community, but also the wider church bodies too. The priest is the symbolic head of the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but this is because they are acting as Christ in this role. The archivist would not normally think of themselves as 'acting as Jenkinson' or any other archival theorist, but

[395] The Church of Scotland, 'Go For It Fund', 2018 <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/serve/go_for_it> [accessed 4 January 2019].
[396] 'St. Mirin's Fund', *Diocese of Paisley* <https://rcdop.org.uk/the-diocese-of-paisley-st-mirins-fund> [accessed 4 January 2019].
[397] 'Faith in Action', *The Scottish Episcopal Church* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/spirituality/prayer/faith-in-action/> [accessed 4 January 2019].
[398] 'Scottish Episcopal Church Prayers for Asylum Seekers' <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/03-march.pdf> [accessed 4 January 2019].

they would (or at least should) be acting in a way that allows the users and other stakeholders to understand the links between theory and practice within their own arena. This view was confirmed in the interviews conducted for this study. The Church of Scotland minister clearly felt that the celebration of the Eucharist was for the benefit of the community:

> The benefits, it's a ritual that we join in together, so there's a community element to it. In the Church of Scotland we have a historical anomaly. That means that it doesn't happen very often… and now most Church of Scotland's in situation where they're celebrating the Lord's Supper 4 times a year. Which isn't enough. It isn't enough.[399]

He detailed the ways he helped involve members of the Church in the celebration, and also the ways in which he was able to increase the number of times the Eucharist was celebrated in his church.[400]

Here we can clearly see how community is realised in a demonstrable, social way through the acknowledgement of the history of the individual within the wider church community, and the efforts which are made by others in the church to promote and maintain this. Communion is also important because of the spiritual aspect, but here this is promoted alongside the human, physical aspects by allowing certain members of the community to be physically present as well as allowing for their metaphysical participation, sharing in the 'spiritual unity'. Indeed, throughout all of the interviews, the notion of service to the community, the Church and her people is strong. The minster or priest is an integral and vital part of that. The fourth interviewee reflected on her role:

> presiding, leading. I suppose leading and, and… It is so difficult to put into words, I thought, and reflected on this and the priest has a place in the Eucharist. Personally speaking it's what I do, and who I am, and what I'm for, but that is both as a priest as a human being, and as a Christian. Something we do together in which the priest has a particular job and role and function. But it's the absolute root of who I am and who we are, and what I feel created for.[401]

Communities in Paisley

As stated in Chapter 4, Paisley provides us with useful context for this study simply because it is in many ways unremarkable. It sits within the Central Belt of Scotland, and in many ways is a typical commuter town. As we saw in Chapter 4, there are a range of religious communities represented in the town. It boasts a strong sense of community, as do many similar towns across Scotland. These communities include ones with a religious focus, and

[399] Appendix B, p.5
[400] Appendix B, p.6
[401] Appendix E, p.45

local special interest groups, often tied in with Paisley's rich heritage. The town launched a very credible bid for UK City of Culture 2021, making it through to the final round before losing out to Coventry in 2017.[402] However, the bidding process itself brought great benefits, engaging the local community and raising awareness about the history of the town, its heritage and culture. It has been reported by both the regeneration team and external news sources that the bid, although ultimately unsuccessful, was useful as a springboard to enable greater cultural engagement and town regeneration.[403] This included an ambitious £5Million plan to redevelop the civic museum and central library.[404]

Thinking specifically of the archival landscape of Paisley, Renfrewshire Leisure, an Independent Charitable Trust, operates the libraries, heritage centre, and museum as well as the leisure centres.[405] Access to the archive is via the heritage centre:

> Find out about the local history of Renfrewshire, its people and places, from the earliest times to the present day. Trace your family history and relax in the quiet of the Heritage Centre. Heritage Services run free family history surgeries to help you with your research. Our friendly and experienced staff can help you get started and offer advice when you get stuck.[406]

It is not known if these staff are professionally qualified archivists, but there are certainly qualified professionals working in Records and Information Management within the council, and staff with broad heritage qualifications. In addition, within the redeveloped museum it is intended that there will be a heritage archive centre, to allow interested parties to 'be able to discover local history stories and even your own family tree.'[407] In terms of the community, it is clear that there is will from the Local Authority to develop awareness of the archival heritage of the town, and to appropriately resource this. There is also other archival practice present within Paisley, notably within the University of the West of Scotland, who employ an archivist. Looking on Archon (hosted by The National Archives) there are 9 different institutions listed in Paisley, although not all of these contain archival

---

[402] 'Paisley's Bid to Be UK City of Culture 2021 Is Now Scotland's Bid' <https://www.creativescotland.com/explore/read/blogs/guest-blogs/paisleys-bid-to-be-uk-city-of-culture-2021-is-now-scotlands-bid> [accessed 6 May 2021]; 'About The Bid | Paisley 2021 For UK City of Culture' <http://www.paisley2021.co.uk/about-the-bid/> [accessed 6 May 2021].

[403] 'About The Bid | Paisley 2021 For UK City of Culture'; 'Paisley's "journey Will Continue" despite Culture Bid Disappointment', *BBC News*, 7 December 2017, section Glasgow & West Scotland <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-42274323> [accessed 6 May 2021]; 'Paisley History'.

[404] 'Raising £5m to Transform Paisley Museum', *Paisley Museum Reimagined* <https://reimagined.paisleymuseum.org/> [accessed 6 May 2021].

[405] 'Renfrewshire Leisure - Better for Everybody' <https://www.renfrewshireleisure.com/> [accessed 6 May 2021].

[406] 'Heritage Centre' <https://www.renfrewshireleisure.com/heritage-centre/> [accessed 6 May 2021].

[407] 'Raising £5m to Transform Paisley Museum'.

collections accessible to the public, and some are housed in the two institutions already mentioned.[408]

Memory Institutions and Archival Communities

For some institutions, their primary community is clear; for example, an archive in a private company exists primarily to serve that company. They may allow other (external) users access, but their first priority will always be their internal users as this is necessarily underpinned by the needs and wants of their funding organisation, the business whose archive they hold. In a University, again the priority would normally be internal users – specifically staff and students of that institution, but also the wider academic community. Many universities also have a publicly stated responsibility not only to the academy but also in a wider sense to the local area in which they are based; my own institution of the University of Glasgow states that:

> The University of Glasgow was founded for the benefit of the city and its people. Today, we remain committed to helping Glasgow to flourish, but we are also looking beyond the local area to engage a broader global community in our work. By engaging the public with our research we provide unique insight to our work, highlight the human story behind research endeavour and build public trust in the value of what we do.[409]

This has been recognised by the community too; with Councillor Frank McAveety, Leader of Glasgow City Council, stating in a quotation for a 2016 University press release:

> I know that the University of Glasgow has been engaging strongly with local community groups and businesses in this part of the city and I hope to see a mutually beneficial relationship grow between 'town and gown' as this project develops… The University is an important contributor to the economic, social and cultural future of Glasgow.[410]

The National Archives has an Archives Sector Development team that provides clear and relevant information of the advantages to businesses in managing their archives.[411] This is further supported by a number of organisations who also support practising archivists. Like the priest or minister, many archivists are often working within their communities as sole

---

[408] The National Archives, 'The Discovery Service' <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> [accessed 18 September 2017].
[409] 'University of Glasgow - Connect - Community and Public Engagement' <https://www.gla.ac.uk/connect/publicengagement/> [accessed 1 January 2019].
[410] 'New Campus a Step Closer' <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/news/archives/2016/april/headline_455258_en.html> [accessed 1 January 2019].
[411] 'Welcome to the Best Practice Site for Business Archives', *Managing Business Archives* <https://managingbusinessarchives.co.uk/> [accessed 1 January 2019].

professionals. For the priest or minister, the support and resources available from their wider church organisation are vital to allow them to establish their position within the community – at the head of the community. This position within the wider structure of their Church enables them to establish the framework (the liturgy, the setting and physical environment, and crucially the established beliefs which underpin this all) which must be used when they are undertaking their role. This formal framework follows their early exposure to the work of their denomination and is firmly established firstly at their training (as discussed in Chapter 5) and supported within the historical and current context of their congregations and wider Church. For the archivist too, formal academic training comes following experience within a professional setting (all the programmes on offer in the UK and Ireland make this a requirement of admission), with further experience being offered whilst studying.[412] Then (unless working for large institutions such as national archives or libraries) the archivist will often find themselves the only records professional in their organisation. The professional archival community here becomes important as it provides support and professional perspective for the individual in order to allow them to develop professionally and to fully understand the ways they can put the theory they have learnt whilst on their academic programme into practice. Here we see in both areas the theory and practice and the relationship between the two coming into focus for this study. There are key differences though; the archivist has the support of their organisation but needs to go elsewhere for professional advice and guidance. The priest has organisational support from their denomination (in practical and structural terms, especially for the celebration of the Eucharist) but needs to ensure they can work with peers in other parishes to allow them to grow and develop to aid their community. Both archivist and minister or priest have recognition from their community for the work they do by virtue of their role, but both need to work in various ways to allow their community to consolidate and grow.

One example of how archivists can draw on the advice and expertise available to them is in *The Managing Business Archives* pages from The National Archives. They give the following advice to archivists and interested parties from the business world. They begin by introducing the sorts of language which will be helpful for the professional in a business environment to mirror in order to be able to justify their position within the company. Initially, this is focussed very much on the narrative of the archive, and the benefits to the wider organisation: 'Every company is unique with its own story of achievement, company culture, reputation, products and people. Telling your story… can create the kind of loyalty

[412] ARA, 'Careers FAQs' <https://www.archives.org.uk/careers/careers-faqs.html> [accessed 14 July 2019].

and pride that in tough markets leverages a real competitive advantage.'[413] In terms of thinking of the archivist as celebrant, the key theme to think about here is the way in which the archivist can control the narrative and ensure that the whole organisation can enjoy the benefits of this way of telling the story. If we accept that 'Archives storytelling depends, in every way, on recorded evidence and memory',[414] Then we see a real will within the archival community to ensure the archive itself represents the record, and evidence, and uses this to promote memory.

The TNA resource on Managing Business Archives expands on this, saying:

> The archive is the memory of the business – holding knowledge and evidence of commercial activities, forgotten when people move on… by keeping archives you capture todays experience, knowledge and company know-how for tomorrows management team. It's a powerful tool, its company-generated so don't throw it away![415]

The archivist can be seen to be key to helping understanding of the organisation as a whole about their own history and can enable the bringing of the past into the present. The ministers and priests interviewed would also support this view of their work; being the enabler of memory. The Church of Scotland minister spoke of the Eucharist as 'a Sacrament of memory, it's a Sacrament in which you remember the promises. It's like a knot in your hanky, it reminds you to pick up the milk. I mean that's - at its simplest level, that's what it is, it's a reminder that Jesus said this, and he said if to us, for us'.[416] The other priests had similar views: 'Jesus said to do this in memory of him. And our understanding is that as you do this he becomes present for us'[417](Roman Catholic) and 'the whole thing is a memorial service too - it's for us, but it's also a reflection on Christ's life and suffering and his gift of the Last Supper, his pattern of celebrating something that is rich, and strange and… mysterious.'[418] (SEC). So here we can see a contrast in views between the celebration of the Eucharist being a reminder of what happened at the Last Supper and afterwards, through to enabling the presence of Christ within the Eucharist, and bringing the past into the present. How far can we directly compare this role of the minister or priest as the enabler of this in the context of the celebration of the Eucharist, with the role of the archivist?

---

[413] 'Why Do Companies Manage Their Archives?', *Managing Business Archives* <https://managingbusinessarchives.co.uk/getting-started/exploiting-the-archive/why-do-companies-manage-their-archives/> [accessed 1 January 2019].

[414] Tanya Zanish-Belcher, 'Keeping Evidence and Memory: Archives Storytelling in the Twenty-First Century', *The American Archivist*, 82:1, 2019, 9–23 (p. 9).

[415] 'Why Do Companies Manage Their Archives?'

[416] Appendix B, p. 11

[417] Appendix C, p. 26

[418] Appendix D, p. 40

The role of the professional within the community

If we look at the rise in community archives and the ways in which communities can feel that the archive is there to both serve and represent them. It is their archive. But how far must the archivist be there to serve them, and what does this mean to both the professional, and the community? Specifically, what do they do, and what do they think their role is within the community?

We can see some parallels with the focus on community by the minister or priest's approach to serving and growing their community, and some recent work being done in archives and collections at the University of Glasgow. The Global History Hackathons, led by Glasgow academics in partnership with archivists and curators allow team-working across academic profiles and roles.[419] Here the archivist becomes an enabler of research in a different way; rather than the usual model of users coming to the archive (either physically or through correspondence), potentially interested parties are exposed to a selection of records or objects with a particular theme or from a particular collection. This works because it breaks down traditional barriers between the archivist or curator and the user, and enables real collaborative working as the group discuss ways the material can be used. Different expertise in the room allows for progress in developing new research projects and to see where researchers from different disciplines can dovetail their expertise. Here we see the archivist as an equal collaborator helping to realise the potential of their collections. Whilst we can see parallels in many of the ways that ministers and priests, and archivists can relate to their communities, this is a real difference. Both are acting as 'a servant of servants'[420] but the outcome for the rest of the community is not the same; 'The priest will help the people realise both the Godward and the manward aspects of the liturgy'[421] whereas the archivist might need to think about uses for their collections, and might be concerned with the user's interpretation of them, but ultimately accepts the responsibility is with the user and not them.

Time and Space

One of the ways we can see differences and similarities between the roles of archivist and minister or priest is when we look at how time and the passing of time can be thought of. Both use the resources at their disposal to enable a view of the past, but in the ecclesial

[419] 'University of Glasgow - Schools - School of Social & Political Sciences - Research - Research in Economic & Social History - Projects - Global History Hackathons - Global History Hackathons' <https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/research/economicsocialhistory/projects/global%20historyhackathons/history%20hackathons/> [accessed 14 July 2019].

[420] Appendix D, p. 35

[421] Ramsey, p. 16.

context this goes hand-in-hand with the bringing of the past into the present. The Church of Scotland minister interviewed stated that:

> to enable us to be the people he called us to be… so the gathering, the gathering is of the church, both in heaven and on earth. In this one moment, we're kind of united with the angels and saints in heaven who are a part, also a part of who witnessed this offering of sacrifice, to God the Father. So you've got the kind of both becoming present from the sacrifice of Calvary and it's also the taste of the heavenly banquet. In that sense, it's practical, mind you..[422]

This demonstrates that as we have seen earlier in this study, for those sharing in the celebration of the Eucharist transcends time and place whilst simultaneously grounding the participants in the community of their here and now; 'On the one hand, every Eucharist exists in a particular time and place. On the other hand, each Eucharist is a practice of transgression and a transitus, a transit point, a passageway between worlds.'[423] The archivist or user might feel a sense of the past when they are looking at their records, but they are not linked with the past in the same way that minister, priest, and congregation are in the celebration of the Eucharist. The archivist in this sense becomes the medium in a different way to the priest; the Roman Catholic priest interviewed stated: 'so that basically the priest stands between God and the people, representing one to the other. '[424] However, the archivist has a different task; they must allow their collections to be accessed by the user, and to a large extent at this point they lose the power to influence what happens next; how the research is completed, and what story is to be told. If 'Archives and their use enable a cycle of storytelling with multiple characters and perspectives, different endings, and even never-endings'[425] then we can see that the raw material is provided, the stories made available, the collections presented in a particular way, but ultimately the storytelling down to the rest of the community. This is different to the celebration of the Eucharist where by virtue of their participation, the community are openly demonstrating that they ascribe to a particular narrative already fixed.

Theory and Practice in the Archive

As we saw in Chapter 4, theory and practice are integrally linked for many professions, including the priest and the archivist. The priests and minister interviewed all stressed the

[422] Appendix B p. 23
[423] Philip Sheldrake, 'Human Identity and the Particularity of Place', *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, 1.1 (2001), 43–64 (p. 62) <https://doi.org/10.1353/scs.2001.0018>.
[424] Appendix C p. 18
[425] Zanish-Belcher, p. 10.

importance of inclusivity and how those who receive the Eucharist must be responsible for their own ability to receive, and their own judge of their merit to do so.

This inclusivity is similar to the way in which many archives work in the 21st Century, but has certainly grown over the last decades. The former need for a 'letter of recommendation' and assurances that a potential user was a 'bona-fide researcher' has gone. As Helen Forde (then president of the Society of Archivists of the UK and Ireland) said in her 2005 article for the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 'The most far-reaching change must be the opportunities for access; access for a wide range of people of all ages, persuasions, and physical and mental abilities.'[426] And throughout her article Forde surveys the attempts by archives to be more inclusive; to widen their user base and to think more creatively about the people who use their collections.

> Education in archives used to centre largely on historical events; now literacy and numeracy programmes are also high on the agendas of those involved. The content of such programmes can help those at risk of social exclusion—of whatever age—to relate to familiar places and people and perhaps, through being undertaken in a non-orthodox manner, or non-threatening way, promote abilities and stimulate an interest in learning. Some archives have taken this further, working with groups with learning difficulties, or using oral history programmes to revive memories for older people, such as the East Midlands Oral History archive which aimed to capture memories of the changes in the lives of the local Bangladeshi community. All the evidence suggests that such methods of stimulating interest, which play on the involvement provided by the subject matter, draw participants into new exploration and stimulate new ideas. Access to archives was never so important.[427]

Of particular interest from the longer quotation above is the mention of a 'non-orthodox manner.' Here we see an archivist using what this study has previously designated as the language of the theological or religious realm. The suggests that the move away from the practices of old – from Jenkinson and even Schellenberg – can be seen to be a move away from 'orthodoxy'. And yet is to be encouraged to (to paraphrase Forde) stimulate interest and draw new audiences in. Surely in this aim, we have a parallel with the Church, even if the sentiment would be very different; the priest or minister would want to reach new audiences whilst maintaining orthodoxy. The archivist wants to reach new audiences, but is willing to risk orthodoxy in order to do so. Earlier in this study, I compared orthodoxy to authenticity. Would the archivist be willing to risk authenticity in the same way? Surely

---

[426] Helen Forde, 'Access and Preservation in the 21st Century: What Has Changed?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 26.2 (2005), 193–200 (p. 193) <https://doi.org/10.1080/00039810500284549>.

[427] Forde, p. 195.

not, because in the words of Millar, 'records are authentic'[428]. Without authenticity, we have no archive, and without orthodoxy, we have no Eucharist.

This approach has only increased over the last few decades, with initiatives having grown, for example, the work being done by many archives to help those with dementia.[429]

The Archivist, the Priest, and Performance

This section will establish how the available archival literature link with the literature available in performing arts, in particular surrounding the recording of performance and the re-use of the recorded to enable new and developing performances in the future?

In recent years a number of volumes have been published which have helped to advance archival theory, many of which have looked specifically at how the archivist has had to take responsibility for building and promoting memory, and the techniques they can employ to when serving and growing their community. A number of these will be detailed here, starting with Sue McKemmish's edited volume *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society* in 2005,[430] which helped to cement the idea in archival consciousness of the transaction is in recordkeeping and archival theory being an essential characteristic.[431] Each record should be a transaction of something. When read in conjunction with David Levy's *Scrolling Forward*, it gives a well-rounded picture of the differences in management of records created in different formats and for different reasons. Louise Craven's *What are Archives*? helped to bridge the gap between more traditional archival texts which had usually concentrated on the practical side of the role (for example James Bradsher's *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions*[432]), and other texts like Levy's which were authored by people from allied fields. These publications led to a number of other volumes being published in the area of archive theory, notable Laura Millar's *Archives: Principles and Practices*,[433] Caroline Brown's edited volume on *Archives and Recordkeeping: Theory into Practice;*[434] Caroline William's *Managing Archives: Foundations, Principles and Practice*,[435] Terry Eastwood and Heather

[428] Millar, *Archives*, p. 9.
[429] One example of this is the BBC Remarc project, where they aim to '*support reminiscence therapy*' 'BBC Remarc' <https://remarc.bbcrewind.co.uk/> [accessed 10 July 2019].
[430] McKemmish and others.
[431] see Lena-Maria Oberg and Erik Borglund, 'What Are the Characteristics of Records?', *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PUBLIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS*, 2.1 (2012) <http://www.ijpis.net/ojs/index.php/IJPIS/article/view/29> [accessed 13 April 2016].
[432] Bradsher.
[433] Millar, *Archives*.
[434] Brown.
[435] Eastwood and MacNeil.

MacNeil's *Currents of Archival Thinking*,[436] and most recently the 6 volume series edited by Kate Theimer on *Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (with individual volumes on *Description; Outreach; Reference and Access; Educational Programmes; Appraisal and Acquisition;* and *Management*). These have been supplemented by other works concentrating on particular areas such as Jeanette Bastian and Ben Alexander's *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*.

This momentum has helped to increase the confidence of the profession and to ground it more fully in theory to enable good practice. In terms of this study, these works can demonstrate not only a growing awareness of archival theorists of the importance of defining key concepts (such as memory) within their writing, taking note of the experience of professionals and users. As will be demonstrated in this study, this is increasingly important when we consider the move from analogue to digital, and how this move has forced both groups (professional and user) to confront how theory and practice necessarily both intersect and drive each other. These theory-practice links can also be seen in the world of theology and religious studies; in both disciplines, the theory must both be informed and inform the practice. The archival literature mentioned above is key in enabling the archival practitioner to understand these links and to drive both theory and practice forward.

Modern archival theory, and indeed the way in which many archivists in the UK have engaged with theory, can reasonably be said to have its foundations in the writings of Sir Hilary Jenkinson. He is widely acknowledged to be the founding father of modern archival theory, and someone who 'exerted a deep and significant influence on the archive profession as it now is'.[437] Certainly, without Jenkinson's input, it is doubtful that the profession of archivist would have quite the attraction or currency which it does today. This is not to say that he alone developed the notion of what an archivist should do, but more that he was able to lay down the foundations of the professionalisation of the role, and consequently set the tone for much of went later. This is not to say that Jenkinson's role is without controversy; it has been argued that the typical traditional reluctance for many archivists to become directly engaged in theory and its development (especially towards the end of the twentieth century) is a direct result of the early insistence on absolute impartiality and separation from any possible interference with the collections. As Brown says in her introduction to Archives and Recordkeeping: Theory into Practice:

> A further reluctance of archivists to engage with theory can perhaps be traced to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records Office in the United

[436] Bastian and Alexander.
[437] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*, p. Flyleaf.

> Kingdom and much quoted author of archival ideas. His insistence on impartiality and not compromising the integrity of archives (their 'moral defence', Jenkinson, 1965) can be viewed as a call for a detachment from theory, as theory can represent a dangerous tendency towards interference in the archival process[438]

This approach has led to much subsequent discussion in the archive world on the possibility of the archivist ever being able to remain truly 'neutral' when looking after records in their care. If rational neutrality cannot be expected much less guaranteed, then would it not be better to just recognise and accept any bias, and therefore work towards ways of countering it? Much of the theory of the late twentieth century argued around these points, with authors such as Eastwood, Roberts and Nesmith being at the forefront of the discussions as to not only the state of archival theory but even how far it could be argued that there was a sufficient body of research and writing in the area to sustain the newly emerging profession. Despite all this, Jenkinson's early writings on the archive and archival profession still underpin much of what we understand to be archival theory today. It is especially relevant to the English-speaking world with the discussion having its originating base in London but having engaged authors from not only the wider UK but also North America, Australia, and New Zealand. A full examination of these discussions can be found in Brown and elsewhere, but for the purposes of this study it is important to recognise that archival theory does exist and has in recent years become not only more confident in the development of different strands of theory, but has also thereby promoted the confidence of the record-keeper as a member of a meaningful if emerging profession.

One of the foremost contemporary thinkers in this field is Eric Ketelaar, who has written much over the last twenty years on archive and memory and the capturing of performance. Verne Harris is important because of his work in post-apartheid South Africa, looking at the use of archives for truth and reconciliation and justice. More recently, Andrew Flinn, Caroline Williams, and Louise Craven have looked at different uses of archives to tell a community or national story. Importantly, many of these current archival theorists not only look at the responsibility of the archive to reflect the community which they purport to serve but also at ways in which they can proactively move to ensure a more even representation of the whole community, rather than of just the few. This is important when we reflect that recently history has been criticised for the telling of the upper-class, white, male, story, and has largely ignored the marginalised.

[438] Brown, p. xiv.

As previously noted, a recent and notable volume is *Community Archives: the Shaping of Memory* by Jeannette Bastian and Ben Alexander.[439] This work brings research in the period up-to-date, and fully allows the reader to analyse recent literature on community archives. Of particular interest to this study are the chapters by Patricia Galloway on *Oral Tradition in Living Cultures: the Role of Archives in the Preservation of Memory*,[440] and Eric Ketelaar's chapter on *A Living Archive, Shared Communities of Records*.[441] Both of these, alongside Andrew Flinn's introductory chapter[442] help to establish the landscape of archival theory, and to allow the reader to begin to analyse this area. Their discussion of archival theory and subsequent analysis of it against the backdrop of community archives of different types is highly relevant to this research and will be fully examined later.

When examining the archival theory, one very useful volume is John Ridener's 2009 volume *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory*,[443] which examines archival theory from the last 120 years in order to demonstrate commonalities and cohesion of approach as well as the development of this relatively new discipline. Key archival thinkers of each time frame are examined from The Dutch Manual through Jenkinson and Schellenburg, through to contemporary discourse. It has been useful to read this text alongside *Refiguring the Archive*[444] which looks at many different branches of archival theory and how they can be illustrated When taken in conjunction with other recent publications such as Louise Craven's edited *What Are Archives?: Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader*,[445] and Caroline William's *Managing Archives*.[446] That many of these volumes are edited collections possibly sheds light upon the comparative youth of Archival Theory and Information Science as a discipline, but also upon the vast amount of ground which each author is trying to cover. Of course, this latter observation is as true of the liturgical studies which have formed part of the canon of available literature. These are useful to the reader seeking to gain an overview of the different approaches to theory, and in the information science fields this approach helps to give an overview of how theory informs practice, and how practice is in turn influenced by theoretical thinking.

---

[439] Bastian and Alexander.
[440] Bastian and Alexander, pp. 65–86.
[441] Bastian and Alexander, pp. 109–32.
[442] Bastian and Alexander, pp. xxi–xxiv.
[443] Terry Cook and John Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth, Minn: Litwin Books, 2009).
[444] *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton (Dordrecht : London: Kluwer Academic, 2002).
[445] Craven.
[446] Williams, *Managing Archives (Information Professional)*.

Change and preservation of tradition

Both archivists and priests or ministers are concerned with the preservation and conservation of tradition. They are celebrating the same Eucharist, and keeping the same archives, but what needs to change through time are how they do this. Of course, we can expect some fields to develop and the fruits of the relationship between theory and practice to materialise more quickly and decisively than others, but nevertheless we can still see this process. However, the pace of progress is not always easily assumed; one might have predicted that an institution that has been in existence for a couple of millennia would be slow to change. However, we only need to look at the change in the ways the Eucharist was celebrated before and after Vatican 2, and (as detailed in Chapter 5) how the change in the liturgy was authorised by the Church hierarchy, and then adopted, in practice, by the priests who were responsible in individual churches to recognise that even in a long-standing institution like the Catholic Church, change can happen swiftly; the theory underpinning the practice changes, and therefore the practice must change too. If we think about the world of the archivist, we can also see rapid change. The difference here is in the newness of the discipline. When we consider that Jenkinson only published his Manual of Archival Description in 1922,[447] the whole discipline of archival theory in the UK has had less than a century to establish itself, and there has obviously been significant change and growth since then. However, whatever the different rates and peaks of change and development in both theory and practice for both the archivist and priest, throughout it is important to remember that both roles exist to promote and further memory, and to serve their respective communities. 'Key recommendations of the Archives Task Force Report relate to the relevance of archives for the economic, educational and social agendas, and as politics drives these on, archivists are responding with new initiatives and opportunities for access'[448] demonstrates the encouragement of the archives professional to update their skills and to be able to reflect the social and political contexts within which they work.

As these last two chapters demonstrate, this role of service is completed not only to promote memory but also to help the community to consolidate and grow alongside allowing individuals to forge their own identity as members of the community. This has to be accomplished or performed in a way that is 'authentic' (to the archivist), and in a way that can be considered 'orthodox' (to the priest) in order to be of value and to fully establish the position of the professional within the community they have set out to serve. Both archivist and priest have certain tools they use; the lectionary; the catalogue. These might be updated

[447] Jenkinson, *Selected Writings*.
[448] Forde, pp. 193–94.

through time, but the source material – the sacrament or the archival collection – remain the same; it is merely the presentation that changes. When we think of the liturgy, we can see both a template for action and performance, and a set of rules which the priest must follow. When taken with the additional texts which allow the priest to interpret the raw liturgy (be that something like Ramsey, or the General Instructions for the Roman Missal, or indeed St Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition) which governs the ways in which the priest must operate and function on a daily basis – we can begin to see the ways in which the individual has limited freedom, but within certain confines. If we apply this specifically to the Celebration of the Eucharist, then we can see that how the Eucharist itself is celebrated is defined by the liturgy. We can see direct parallels with how the archivist can operate; again within a very strict set of rules laid down in national and international standards and by the professional bodies through their codes of conduct and ethical frameworks. These might not be as prescriptive as canon law, but they are there, and are taken seriously by the profession and members within. In both instances, the archivist or priest works not only in partnership with their congregation or user, but also as the cornerstone, the head of their institution at a local level. However, the priest is a focus in a very real way whereas the archivist is often not; the archivist presents their equivalent of the liturgy to their users through the catalogues they have complied, and what happens next is not in their control in the way it is for the priest. They have a dual responsibility to their community, and both have to acknowledge it as living, dynamic, and contemporary but still maintaining and promoting memory.

Archival and Ecclesiological Themes

As we have seen in the interviews and other research, there are different ecclesiologies in the different churches used for this study, all relevant in the context of this study. The first two historical case studies of St Hippolytus and Cranmer paved the way for this analysis as they focussed on the texts which were fundamental to the two main Eucharistic traditions in the West – the Roman Rite and the Protestant Holy Communion (in English). St Hildegard and St John Henry Newman allowed us to think about the ecclesiological nature of the church community, and this has been developed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Both the priest and the archivist are serving communities that are historical and (often) local. These communities, therefore, have a similar function, providing support to their communities and enabling all members of that community to access and become part of the preservation of memory. The Church of Scotland minister described his involvement with the various communities which existed overlapping the church, when talking of his time on placement; 'that could be visiting the Brownies on a Tuesday night, or visiting the Women's

Guild on a Wednesday night - it was just involving yourself in the life of the Church'.[449] This community extends beyond attendance at clubs themselves though; there is the involvement in the Eucharist; 'The benefits , it's a ritual that we join in together, so there's a community element to it'.[450] He goes on to say:

> I said for me community is a part of this, and community is certainly a part of the Comfy Communion. Because rather than them sitting in the house themself, with a minister getting Communion on that basis, were bringing them into a place where sometimes they're seeing their 90 year old pal that they sat next to in the Church for 40 years. Now they're both housebound… sure there's a community and social aspect to it, you get the Sacrament and get to share in the spiritual unity of the Church. There's also an opportunity for them to share in that. Tangible, real human community, as well[451]

It is clear that the role of service and continuance of tradition formed part of the approach by the priests; 'This community had been founded hundreds of years ago, it would survive after me; I was simply, as I said, a servant of servants', and 'this person, or these people are now *claps* recognised by the Church as capable of serving the community'.[452] Not only is the place in history important, but so is the recognition of the training and status of the priest as being able to preside over the Eucharist. This approach informs the ecclesiology of all the tradition within this study.

Looking at the role of the archivist, they deal with the community in a historical way. Their community can be identified, and yet is simultaneously fluid, as so for the priest with the community of their church. In a church we can see that the attending community (congregation) can be compared very much to community archives, be they geographically or interest focussed. As Miller implies, how community can be established in the archive is 'almost entirely dependent on the cultural, social and political configuration of the jurisdiction in which they exist'.[453]

For a church often the community is geographical to an extent, whereas with an archive it might be geographical but also interest or topic-focussed. But then for both the church and the archive (and priest and archivist) there are also broader categories of 'membership'. In addition, the wider church can be equated more to national archives and worldwide communities of interest. The priest, (in all the examples we have looked at in detail) needs

[449] Appendix B, p4
[450] Appendix B, p6
[451] Appendix B, p6
[452] Appendix D, p40, p38
[453] Millar, *Archives*, p. 40.

to have completed special training before becoming licenced. But for the archivist, this might be desirable, but there is nothing to prevent an institution for appointing an unqualified staff member (and many do). However, for both priest and archivist we can see the priest and archivist as being set-aside and in a position of authority.

Conclusion

This study began with the contention that the archivist can be compared to the priest, and that doing so enables both sides to re-evaluate their own practice, and how theory in their field influences that practice. The ways in which theory and practice have a vital and inter-dependent relationship in both the religious and archival worlds is key to how we can understand the similarities and differences of both fields. The celebration of the Eucharist can provide us with a vehicle to be able to examine some key themes: memory; community; personal identity; performance; and authenticity - are all featured in this study as areas where we can see the two roles of archivist and priest sharing commonalities, but also have differences of approach. As a sacrament, using the Eucharist as this 'vehicle' can allow us to think of the nature of the history which the archivist attempts to curate. Ultimately both allow lots of differences and variations, but at the heart of it both the sacrament and the history are there for all who want to, to explore. There may be many hermeneutical variations (in the interpretation of the liturgy, or how the records are catalogued, but there are also many agreements of approach which comes with the professional approach of the archivist and priest, and the response from the congregation and users. Crucially, when looking at both the archival and religious worlds these themes are applicable and relevant not only to the 'professional' themselves, but also to the broader community; the priest and the archivist both serve their community and work in partnership with them to preserve a memory which is considered 'authentic' to the whole body. The examination of where the roles are alike, and not, has allowed an analysis of the archival theory which is relevant in this area, and to then analyse how the archival theory can be re-visited and moved forward. As previously asserted, this study is located in Information Studies, and primarily looks at the ways in which archival theory in the themes detailed above can be moved forward by looking at this particular religious context. If we accept that 'When it comes to arrangement, it should be understood that there is no single "correct" arrangement for a particular collection, rather that there are multiple choices, some of which are preferable to others',[454] then surely there is no "correct" way to celebrate the Eucharist. But the differences and

[454] Hamill, *Archival Arrangement and Description* (Lanham: R&L, 2017), p. 24.

similarities are almost inconsequential as ultimately, the aims (for archivist and priest, in bringing together their community, in memory) are the same.

We can see at times the archivist acting as a priest, growing their community and guiding them as a priest would 'shepherd' their flock. Ramsey describes the priest as a 'teacher and preacher', roles which many archivists would recognise.[455] The other characteristics of a priest in his definition might be less recognisable to the archivist, but there is still much which aligns them. In addition, the priest often needs to act as an archivist in a practical sense, not only creating the records of his or her church, but curating them as well. In a formal sense a priest in the Church of England is a registrar, and acts for the registrar in Scotland. In the time of St Hildegard and to an extent Cranmer, the priest was also the archivist. The priest and the archivist also need to cooperate in various ways – for example, the deposit of church records. These categories are often fluid, and align and realign with each other. Modern disciplinary boundaries can feel as if barriers are placed between them, but this need not be the case.

Ultimately there can be said to be as many differences as similarities in the approach of the archivist and the priest or minister. The priest and the archivist have two distinct roles, and different characteristics define these I started this chapter looking at the perspective of the archivist being thought of as a celebrant rather than as a priest. If we think about the freedom a celebrant has in their work compared to that of the priest, we can see that perhaps this is a closer comparator than the archivist. One cannot easily imagine a priest in many congregations leading the congregation in an unaccompanied round of communal singing of 'Somewhere Over the Rainbow' halfway through a marriage ceremony, but a celebrant could do this. However, there are still rules, and a form that has to be followed. For the archivist this form, their liturgy, is comprised of the National and International Standards as laid out by bodies such as the ICA and National Register of Archives, and he universally recognised rules such as no eating over the archives, and pencil only. 'While archivists are about records, what we really care about is people. The people who are the Church created and saved the records – present, past, and future – and the people who want to use them to construct new narratives'[456] Surely we could also say 'While priests are about liturgy, what we really care about is people. The people who are the Church– present, past, and future – and the people who want to use the liturgy to construct new narratives'?

As Interviewee 4 stated:

[455] Ramsey, p. 7.
[456] Zanish-Belcher, p. 20.

> That notion of being called and we are all called to whatever we're doing. feeling called, feeling set apart, responding to that call, responding to the needs God has called us to, and the people's call and need for that. And that set apart. I love the thing that… was it Michael Ramsey Archbishop said that 'as a priest ordained you, are before God, with the people on your heart… and you're before the people with God in your heart'. I think that to me, is it so.[457]

Ultimately, for both the priest and the archivist it is the people and the community whom they serve which counts. The ways in which they are able to do this changes depending upon the exact remit of their role, but they are both ultimately responsible for the preservation of tradition, and maintaining this as a present and lived element within a cohesive community.

[457] Appendix E, p. 50

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated how the roles of archivist and priest have many similarities and complementary facets but are not identical. The ways in which an archivist relates to his or her archive can be compared to the ways in which a priest presides over the Eucharist, and that both can learn from analysing the perspective of the other. Practical experience has been to the fore when looking at the co-dependency of theory and practice in not only the archival world, but also within religious theology and practice of the celebration of the Eucharist.

Chapter 3 examined various historical case studies. This chapter firstly established the definitions of an archive, and an archivist. These chapters took the liturgical text as the first point of discussion, looking at authenticity and orthodoxy, before moving to memory and memorial, and finally community. The existing archival theory was analysed, then set against the liturgical practice to allow the archival theory to be re-examined. Chapter 4 took this approach further by examining contemporary religious practice in Scotland assessing the priest in Scotland as a user of the archive and practitioner in the Church, and this was developed in Chapter 5 which returned to the archivist to look at the ways in which they are a builder of community and preserver of identity.

This thesis integrates critical engagement with archival theory; historical engagement with the Church; and applied engagement with practitioners. The (liturgical) text, technological change, and the responses to this both in theory and practice have been explored, and the understanding of the archivist is richer as a result. The methodology driving this has been both theoretical and practical, and the understanding of archival theory has been progressed. I am particularly well qualified to write this thesis as someone who trained as an archivist after deciding that I wanted to make my career in archives and records, and to allow others to explore those records in the future. When I was firstly seconded from my role as an archivist and later permanently appointed to teach others to become archivists, records managers, and digital curators, I found it was work I enjoyed; teaching archival theory and practice to others was rewarding. The opportunity to allow others to understand the importance of archives, the place of the record in society, how to demonstrate this need for and ways to ensure accountability to organisations and users, and - crucially - ways to enable the management of this process is an equally important role. All of these elements are critical to the archive and therefore the archivist, and embedding these foundations of good approaches to archives and records management in my teaching has allowed me to develop my own understandings along the way. Now, whilst I am not able to work directly with the

collections on a daily basis, I feel as if my professional life is still situated firmly within the archive – not only is the role I currently inhabit work I enjoy, but it is work which has a vital purpose if we as a society are to ensure that the archives and records which underpin our democratic process, historical identity, and the need to ensure an evidential approach in our society. This has never felt more important than in 2021.

I stated early on in this thesis that I had originally considered researching the way a liturgical space can be seen as an archive, or '*Archives as… a church'*. It was these initial thoughts that led me to eventually look at the research topic of '*Archivist as Priest.'* This has been expressed throughout this thesis as an almost deliberately argumentative premise, had this comparison been made without reference to the different environments within which both the archivist and the priest work it might have remained contentious and unresolved. It was in the practice as an archivist and in the teaching of archival theory that I became aware that I was in some ways operating as a celebrant as a priest in some elements of this role, and there are many similarities in the two roles. Of course, it is difficult to approach a thesis with this focus entirely impartially; as my training and practice as an archivist has had an impact, so has my position as a practicing Roman Catholic and childhood visiting many Protestant non-conformist churches with my Reformed lay-preacher grandfather. The worlds of the archive and the church are outwardly very different, but when we started to look at the purpose and role the institutions (and individuals within them) have, we have seen many areas where there are similarities and parallels, and where each can learn from the other. There are differences in approach and language, perhaps more than differences in motivation. This thesis began with the assertion that the archivist can be compared to a priest. This is not intended to be irreverent nor dismissive of the status of the priesthood, but instead, it is designed to demonstrate that by comparing the status and approach of the priest to that of the archivist, we can usefully draw conclusions about how the archivist works and is viewed by their community.

Contributions to knowledge, to theory and to practice

This thesis has looked at the celebration of the Eucharist as a sacrament to inform and enhance the archival theory of memory and authenticity, and what we can learn about the place of the archive in building and representing community and helping to establish identity. The sacramental nature of the celebration of the Eucharist for all the ministers and priests interviewed is key as it allows us to establish the importance of this liturgical act within this context, for all members of the community. It is clear that through history from the time of Christ through the historical case studies used in *Chapter 3* to the present day

that the archivist has much to learn. There are clear parallels between the practice of the priests who celebrate the Eucharist and the theoretical underpinnings (the theology) which supports what they do, and the archivist and his or her work.

In the areas of memory, authenticity or orthodoxy (and how this is judged); engagement, support, building, and representation of community (and the individual's place within this); and the elements of performance and performativity in the text then we have seen clear parallels and differences of approach as described below. We have seen 'memory', 'authenticity (or 'orthodoxy') and 'community' developed as keywords for this thesis which hinges on the understanding of community and the place of the minister or priest, or the archivist within it.

Authenticity

In Chapter 3 we saw how St Hippolytus of Rome was able to use the creation of a text, the *Apostolic Tradition,* to draw his community together and enable a celebration of the liturgy of the Eucharist in an orthodox, authentic, way. The ministers and priests interviewed in chapters 4 and 5 were clear about the place of the rules and guidelines which they are required to follow when they are licenced to preside over the celebration of the Eucharist. However, they were also pragmatic about the implementation of these rules. We can see when we look at the definitions of the archive in Chapter 3 that archivists face similar tensions with the ways in which theory is interpreted in practice. And yet engagement in theory is essential in order to further practice. We saw this clearly in St Hippolytus' practice; in the recording of the liturgy of the Mass, and then disseminating that text we can observe theory and practice going hand-in-hand with the creation and use of the text. We saw clear parallels with the work of St Hippolytus and what the modern-day archivist tries to achieve, and the practice of the contemporary priest. This has allowed me to re-visit the approach of the practicing archivist to theory, and how they use theory both in their own practice and to communicate and legitimise what they do to their community. Both archivist and priest need to be mindful of the authenticity or orthodoxy of what they do and how this can be perceived by their community.

Memory

Both groups and both institutions of the Church and the Archive have the preservation of memory at the heart of their mission.

Chapters 4 and 5 looked at this study from the Theology and Religious Studies perspective, the idea of the Eucharist as an act of remembrance for some is key; the words 'Do this in memory of me', spoken as a key element of the celebration of the Eucharist in all denominations examined in this study, underlines the importance of '*memory'* for the

theologian, and allows the archivist to explore different interpretations of how memory can and should be preserved, accessed, and used.[458] There are different theologies of the Eucharist, and the way in which they look at memory is quite distinct.

Having their roots in scripture ('For I received from the Lord what I also passed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me.'), they clearly enable the justification for looking at the Eucharist as an act which is inextricably linked with both memory and remembrance. [459] This study explored the questions of what 'remembrance' means to different ministers and priests of different denominations, how the celebration of the Eucharist can be seen to both form and illustrate these views. We saw remembrance recognised and privileged to help the priest firstly establish the place of memory within their particular liturgy, and secondly to build and shape community memory and memory within their own community. This is then used to look at archival theory of 'authenticity', and how this can be applied in these different contexts.

Both the archivist and the priest place importance on memory and how they as leaders play a part in maintaining, preserving, and promoting memory. The congregation in the church and the users of the archive depend on them as figureheads and key participants in ensuring the preservation of the memory of their community. The nature of this memory and how the two roles of the archivist and priest contribute towards it over time are explored and analysed in order to be able to advance the archival theory.

Community

Chapter 3 allowed us insight into how St Hildegard of Bingen and St John Henry Newman used the celebration of the Eucharist to bring their communities together. They took the text, and then added their own interpretations. In chapters 4 and 5 we saw a clear recognition from all the practicing priests of the value of the celebration of the Eucharist in building community, and that the use of the liturgy of their denomination was part of this. We can see a direct link in the way the archivist uses the text and records they have in their care. This work has hinged on understanding community and the place of the minister or priest, or the archivist within it is crucial to how both work in a micro and macro way. Individual records can be used by one user and enable that user to feel part of the community served by the archive, and the archive can take one or more records or collections and highlight it in a

[458] These words are an integral part of the Liturgy of the Eucharist in many services of The Lord's Supper, Communion, and Mass. They are scriptural.

[459] 'Bible Gateway Passage: 1 Corinthians 11:23-25 - New International Version', *Bible Gateway* <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1+Corinthians+11%3A23-25&version=NIV> [accessed 14 May 2019].

broad way in events of other exposition activity. For example, the user in the searchroom looking at a matriculation album of their ancestor feels connected to the individual subject of their research, and the institution they study in. The archivist making a social media post (perhaps as part of a national archives awareness campaign) needs to add their own interpretation on the record or collection they are highlighting and direct the audience to the relevance of their post. Ultimately, for both the archivist and the priest, their relationship to their communities, their congregation, their users must inform what they do and how they can present their work.

Throughout this thesis, contrasts were made with the archivist's view of memory, and the archivist's own relationship with their theoretical underpinnings of their work; how their practice is informed by these theories. This needs to be done in a way that is recognised as authentic or orthodox, not just by the archivist and priest themselves, but they have to be able to demonstrate this authenticity to their community if their work is to be valued. Finally, the archivist can use this understanding of an authentic preservation of memory for their community to allow them to represent and grow their community effectively, and to use these theories to enable a nuanced understanding of the place of both memory and authenticity in their work.

A church is shaped and formed by the recognition of the many celebrations which take place within its walls: funerals; baptisms; marriages; blessings… Even today, in 'The Secular West', there are no comparable institutions or buildings which are witness to life's tragedies and celebrations, and the ritualization of these. In the UK, the registry office is probably the closest secular comparator; it sees the registration of births, marriages, and deaths and in some instances marriages are performed there (whereas within a church marriages are usually comprised of the religious ceremony with civil authority). The registry office could be considered to be a party to many of those events in life which define it, and yet this is in a different way to the Church.

Even if we take the busiest registry offices, with the most history, very few people would consider them to be exactly equivalent to a church; they perform similar but not identical functions, have a status within society and undertake to deliver a service for their community. The individuals within the community understand the differences between the two, and many would acknowledge the differences. Records are created and used by both the registry office and church a role – not least in the creation of records, and yet they are different.

Just as in the Church, archives are inherently hermeneutical; they are open to interpretation. Tradition interprets us as we interpret the tradition, and this is important to acknowledge on an individual and institutional basis. This interpretation will depend very much on the context of the institution, the professionals presenting the information (for example in the liturgy or collection catalogues) to the community, their ability to engage individuals and enable them to become part of the wider community, and finally on the perspective of the individual themselves. We all have the opportunity to visit a church or an archive to engage with the objects, process, ceremony of these institutions, but what we can take from this engagement will very much depend on the perspective we are all individually bringing to the process. This is true of the archive and the church, and when we think about the link in their functions, we can also better understand how both fill vital roles in society. Both are custodians of societal memory, both have a vital role in helping to define communities, and to promote this memory to the communities themselves, and both can do this in a way that allows what they do to be considered either authentic or orthodox. The archivist and the priest, as the person situated at the head and as the visible representative of their own institution on a local level can be seen to play a fundamental role in enabling their institution to operate in this way in their community.

Ultimately the archivist and the priest have very similar aims and motivations, and yet the expression of their roles are very different. But through a comparison of the two we can think more clearly about the function of both, and importantly for this thesis when we look at the celebration of the Eucharist we can more fully understand the role of the archivist, and the theory which supports what s/he does.

Strengths and weaknesses

The data gathered in the contemporary case studies was illuminating and allowed for analysis and comparison with the archivist. Whilst it would be good to broaden this in the future to include more representatives of the denominations currently included, and more widely, as the study stands the current numbers of interviewees works well. It would however have been useful to have interviewed archivists in order to allow a comparison of their attitudes to who the key themes of this study. This would have provided a personal perspective in addition to the archival theory, which would have matched that of the priest as included in this thesis. In particular, ensuring representation of those (both trained and untrained) working in community archives would have provided an interesting perspective.

The real strength of this study is the way in which it has been able to combine the historical, the theoretical, and the practical. It has engaged with priests, and established common

ground as well as differences in the way they view the key themes of this thesis; memory, authenticity, and finally community. As an inter-disciplinary study this study is unique, and important in allowing the development of archival theory.

Recommendations

Taking this research to its next stage, there are a number of recommendations to be made. Practicing archivists can expand on the work which has already been done to identify their communities. Clearly defining who their users are, how they are served, and how they can continue to grow this user base is helpful here. If those working in the archive don't understand who their user community is, how can they ensure they are serving them appropriately. Moreover, examining the existing user profiles against the wider organisational community is helpful. If there are gaps in provision, the archivist needs to know about these in order to ensure they are serving all members of their community and prioritising their activities as appropriate. This does not only include use, but also representation within the archive, description and cataloguing, and actively promoting the needs of the whole of their organisational community. Moving away from the Jenkinsonian ideals as described earlier in this thesis will allow the archive to address historical imbalances and inequalities, and move towards a more equal provision for all. The priests in the interviews strongly expressed the view that they were not 'gatekeepers', and the archivist can move away from this position and into a more collaborative way of working. Furthermore, larger institutional archives (such as national institutions; university archives; large local authorities) can provide formal and informal support for community initiatives and small independent archives through mentoring, hosting professional events, and ensuring sharing of good practice. This can be further supported by professional and membership organisation through the development of good practice and the sharing of resources. Archival educators have a responsibility here too; firstly in adding to the support described above for community initiatives, and secondly by directly addressing the 'neutrality of the archive' within their curriculum. Exposing students to these issues is vital if the profession is to grow and better reflect society and community. It is only by taking these measures that we can ensure memory is preserved, and in 'authentic' ways.

Impact and legacy of the research, and future directions

This thesis has illuminated for the archivist certain characteristics of archival duties including the ways they identify and build their communities. The way in which authenticity has traditionally been viewed by the archivist has been challenged by this work, as has how

the archivist has traditionally sought to preserve memory. This has been accomplished by shining the light of another field; that of the priest on the work of the archivist. This is also useful for the minister or priest who has been given a more historical awareness of their work.

In the course of their duties, archivists need to think carefully about concepts of memory and memorial. The archivist needs to directly address their place in the preservation of memory, role in preserving memory, and understand how by doing so they benefit the user and their wider community. The 'authenticity' of the memory (and memories) they preserve is key to the way members of the community can respond to the archivist's work, and enable the archivist to identify and fill any gaps and silences in the records they hold and preserve. Equally, the priest needs to be aware of these issues of memory, community, and (what the archivist would call) authenticity in their work. For the archivist, memory and memorial has a particular interest as they navigate the transition to the digital world. Looking at the priest's work in this way allows us to re-evaluate the archivist's role and impact.

The digital world has presented both the archivist and priest with opportunities and challenges, as the Covid pandemic of 2020 sharply demonstrated. As the world locked down, virtual searchrooms and virtual celebrations of the liturgy were quickly established. However, the digital world is not always an adequate substitute for real-life access. The materiality and diplomatic of the original analogue record is arguably not as rich on a screen, and even a born-digital record may be lacking in necessary context. The virtual service may have the same liturgy, but the celebration of the Eucharist is different. For both archivist and priest digital ways of working do not allow for the same sense of local community. Authenticity, or orthodoxy in either the sacrament or the manuscript, can feel both fixed and organic (to use two of the characteristics of recordness), which can create problems when we are trying to establish ways of working which can be applied to different sectors or contexts. This is particularly true when we think of 'the text', what this represents, and how it is used in both liturgical and archival contexts. It is also important to remember that these tensions are also not new; the move to records creation in the digital has been ongoing for longer than the archivist has been able to address the needs of the means of records preservation and access in the digital. This in turn has introduced the idea of 'performance' and the record in new and challenging ways, and the liturgy provides us with a good counter-point. Importantly, the archivist has to let go of the idea that the tangible and analogue way is the only way to work, and it is vital to engage in the digital record, along with all the questions it raises about access, preservation, use, and performance. Examining the

Eucharist and Eucharistic liturgies is one way to allow the archivist to do this through forcing the archivist to re-visit their perception of memory and the links with memorial.

Therefore, as a result of this thesis the archivist and priest have the opportunity to learn much about their respective roles and the theory which underpins it. This includes ways in which memory can be viewed, how it can be preserved and captured, and upheld. Also, the ways these memories (or acts of memorium) which are curated by the archivist and priest can be vouchsafed as an authentic or orthodox representation is of importance to those researching and practicing on both disciplines. Finally, the ways in which memory can draw together a community and help it consolidate, build and grow through access, interaction, and performance has been covered. Each one of these areas could have been examined in more detail, and it is clear that this work is in some ways just a starting point. However, this study has shown that both archivist and priest would be surprised that there are many commonalities in the ways they think and work, and they already know a great deal of each other. The priest has no desire to be an archivist but can learn a great deal about being a priest from the archivist, and vice versa. The horizons of the archivist and the priest can be broadened by realising other people in the business of preserving and promoting memory have the same aims but are approaching their task in a different but complementary way.

For St Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* and Archbishop Cranmer's liturgy, we can see the importance of technological change and the impact on their ways of working. This is mirrored for records creators and curators, and now the archives has reached a point where there is technological change, and a necessity to respond to this with a real shift in ways of working and the skills required, and the archivist needs to respond to it. As the world of records creation evolves and develops, so must the record-keeping profession(s). The key themes addressed by this study of authenticity, memory, and community are all impacted by this evolution and there is scope for more work.

In particular, it would be useful to broaden this research by looking at a broader sample of ministers and priests, and by asking further questions of their perceptions of their communities. This could be followed up with the inclusion of interviews of practicing archivists, especially those working in community archives. Initially, this could be continued with a Christian focus, but could be broadened with reference to other religions. This would be especially interesting to do when looking at religions where there has been an established archival practice (for example the Scottish Jewish Archive), but also at

religions where their archive hasn't been made available in the same way.[460] It would be interesting to explore the access these communities have to the archives and records of the practice of their faith, and how the archival view of memory and authenticity can allow them to explore the history of their own community.

Ultimately, for both the archivist and the priest their work is about 'all the elements, the gathering of the people, the coming together. The remembering…'.[461] Preserving memory and authenticity within the community is what those in either role seeks to do.

460 The Scottish Jewish Archive and other similar repositories were briefly mentioned in Chapter 5 of this study.
461 Appendix E, p. 45

Bibliography

‘1 Corinthians 10 ESV’ <https://biblehub.com/esv/1_corinthians/10.htm> [accessed 7 April 2019]

‘1 Corinthians 11:24 and When He Had given Thanks, He Broke It and Said, “This Is My Body, Which Is for You; Do This in Remembrance of Me.”’ <https://biblehub.com/1_corinthians/11-24.htm> [accessed 19 June 2021]

Abbott, Daisy, Sarah Jones, and Seamus Ross, ‘Redefining the Performing Arts Archive’, *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), 165–71

‘About The Bid | Paisley 2021 For UK City of Culture’ <http://www.paisley2021.co.uk/about-the-bid/> [accessed 6 May 2021]

Abrams, Lynn, *Oral History Theory*, second edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016)

Administration, VanderVault, ‘Home | VanderVault: The Grace VanderWaal Digital Archive Project’, 2019 <https://vandervault.org/> [accessed 14 April 2019]

Adult and Local Services, Cumbria County Council, ‘Archive Centres’ <https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/archives/archivecentres/default.asp> [accessed 14 April 2019]

‘Anamnesis | Define Anamnesis at Dictionary.Com’ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/anamnesis> [accessed 16 May 2018]

Anon, *The Ecclesial Nature Of The Eucharist. A Report By The Joint Study Group Of Representatives Of The Roman Catholic Church In Scotland And The Scottish Episcopal Church.* (Glasgow:nd, 1974)

ARA, ‘Careers FAQs’ <https://www.archives.org.uk/careers/careers-faqs.html> [accessed 14 July 2019]

———, ‘Careers in Archives | Careers’ <http://www.archives.org.uk/c-careers/careers-in-archives.html> [accessed 19 June 2013]

———, ‘Careers in Record Management | Careers’ <http://www.archives.org.uk/c-careers/careers-in-record-management.html> [accessed 19 June 2013]

‘Archives | Society of American Archivists’ <https://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/a/archives> [accessed 15 May 2019]

Archives & Records Association of UK and Ireland, ‘ARA Equality Monitoring Information 2020’, *ARA Equality Monitoring Information 2020*, 2020 <https://www.archives.org.uk/images/Diversity/ARA_Equality_Monitoring_Information_2020.pdf>

———, *ARA: Diversity* <https://www.archives.org.uk/what-we-do/diversity.html?showall=1&limitstart=>

‘Archives and Records’ <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjsa21> [accessed 13 April 2019]

‘Archives and Records (ARA Journal)’ <https://www.archives.org.uk/publications/archives-and-records-ara-journal.html> [accessed 11 April 2019]

Archives, The National, ‘The Discovery Service’ <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> [accessed 18 September 2017]

———, ‘The National Archives - Cataloguing Systems and Archives Networks - The National Archives’, *Archives Sector* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/advice-and-guidance/managing-your-collection/documenting-collections/cataloguing-and-archives-networks/> [accessed 2 March 2019]

———, ‘The National Archives - Historical Manuscripts Commission - The National Archives’, *Archives Sector* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/our-archives-sector-role/historical-manuscripts-commission/> [accessed 2 March 2019]

———, ‘The National Archives - Homepage’, *The National Archives* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/> [accessed 5 May 2018]

———, ‘The National Archives - Homepage’, *The National Archives* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/start-here/how-to-use-archives/> [accessed 1 September 2018]

Atherton, Mark, *Hildegard of Bingen: Selected Writings* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2001)

‘Authenticity | Society of American Archivists’ <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/authenticity.html> [accessed 15 May 2019]

Ayris, Paul, ‘Review Article: Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 2.1 (1999), 94–106

Ayris, Paul, and David Selwyn, eds., *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, New edition edition (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999)

‘Basic Concepts and Principles of Archives Management’ <http://john.curtin.edu.au/society/archives/management.html> [accessed 2 June 2015]

Bastian, Jeannette A., ‘Memory Research / Archival Research’, in *Research in the Archival Mulitverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp. 269–87

———, ‘Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation’, *Archival Science*, 6, 2006, 267–84

Bastian, Jeannette A., and Ben Alexander, eds., *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory: Creating and Sustaining Memory* (London: Facet Publishing, 2009)

‘BBC Bitesize - GCSE Religious Studies - The Church - Revision 4’, *BBC Bitesize* <https://www.bbc.com/education/guides/zsgbtv4/revision/4> [accessed 5 May 2018]

‘BBC Remarc’ <https://remarc.bbcrewind.co.uk/> [accessed 10 July 2019]

Bettenson, Henry, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford U.P, 1967)

'Bible Gateway Passage: 1 Corinthians 11:23-25 - New International Version', *Bible Gateway* <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1+Corinthians+11%3A23-25&version=NIV> [accessed 14 May 2019]

Birkin, Jane, 'Art, Work, and Archives: Performativity and the Techniques of Production', *Archive Journal*, Archives Remixed.5 (2015), 1–14

Blainey, Geoffrey, *A Short History of Christianity* (London: Penguin, 2011)

Borggreen, Gundhild, and Rune Gade, *PERFORMING ARCHIVES ARCHIVES* (University of Chicago Press, 2013)

Botte, Bernard, *La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte: Essai de Reconstitution*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen Und Forschungen, 39 (Munster: Aschendoff)

Bradshaw, Paul, Harold W. Attridge, Maxwell Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition : A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005)

Bradshaw, Paul F., *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw, 1st Edition (London: SCM Press, 2002)

Bradsher, James Gregory, *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989)

Brown, Caroline, ed., *Archives and Recordkeeping: Theory into Practice* (London: Facet Publishing, 2014)

Bruce, Steve, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland, 1900-2012* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014)

Bruemmer, Bruce, Frank Boles, Mark A. (Mark Allen) Greene, and Todd Jesse Daniels-Howell, 'The Archivist's New Clothes; or, the Naked Truth about Evidence, Transactions, and Recordness' (presented at the Society of American Archivists Annual Conference, Boston, 2004) <http://hdl.handle.net/1805/42>

Cameron, Elaine, and Jeanette Allan, eds., *Called by Name: 25 Reflections from the First Women Priests* (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2019) <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/Called-by-Name.pdf>

'Careers in Archives' <http://www.archives.org.uk/careers/careers-in-archives.html> [accessed 11 April 2018]

Caswell, Michelle, and Anne Gilliland, 'Records and Their Imaginaries: Imagining the Impossible, Making Possible the Imagined', *Archival Science*, 16 (2016), 53–75 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1007/s10502-015-9259-z>

'Catechism of the Catholic Church - Article 3 The Sacrament of the Eucharist' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P3W.HTM#$1KW> [accessed 4 November 2019]

‘Catechism of the Catholic Church - Contents Page’ <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019]

‘Catechism of the Catholic Church - IntraText’ <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P3W.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019]

‘Catechism of the Catholic Church - VII The Effects of the Sacrament of Holy Orders’ <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__P4Y.HTM> [accessed 23 June 2019]

‘Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Scotland’ <https://www.bcos.org.uk/> [accessed 23 June 2019]

‘Celebrant (n.)’, *Online Etymology Dictionary* <Etymonline.com/word/celebrant> [accessed 9 July 2019]

Church of Scotland, ‘2000_act_05.Pdf’, *CONSOLIDATING ACT ANENT THE SACRAMENTS (AS AMENDED BY ACT IX 2003)*, 2003 <http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/1839/2000_act_05.pdf> [accessed 13 April 2019]

‘Church of Scotland - Books for Worship’, *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/worship/books_for_worship> [accessed 6 November 2019]

‘Church of Scotland - Our Faith’, *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about_us/our_faith> [accessed 6 November 2019]

Cifor, Marika, and Anne J. Gilliland, ‘Affect and the Archive, Archives and Their Affects: An Introduction to the Special Issue’, *Archival Science*, 16.1 (2016), 1–6 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9263-3>

Clanchy, Michael T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 - 1307* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013)

Cline, Scott, ‘“To the Limit of Our Integrity”: Reflections on Archival Being’, *The American Archivist*, 72 (2009)

Cocksworth, Christopher, and Rosalind Brown, *Being a Priest Today* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2002)

Cook, Terry, and John Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth, Minn: Litwin Books, 2009)

Corens, Liesbeth, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: The British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2018)

Craven, Louise, ed., *What Are Archives?: Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008)

Cubitt, Geoffrey, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Cuming, Geoffrey J., *Hippolytus: A Text For Students* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1987)

Cunningham, Adrian, 'Archives as a Place', in *Currents of Archival Thinking* (Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2017)

Currall, J.E.P., M.S. Moss, and Stuart, Susan, 'Authenticity: A Red Herring?', *Journal of Applied Logic*, 6.4 (2008), 534–44

Daniels, Maygene F., and Timothy Walch, eds., *A Modern Archives Reader: Basic Readings on Archival Theory and Practice* (Washington, D.C: National Archives and Records Service,U.S. General Services Administration, 1984)

Davies, John Gordon, ed., *New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, Revised edition (London: SCM-Canterbury Press Ltd, 1986)

'Davies v Presbyterian Church of Wales: HL 1986 - Swarb.Co.Uk' <https://swarb.co.uk/davies-v-presbyterian-church-of-wales-hl-1986/> [accessed 2 March 2019]

Delsalle, Paul, and Margaret Procter, *A History of Archival Practice*, 1 edition (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)

Dexter, Colin, *Inspector Morse: Service of All the Dead* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979)

'Dictionary : EX OPERE OPERATO' <http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/dictionary/index.cfm?id=33474> [accessed 25 May 2015]

Dingwall, Glenn, 'Trusting Archivists: The Role of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith', *The American Archivist*, 67.1 (Spring-Summer) (2004), 11–30

Dix, D. G., *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2d ed (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960)

Dix, Gregory, and Henry Chadwick, eds., *Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*, Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1968)

Dokecki, Paul R., J.R. Newbrough, and Robert T. O'Gorman, 'Toward a Community-Oriented Action Research Framework for Spirituality: Community Psychological and Theological Perspectives', *Journal of Community Psychology*, 29.5 (2001), 497–518

Donald, Rev Peter, 'The Tradition of the Lord's Supper', *Church of Scotland* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0014/3155/tradition_lords_supper.pdf> [accessed 6 November 2019]

Dong, Lorraine, Joel A Blanco-Riviera, Michelle Caswell, and Joanna Steele, 'Examinations of Injustice', in *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017)

Douglas, Jennifer, 'Origins: Evolving Ideas about the Principle of Provenance', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Heather MacNeil and Terry Eastwood (San Fransisco, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2009), pp. 23–44

Eastwood, Terry, 'A Contested Realm: The Nature of Archives and the Orientation of Archival Science', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Heather MacNeil and Terry Eastwood (San Fransisco, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2009), pp. 3–22

———, ‘Nurturing Archival Education in the University’, *American Archivist*, 51 (1988)

———, ‘What Is Archival Theory and Why Is It Important?’, *Archivaria*, 37 (1994)

Eastwood, Terry, and Heather MacNeil, eds., *Currents of Archival Thinking*, 1st edition (Santa Barbara, Calif: Libraries Unlimited, 2009)

‘Ecclesiasticus Chapter 2’ (Catholic Online) <http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?bible_chapter=35&id=28>

Ellis, Roger H, ‘Introduction to the Re-Issue of the Second Edition’, in *A Manual of Archival Administration, 2nd Ed, Reprinted with a New Introduction and Bibliography* (London: Alan Sutton, 1965), pp. x–xi

‘Employment Status of Clergy: Goodbye to the “Servant of God”? | Law & Religion UK’ <https://www.lawandreligionuk.com/2016/05/09/employment-status-of-clergy-goodbye-to-the-servant-of-god/> [accessed 2 March 2019]

ERPANET, ‘About ERPANET’, *ERPANET* <https://www.erpanet.org/about.php>

‘Faith in Action’, *The Scottish Episcopal Church* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/spirituality/prayer/faith-in-action/> [accessed 4 January 2019]

Farge, Arlette, *The Allure of the Archive* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)

‘Federal Rules Of Evidence (2015) | Federal Evidence Review’ <http://federalevidence.com/rules-of-evidence#Rule901> [accessed 13 April 2016]

Finlay, Barbara, ‘The Origins of Charisma as Process: A Case Study of Hildegard of Bingen’, *Symbolic Interaction*, 25.4 (2011), 537–54

‘First Female Bishop in the Scottish Episcopal Church Is Elected the New Bishop of Aberdeen & Orkney’, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, 2017 <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/first-female-bishop-scottish-episcopal-church-elected-new-bishop-aberdeen-orkney/> [accessed 29 April 2021]

Forde, Helen, ‘Access and Preservation in the 21st Century: What Has Changed?’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 26.2 (2005), 193–200 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00039810500284549>

Fox, Michael J., and Peter L. Wilkerson, *Introduction to Archival Organization and Description: Access to Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Suzanne R. Warren (Los Angeles, California: Getty Information Institute,U.S., 1999)

‘Gauld_Call_for_Papers_final.Pdf’ <https://www.archives.org.uk/images/ARA_Journal/Gauld_Call_for_Papers_final.pdf> [accessed 11 April 2019]

Gilliland, Anne J., Andrew Lau, and Sue McKemmish, *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017)

Gilliland-Swetland, Anne J, ‘Electronic Records Management’, *ARIST: Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, 39 (2005), 219–53

Glasgow SPRED Centre, 'SPRED Special Religious Develoment', *SPRED Special Religious Development* <http://www.spred.org.uk/origin-development>

'Glasgow Women's Library: Museum of the Year for so Many', *Glasgow Women's Library*, 2018 <http://womenslibrary.org.uk/2018/07/19/glasgow-womens-library-museum-of-the-year-for-so-many/> [accessed 9 July 2019]

Gray, 'Mystery Appropriated: Disembodied Eucharist and Meta-Theology', in *Reinterpreting the Eucharist: Explorations in Feminist Theology and Ethics*, ed. by Anne F. Elvey, Carol Hogan, Kim Power, and Claire Renkin, Gender, Theology and Spirituality (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2012), pp. 113–30

Gregg, David, *Anamnesis in the Eucharist* (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1976)

Hamill, *Archival Arrangement and Description* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017)

Hamilton, Carolyn, ed., *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht : London: Kluwer Academic, 2002)

Harris, Oliver, 'Chapter Two: Identity: A Performative Understanding', *Performative Practice: Identity and Agency at the Causewayed Enclosures of Windmill Hill and Etton.*, 2003 <http://www.hardav.co.uk/MA%20-%20HTML/chapter%202.htm> [accessed 25 May 2015]

Harris, Verne, 'Jacques Derrida Meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame', *Archival Science*, 11 (2011), 113–24

Harvey, D. R, *Preserving Digital Materials* (Boston: K.G. Saur, 2005) <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=429332> [accessed 16 April 2016]

Hedstrom, Margaret, 'Archives and Collective Memory: More than a Metaphor, Less than an Analogy', in *Currents of Archival Thinking* (Santa Brabara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010), p. 254

Henttonen, Pekka, 'Looking at Archival Concepts and Practice in the Light of Speech Act Theory', in *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, by Sue McKemmish, Andrew Lau, and Anne Gilliland (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp. 537–57

'Heritage Centre' <https://www.renfrewshireleisure.com/heritage-centre/> [accessed 6 May 2021]

Hohmann, Paige, 'On Impartiality and Interrelatedness: Reactions to Jenkinsonian Appraisal in the Twentieth Century', *The American Archivist*, 79.1 (2016), 14–25 <https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081.79.1.14>

'Home - Archives Hub' <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/> [accessed 2 March 2019]

Hoskins, Andrew, 'Memory Ecologies', *Memory Studies*, 3 (2016), 348–57 <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1750698016645274>

'ICA/CDS | History' <http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/history.htm> [accessed 12 April 2016]

‘IDENTIFYING THE REAL THING - Identifying_the_real_thing.Pdf’ <https://www.si.edu/mci/downloads/RELACT/identifying_the_real_thing.pdf> [accessed 13 April 2016]

‘Imprimatur | Roman Catholicism’, *Encyclopedia Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/imprimatur> [accessed 23 June 2019]

Information and Records Management Society, ‘MOREQ FAQ’, *Information and Records Management Society MOREQ FAQ* <https://irms.org.uk/page/moreq-faq> [accessed 12 November 2019]

‘ISO 15489-1:2016 - Information and Documentation -- Records Management -- Part 1: Concepts and Principles’ <https://www.iso.org/standard/62542.html> [accessed 2 September 2018]

Jacobsen, Trond, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret Hedstrom, ‘Invoking “‘Collective Memory’”: Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science’, *Archival Science*, 13.2–3 (2013), 217–51

Jasper, David, *The Language of Liturgy: A Ritual Poetics* (SCM Press, 2018)

Jasper, R. C. D., and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd Revised edition (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1975)

———, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw, Fourth edition edited by Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson edition (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press Academic, 2019)

Jenkinson, Hilary, Roger H Ellis, and Peter Walne, *Selected Writings of Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2003)

Jenkinson, Sir Hilary, *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making.* (Oxford: Lund, 1922)

———, *Selected Writings*, First edition (Gloucester Eng.: Alan Sutton, 1980)

Jessee, Erin, ‘The Limist of Oral History: Ethics and Methodology Amid Highly Politicised Research Settings’, in *The Oral History Reader*, by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 3rd edn (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016)

Johnson, Valerie, David Thomas, and Simon Fowler, *The Silence of the Archive* (London: Facet, 2017)

Jones, Cheslyn, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold, and Paul Bradshaw, eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, 2nd Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1992)

Kanagy, Conrad L., ‘Social Action, Evangelism, and Ecumenism: The Impact of Community, Theological, and Church Structural Variables’, *Review of Religious Research*, 34.1 (1992), 34–50

Kehoe, S. Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church : Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)

Kelly, Robert B., and etc, eds., *Liturgical Hymns Old and New: People’s Copy* (Suffolk, Eng.: Kevin Mayhew Ltd, 1999)

Ker, Ian, ‘The Church as Communion’, in *The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman* (Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Kestemont, Mike, Sara Moens, and Jeroen Deploige, ‘Collaborative Authorship in the Twelfth Century: A Stylometric Study of Hildegard of Bingen and Guibert of Gembloux’, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 30.2 (2015), 199–224

Ketelaar, Eric, ‘Foreword’, in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: The British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1–25

———, ‘Sharing: Collected Memories in Communities of Records’, *Archives and Manuscripts*, 33 (2005), 44–61

Library of Congress, ‘EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site’, *EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site* <https://www.loc.gov/ead/>

———, ‘EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site, About EAD’, *EAD Encoded Archival Description: Official Site* <https://www.loc.gov/ead/eadabout.htmlhttps://www.loc.gov/ead/>

‘Liturgy Office Missal Text’ <http://www.liturgyoffice.org.uk/Missal/Text/EP1-A4.pdf> [accessed 7 April 2017]

Liturgy Office of England and Wales, ‘GIRM.Pdf’ <http://www.liturgyoffice.org.uk/Resources/GIRM/Documents/GIRM.pdf> [accessed 21 April 2013]

Logan, Anne, ‘Doing It Differently?": Forty Years of Women’sOrdained Ministry in the Church of Scotland’, *Practical Theology*, 2.1 (2009), 27–44 <https://doi.org/10.1558/prth.v2i1.27>

Lowenthal, David, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997)

MacNeil, Heather, ‘Introduction’, in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, by Terry Eastwood and Heather MacNeil (Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010)

———, ‘Trust and Professional Identity: Narratives, Counter-Narratives and Lingering Ambiguities’, *Archival Science*, 11 (2011), 175–92 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9150-5>

———, *Trusting Records : Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives, Springer Netherlands, 2000. ProQuest Ebook Central, Http://Ebookcentral.Proquest.Com/Lib/Gla/Detail.Action?DocID=3105636. Created from Gla on 2021-07-21 08:03:48.* (Netherlands: Springer, 2000)

Maddocks, Fiona, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Woman of Her Age* (London: Headline, 2001)

Mander, David, ‘Special, Local and About Us: The Development of Community Archives in Britain’, in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, by Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), pp. 29–46

Manoff, Marlene, ‘Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines’, *Portal: Libraries and the Academy*, 4.1 (2004), 9–25 <https://doi.org/10.1353/pla.2004.0015>

Mbembe, Achille, ‘The Power of the Archive and Its Limits’, in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton (Dordrecht : London: Kluwer Academic, 2002), pp. 19–27

McGrath, Alister, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993)

———, ‘The Eucharist: Reassessing Zwingli’, *Theology*, 1990, 13–19

McIntosh, Robert, ‘The Great War, Archives and Modern Memory’, *Archivaria*, 46 (1998), 1–31

McKemmish, Sue, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed, and Frank Upward, *Archives: Record Keeping in Society* (Wagga Wagga, N.S.W.: Charles Sturt University, Centre for Information Studies / Woodhead Publishing, 2005)

Mechanics, Interactive, ‘Curating the Analog, Curating the Digital - Archive Journal’ <http://dev.archivejournal.net/?p=4691> [accessed 14 April 2019]

Michno, Dennis G., *A Priest’s Handbook: The Ceremonies of the Church*, ed. by Christopher Webber, New Ed (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group - Morehou, 1998)

Millar, Laura A., *Archives: Principles and Practices* (London: Facet Publishing, 2010)

———, *The Story Behind the Book: Preserving Authors’ and Publishers’ Archives* (British Columbia: Canadian Centre Studies in Publishing, 2009)

Moore, Niamh, ‘The Politics and Ethics of Naming: Questioning Anonymisation in (Archival) Research’, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15.4 (2012), 331–40 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2012.688330>

Moore, Niamh, Andrea Salter, Liz Stanley, and Maria Tamboukou, *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Moore, Niamh, and Yvonne Whelan, eds., *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity : New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Moss, Michael, ‘What Is an Archive in the Digital Environment’, in *What Are Archives*, by Louise Craven (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 71–88

Museums Association, ‘FAQs’, *Museums Association* <https://www.museumsassociation.org/about/faqs/> [accessed 31 July 2021]

National Records of Scotland, *Scotland’s Census* (Edinburgh, 2011) <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/home.html>

Nesmith, Tom, ‘Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives’, *The American Archivist*, 65.1 (2002), 24–41 <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.65.1.rr48450509r0712u>

‘New Campus a Step Closer’ <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/news/archives/2016/april/headline_455258_en.html> [accessed 1 January 2019]

Newman, Barbara J, 'Introduction', in *Hildegard of Bingen* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990)

'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Chapter 1' <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/chapter1.html> [accessed 18 May 2021]

'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Chapter 5' <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/chapter5.html#return1> [accessed 30 March 2021]

'Newman Reader - Development of Christian Doctrine - Introduction' <https://www.newmanreader.org/works/development/introduction.html> [accessed 30 March 2021]

Northamptonshire County Council, 'Statement: Northamptonshire Archives & Heritage Service', *Jiscmail Archives_NRA Listsere* <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=ind1708&L=ARCHIVES-NRA&P=R6690&X=D22B10CB5C47A71FA7&Y=adele.redhead%40glasgow.ac.uk> [accessed 10 November 2019]

Oberg, Lena-Maria, and Erik Borglund, 'What Are the Characteristics of Records?', *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PUBLIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS*, 2.1 (2012) <http://www.ijpis.net/ojs/index.php/IJPIS/article/view/29> [accessed 13 April 2016]

O'Loughlin, Thomas, 'The "Eucharistic Words of Jesus": An Un-Noticed Silence in Our Earliest Sources', *Anaphora*, 8.1 (2014), 1–12

Osthoff, Simone, *Performing the Archive: The Transformation of the Archive in Contemporary Art from Repository of Documents to Art Medium*, ed. by Wolfgang Schirmacher (New York: Atropos Press, 2009)

O'Toole, James, 'Archives and Historical Accountability: Toward a Moral Theology of Archives', *Archivaria*, 58 (2004), 3–19

Oxford Reference, 'Vincentian Canon', *Oxford Reference* <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803115902789> [accessed 12 November 2019]

'Paisley History', *Paisley Scotland*, 2010 <https://www.paisley.org.uk/paisley-history/> [accessed 2 June 2018]

'Paisley's Bid to Be UK City of Culture 2021 Is Now Scotland's Bid' <https://www.creativescotland.com/explore/read/blogs/guest-blogs/paisleys-bid-to-be-uk-city-of-culture-2021-is-now-scotlands-bid> [accessed 6 May 2021]

'Paisley's "journey Will Continue" despite Culture Bid Disappointment', *BBC News*, 7 December 2017, section Glasgow & West Scotland <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-42274323> [accessed 6 May 2021]

Perry, Adele, 'The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in Delgamuukw V. British Columbia', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press), pp. 325–50

‘Pope Benedict XVI on Sacred Music and Liturgy’ <http://www.ceciliaschola.org/notes/benedictonmusic.html> [accessed 30 April 2016]

Portelli, Allesandra, ‘What Makes Oral History Diffferent’, in *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge Readers in History, Third (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016)

‘Priesthood Is Not a Profession But a Vocation, Pope Stresses - ZENIT - English’ <https://zenit.org/articles/priesthood-is-not-a-profession-but-a-vocation-pope-stresses/> [accessed 6 April 2019]

Procter, Margaret, ‘Life Before Jenkinson - the Development of British Archival Theory and Thought at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, *Archives: The Journal of the British Records Association*, 33.119 (2008), 136–57 <https://doi.org/10.3828/archives.2008.10>

———, ‘Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity’, *Archives and Records*, 38 (2017), 296–309

Radstone, Susannah, *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)

———, ‘Screening Trauma: Forrest Gump, Film and Memory’, in *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 79–110

‘Raising £5m to Transform Paisley Museum’, *Paisley Museum Reimagined* <https://reimagined.paisleymuseum.org/> [accessed 6 May 2021]

Ramsey, Michael, *The Christian Priest Today*, 2nd Revised edition (London: SPCK Publishing, 1985)

Ratzinger, Joseph, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. by John Saward (San Fransisco, California: Ignatius Press, 2000)

‘Reference Model for an Open Archival Information System (OAIS) - Recommended Practice’, 2012 <http://public.ccsds.org/publications/archive/650x0m2.pdf>

‘Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and Europe’, in *Memory and Methodology*, by Susannah Radstone (Oxford: Berg, 2000)

Renfrewshire Economic Leadership Panel, *Renfrewshire’s Economic Strategy 2020-2030* (Renfrewshire, nd) <https://paisley.is/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/RenfrewshireEconomicStrategy2020-2030.pdf>

‘Renfrewshire Leisure - Better for Everybody’ <https://www.renfrewshireleisure.com/> [accessed 6 May 2021]

Richardson, Alan, and John Bowden, eds., *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, New edition (London: SCM Press, 1998)

Rose, Gillian, ‘A Body of Questions’, by Gillian Rose, Sarah Whatmore, and Michael Pryke (New York ; London: Sage, 2003)

Rubin, Richard, *Foundations of Library and Information Science*, Updated version (New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2000)

‘Sacred - Definition and More from the Free Merriam-Webster Dictionary’ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sacred> [accessed 11 April 2013]

Salih, Sara, *Judith Butler* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002)

Scotland, The Church of, ‘Go For It Fund’, 2018 <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/serve/go_for_it> [accessed 4 January 2019]

———, ‘Tomorrow’s Calling’, 2015 <http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/serve/ministries_council/education_and_support/tomorrows_calling> [accessed 2 June 2018]

‘Scotland’s First Female Bishop, Anne Dyer, Consecrated for Aberdeen & Orkney’ <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2018/03/scotlands-first-female-bishop-anne-dyer-consecrated-for-aberdeen-and-orkney.aspx> [accessed 3 June 2018]

Scottish Episcopal Church, ‘Scottish Liturgy 1982 with Propers and Revised Common Lectionary’, *Scottish Episcopal Church* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/who-we-are/publications/liturgies/scottish-liturgy-1982-with-propers-and-revised-common-lectionary/> [accessed 6 November 2019]

———, *Scottish Ordinal* (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1984) <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/scottish-ordinal-1984.pdf>

‘Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion’, *Scottish Episcopal Church - Holy Communion* <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/spirituality/worship/holy-communion/> [accessed 6 November 2019]

‘Scottish Episcopal Church Prayers for Asylum Seekers’ <https://www.scotland.anglican.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/03-march.pdf> [accessed 4 January 2019]

Scottish Government, ‘Scottish Index of Multiple Depravation’, *Scottish Index of Multiple Depravation*, 2020 <https://www.gov.scot/collections/scottish-index-of-multiple-deprivation-2020/>

Sheldrake, Philip, ‘Human Identity and the Particularity of Place’, *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, 1.1 (2001), 43–64 <https://doi.org/10.1353/scs.2001.0018>

Shepherd, Elizabeth, ‘Culture and Evidence: Or What Good Are the Archives?Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England’, *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), 173–85

Society of American Archivists, ‘A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology | Society of American Archivists’ <https://www2.archivists.org/glossary> [accessed 17 September 2018]

———, ‘Society of American Archivists - Facebook Page - Posts by Page’, *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/archivists/posts/the-word-of-the-week-is-recordness-read-the-definition-and-send-your-feedback-sa/10153128463203381/> [accessed 14 April 2019]

———, ‘Society of American Archivists - So You Want to Be an Archivist’, *So You Want to Be an Archivist* <https://www2.archivists.org/careers/beanarchivist> [accessed 12 November 2019]

Spinks, Bryan D., *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London, UNITED KINGDOM: Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 2013) <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3306228> [accessed 19 June 2021]

———, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London: SCM Press, 2013)

'St. Mirin's Fund', *Diocese of Paisley* <https://rcdop.org.uk/the-diocese-of-paisley-st-mirins-fund> [accessed 4 January 2019]

Stewart, Bob, 'Nurturing the Spirit: Reflections on the Role of a Church Archivist', *Archivaria*, 1990 <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/11669> [accessed 13 August 2021]

Talbot, Brian, ed., *A Distinctive People: Aspects of the Witness of Baptists in Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Wipf and Stock, 2014)

Taylor, Diana, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas: Cultural Memory and Performance in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003)

Taylor, Hugh, 'The Collective Memory: Archives and Libraries as Heritage', *Archivaria*, 15 (1982), 118–30

Team, TNA Web, 'Explore Your Archive |' <http://www.exploreyourarchive.org/> [accessed 1 September 2018]

Tellis, Winston, 'Application of a Case Study Methodology', *The Qualitative Report*, 3.3 (1997), 1–19

'The American Archivist | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/american-archivist> [accessed 4 September 2019]

The Church of Scotland, *The Church of Scotland - History* <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about-us/our-structure/history>

'The Date and Setting of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus', *Anglican Theological Review (USA)*, 30 (1948), 38–44

The National Archives, 'Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential', *The National Archives - Archives Unlocked* <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/Archives-Unlocked-Accessibility-Version.pdf> [accessed 12 November 2019]

———, 'Cranmer on Religious Practice', *Cranmer on Religious Practice* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/the-english-reformation-c1527-1590/cranmer-on-religious-practice/>

———, 'Understanding Your Community', *TNA - Understanding Your Community* <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/advice-and-guidance/talking-to-your-community/understanding-your-community/> [accessed 12 November 2019]

Theimer, Kate, ed., *Appraisal and Acquisition: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015)

———, ed., *Description: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014)

———, ed., *Educational Programs: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015)

———, ed., *Management: Innovative Practices For Archives And Special Collections* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014)

———, ed., *Outreach: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014)

———, ed., *Reference and Access: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014)

'Theodore Calvin Pease Award | Society of American Archivists' <https://www2.archivists.org/governance/handbook/section12-pease> [accessed 10 April 2019]

Thorpe, Kirsten, and Monica Galassi, 'Diversity, Inclusion & Respect: Embedding Indigenous Priorities in Public Library Services', *Public Library Quarterly*, 37.2 (2018), 180–94

Tschan, Reto, 'A Comparison of Jenkinson and Schellenberg on Appraisal', *The American Archivist*, 65.2 (2002), 176–95 <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.65.2.920w65g3217706l1>

'UCL Staff Pages - Andrew Flinn', *UCL Staff Pages - Andrew Flinn* <https://ucl.ac.uk/information-studies/andrew-flinn>

'University of Glasgow - Connect - Community and Public Engagement' <https://www.gla.ac.uk/connect/publicengagement/> [accessed 1 January 2019]

'University of Glasgow - Schools - School of Social & Political Sciences - Research - Research in Economic & Social History - Projects - Global History Hackathons - Global History Hackathons' <https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/research/economicsocialhistory/projects/global%20historyhackathons/history%20hackathons/> [accessed 14 July 2019]

'University of Glasgow - Services A-Z - Archive Services - Collections - University Archive - Featured Collections - Blackhouse Charters' <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/archives/collections/university/features/blackhouse/> [accessed 12 April 2016]

'Urban Big Data Centre | Home' <https://www.ubdc.ac.uk/> [accessed 14 April 2019]

'Vicars Are Employed by God Not the Church, Says Court in Landmark Ruling | The Independent' <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/vicars-are-employed-by-god-not-the-church-says-court-in-landmark-ruling-10217078.html> [accessed 11 May 2019]

Vickers, Brian J, 'The Lord's Supper: Celebrating the Past and Future in the Present', in *The Lord's Supper: Remembering and Proclaiming Christ until He Comes*, by Thomas R Schreiner and Matthew R Crawford (Nashville: B & H Academic, 2010), pp. 313–40

'Welcome to the Best Practice Site for Business Archives', *Managing Business Archives* <https://managingbusinessarchives.co.uk/> [accessed 1 January 2019]

Westminster Assembly, *Westminster Confession of Faith* (London, 1647)

'Who Is an Archivist? | International Council on Archives' <https://www.ica.org/en/discover-archives-and-our-profession> [accessed 30 May 2019]

'Why Do Companies Manage Their Archives?', *Managing Business Archives* <https://managingbusinessarchives.co.uk/getting-started/exploiting-the-archive/why-do-companies-manage-their-archives/> [accessed 1 January 2019]

'Wicked Problems | Ecsite' <https://www.ecsite.eu/activities-and-services/news-and-publications/digital-spokes/issue-29#section=section-lookout&href=/feature/lookout/digital-storytellers> [accessed 31 July 2021]

Williams, Caroline Mary, *Managing Archives (Information Professional)* (Oxford: Chandos, 2006)

———, 'Records and Archives: Concepts, Roles and Definitions', in *Archives and Recordskeeping: Theory into Practice*, Facet Books for Archivists and Records Managers (London: Facet Publishing, 2013)

'Word of the Week: Recordness' <https://us3.campaign-archive.com/?u=56c4cfbec1ee5b2a284e7e9d6&id=82bd286947> [accessed 14 April 2019]

Zanish-Belcher, Tanya, 'Keeping Evidence and Memory: Archives Storytelling in the Twenty-First Century', *The American Archivist*, 82:1, 2019, 9–23

Appendices

Table of Contents

Appendix A – Template for Semi-Structured Interview 2

Appendix B – Transcript of Interview 1 – Church of Scotland 3

Appendix C – Transcript of Interview 2 – Roman Catholic Church .... Error! Bookmark not defined.

Appendix D – Transcript of Interview 3 – Scottish Episcopal Church. Error! Bookmark not defined.

Appendix E – Transcript of Interview 4 – Scottish Episcopal Church 42

Appendix A – Template for Semi-Structured Interview

Meeting with minister/ clergy:

- First of all, I'd like to talk a little about your training for the role of Parish Priest. Where did you train (go to seminary / College)?
- Was this FT / PT, and for how long?
- Thinking about the training you had, what importance was placed on the celebration of the Eucharist? For example, did you have to complete specific courses on this?
- Did you cover:
- History
- Ritual
- The view of your particular denomination?
- I previously sent an overview as I understand it of your church's teachings on the Celebration of the Eucharist, and training given to those who are involved in the process of the celebration. Are there any corrections you would wish to make with regard to this document, or any sections which you would wish to highlight?
- What is your understanding of what you were doing in the celebration?
- To you, what is / are the most important element(s) of the service?
- Who is permitted to receive the Eucharist?
- Is this strictly enforced? How? Why?
- What is your understanding of the significance of the elements of bread and wine?
- What is your practical theological view of the Celebration of the Eucharist? How well do you believe the congregation / laity understand this?
- If there is a reserved sacrament, how is it dealt with, and how is it later used?
- If there is no reserved sacrament, why not?
- What do you think the minimum requirements are for a Celebration of the Eucharist to be Valid?
- What do you think the minimum requirements are for a Celebration of the Eucharist to be well-formed?
- Is ordination important? Why do you believe this?
- Can you tell me a little about how the Celebration of the Eucharist was covered in your training? How much prominence and / or importance was given to it?
- Have you ever served as a chaplain? If yes, in what context(s)?
- Did you have to treat the celebration of the Eucharist differently when you were operating as a chaplain in these contexts?
- If there were differences, what were these, and why?

Appendix B – Transcript of Interview 1 – Church of Scotland

Adele: I'm a PhD student, as well as an academic member of staff at the University of Glasgow. And so, I'm doing my PhD part time, and it's looking at archival theory of memory and authenticity in the celebration of the Eucharist. And I'm a trained archivist - that's what I teach. I'm jointly supervised by Theology and Religious Studies and Information Studies, which is my home department. And so what I'd like to do is talk to you a bit about your experiences with the celebration of the Eucharist, specifically from the Church of Scotland point of view, but also your own personal experiences, if that's okay? So, first of all, I'd like to ask you a bit about your training for the role of minister here.

X: The Church of Scotland training?

A: Yes.

X: What it involved?

A: Yes, please.

X: I'd had a previous degree, so I'd a kind of short track. I went to Glasgow University in 2004, and I was there for three years studying for a Bachelor in Divinity and Ministry, Honours. Alongside that in the Church of Scotland, you're also under the supervision of the Ministries Council in Edinburgh. And the Ministries Council, one of their remits is the training of ministers, so, you have - there's all these Psychologist interviews at the start, at the end of each year, there's various pieces of work that you've got to submit. I would say, there's I was doing two degrees at once, the amount of work you had to give them was about comparable to the amount of work I had to give to the University. You were in placement form October to Pentecost every year, and there was a 10-week summer placement every year. And at the end of the all, after you finish University there was an 18-month probationary placement, where you were working full time in a Parish, supervised. So, it's quite a process.

A: And so you were full-time studying…

X: Full-time studies part-time work for the Church, basically.

A: And you had to do the placement, from October to Pentecost, you had to do that?

X: Yes. That placement was, you were involved in worship on a Sunday morning, and it was agreed, you'd do about 4 hours a week, and that could be visiting the Brownies on a Tuesday night, or visiting the Women's Guild on a Wednesday night - it was just involving yourself in the life of the Church. Or it could be something like your supervisors: "I want

you to preach the sermon" and your 4 hours would be up. I think they called it 8 hours and that was basically Sunday morning, plus 4 or 5 hours doing whatever.

A: And can you tell me a bit about how the celebration of the Eucharist was covered in your training.

X: Yes. We spoke at length about the reform of theology with regards to Eucharist, obviously we view it a wee bit differently from the Catholic Church; for us it's a memorial. It's an act of remembrance. So, I think we would all say there's a degree where we would all say the same things, for example, what Augustine said; that the Sacraments are a visible sign of an invisible grace. I think with the Church of Scotland the parts at the point where it says that the Sacrament must contain the promises of Jesus Christ. So, in baptism, the two Sacraments we have are baptism and the Lord's Supper. And baptism is the promise of forgiveness and the Lord's Supper is the promise of eternal life. So that's the basis of them. However, The Church of Scotland is a Church that is very theological and broad. there are people in the Church of Scotland who would barely recognise the divinity of Christ … very liberal people. And then we have people who are very conservative on the opposite end of the spectrum, like me [laughs], who believe in a 6-day creation [laughs] and we take the Bible very literally. It's fitting that, in a Church that's so broad that there's hardly a consensus in Church of Scotland. I'm gonnae assume the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church are just the same, there'll be a cast theological drift and people will view it differently, there will be different views on how they should be administered, who it should be administered to, what preparations should be done for the administration of it. Certainly, we have rules, and I've looked up the rules, hand on my heart, I don't know I adhere to it. I don't. And it's not because I decided not to. I just don't. And the rules are about [gets paper to check]- "The Lord's table was open to any baptised person who loves the Lord and responds in faith to the invitation to eat". And then it says, the minster is obliged to test the faith of the person who is taking the Lord's Supper. What I say at the start of the service for the Lord's Supper is "the Lord's Supper is open to anyone who loves the Lord", so I do depart from the Churches rules.

A: So, if someone approached you with a view to being baptised, if an adult approached you with a view to being baptised would you be happy for them to receive?

X: I would give Communion to people who were not baptised, and I would base that on sculpture. I would base that on Christ's commission, we're both departing from Baptism -

the Lord's Supper there's no qualification in the Bible, it doesn't say “this is the way to God, and the promise of eternal life for those that are baptised” - it doesn't say that.

And well, baptism, certainly marks the beginning of life in the Church, and as such, would be the Church's prerequisite for the Lord's Supper - I don't think the two necessarily need to be connected. I Think someone could be struggling in a life in faith, embarking on a life in faith and not yet be baptised, and I would not want to deprive them of the Sacrament just because they weren't baptised. Think that would be unproductive and problematic, so I would go ahead and let someone take the Lord’s Supper even if they weren't baptised. And that's not in keeping with the Church's rules, but having said that I’m probably not the only minister that operates like that, and nobody has ever been disciplined for this, so, I suppose there's flexibility in the rules; if somebody - that the thing about reformed tradition, once you reform it it keep reforming. So, I think people are reluctant to say, we don't have a canon law, or anything like that. So there's a lot more flexibility to operate independently. And for me the question I would always be asking myself was, what are the Churches rules in this bit? But what would I discern as being Christ’s willingness? And I don't believe that Christ would have denied a Sacrament that he promised on the basis of a technicality, that is if the person wasn't baptised.

A: So what are the benefits of receiving the Lord’s Supper?

X: The benefits , it's a ritual that we join in together, so there's a community element to it. In the Church of Scotland we have a historical anomaly. That means that it doesn't happen very often - the disruption in the… 1843, the disruption. You know the disruption in the Church of Scotland?

A: Uh, yes… Is that what happened through in Edinburgh?

X: No, it was the Church split. Church of Scotland was split many, many times with the most recent and most biggest thing was, I think, called the disruption. The disruption meant that the Church split in two, basically. And when that happened there wasn't enough ministers to - the Sacraments can only be administered by the clergy in the Church of Scotland, so as soon as they were in the situation where there wasn't enough ministers, they moved from the position - from the position of both Luther and Calvin and Knox and Melville, and the position that most of these people took at the time of the reformation was that the Sacraments should be administered weekly - after the disruption there wasn't enough ministers for that to happen and they found themselves in the situations that there was

one minster travelling around 5 or 6 Churches and not like today when you just jumped in your car - the ministers were away for days travelling around these Churches.

And they spread out - and now most Church of Scotland's in situation where they're celebrating the Lord's Supper 4 times a year. Which isn't enough. It isn't enough. And here at [his church] the sessions, we're 4, it's January, March, June and October. We have a formal Communion service, where the Communion is part of the worship. Because I believe it's not enough on the Sundays, on the first Sunday of the month where we don't have a formal Communion, we have an informal Communion service just after worship, and we usually get 20-30 people attending that, there are people for whom it matters enough that they stay back for half an hour after the service on those months. It's very important to me - I can't stress that, I do Holy Communions, a lot of ministers let Communions slide. We also do what we call a *Comfy Communion*, which is on the Sundays where we have a formal Communion in the morning. We have a service in the afternoon in the hall where we set out tables and we pick up and bring to Church our most elderly and housebound members. People who normally can't get to Church anymore, we bring them to Church we send someone out to pick them up, we set them out in the hall, because it's more comfortable sitting around a chair. We have a short Communion service and then we give them a cup of tea and then we take them home. I said for me community is a part of this, and community is certainly a part of the Comfy Communion. Because rather than them sitting in the house themself, with a minister getting Communion on that basis, were bringing them into a place where sometimes they're seeing their 90 year old pal that they sat next to in the Church for 40 years. Now they're both housebound - ones in Garnethill and ones in Foxbar, sure there's a community and social aspect to it, you get the Sacrament and get to share in the spiritual unity of the Church. There's also an opportunity for them to share in that. Tangible, real human community, as well. Does that make sense?

A: Yes, it does. Thank you. So rewind a bit to your training. Do you remember having to take specific courses on history or ritual, or was it all…?

X: The Church of Scotland, if you went to Glasgow University and studied a Master in Theology, you wouldn't have had all the courses I did, but you would have picked your courses. Because I've done a Bachelor of Divinity and Ministry at Trinity College, the Church picked my courses. They told me every year, these are the courses you are doing. So I had

no choice whatsoever. But the courses I studied at Glasgow, it was all dictated by the Church.

A: And did you have to do anything in addition to the degree? Like, did you have to undertake any formal training? Like, do you have to go to any Church of Scotland summer schools? Like you mentioned…

X: Aye, yes. There were all sorts of conferences. We would have… we attended conferences. There was usually a conference around Easter time, there was a conference about October. They were about 3 or 4 days. And there was a big conference that lasted about a week and a half, and we'd go to St. Andrews University in August, and they brought in all the candidates training for ministry at all levels. From all 4 universities. Sorry, at time it's changed now. At that time all Church ministers trained at Aberdeen and St. Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh. Now some are training at Highland Theological…

A: Okay. And do you remember covering the Lord's Supper and the celebration of the Eucharist at all in those conferences?

X: I know we did [laughs].

A: Fair enough.

X: [LAUGHS] I know we did. Because I can remember the introduction when we got to the session. Sadly, I can't remember much of it, of the session than that. It's difficult I suppose in the Church of Scotland is because of this theological broadness. We cover things like that in a very general way. No one is giving you the Church's line on it. If you know what I mean. And depending on your theological slant, you'll form your own opinions. We have our book, we have a book *Common Order*, which is the Church's liturgy for most things. I don't know many Church ministers that use Common Order, most of us have went away and we have our own. I don't even think that it's an expectation that you would use Common Order. [shuffles] This is my Communion services, I have a years worth of Communion services that I've written. Based on common order, based on things that I've read, so I'm not using a standardised liturgy for Communion. And I suppose much of what I say in that would reflect my own theology, my own understanding, my own relationship to that.

A: That's really useful, thank you. So the next section is thinking about the celebration of the Eucharist in this Church. From what you said it happens formally 4 times a year, and then informally another 8 times?

X: Yes. We don't celebrate in July because I'm on holiday, but we also celebrate Maundy Thursday so it'll be 8. And the Maundy Thursday service I do it differently, I try and include the young folk in the Church and I use grape juice and bread instead of wine and bread, in that case. So that we can include the young people.

A: Okay. And what's your understanding of what your role is in the celebration?

X: I'm the minister. I don't think anything vicarious is happening in what I do. I suppose my role, in any Sacrament would be the same role that I have on any Sunday service, any service of worship, and that would be leadership, I would be leading it. There's no belief that there's anything I can do, anything I say that somehow impacts on other people; the heart of reformed tradition is this belief that no one interceded between us and God, it's a relationship between us and God. It's between us and God, so that would give me a very different role, for a priest, if a priest is acting vicariously on behalf of the individual.

A: Okay. So, to you, what are the most important elements of the service?

X: The Communion service? I think it is important we understand what we're doing and why were doing it. And I think that's probably reflected in the liturgies that I use. I hope there's no superstition going on. I hope when folks share in this they're sharing in a family, communal meal of which were remembering the promise of Jesus Christ, the promise of eternal life. The promise that gives me the desire to get out of bed in the morning, quite honestly. I feel like if I didn't feel that promise at the heart of my life this would be a hopeless world to live in. So, it's more that just, for me, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is more than just something we do, it's more than just a ritual. It's something that's at the very heart of my life because without that promise, the promise of heaven, of eternal life, salvation. I'm just gonna crawl this world for 70 years, die and feed the worms and that's just absolutely hopeless. There's no hope in that. So, the two Sacraments together both give me hope. Separate me from the real beasts that just exist and die. It's the whole source of all hope in my life.

A: Okay, thank you.

My next question is who is permitted to receive the Eucharist, and it would not officially be those who are officially baptised and who believe, but…

X: Let me just read you the next two paragraphs: "Notwithstanding the terms of section 13 above, there is nothing in the law in the Church of Scotland which would automatically disqualify a person with learning difficulties" So we don't exclude people on the grounds

of mental health. And the next paragraph saying “Notwithstanding, terms of recognising the freedom of discretion in this matter where [xx] satisfied the Baptised children and have been nurtured in the life and worship of the Church and the love of the Lord and respond in faith to the vision, may he admit his children to the Lord's table. We do.

A: Okay, and from what sort of age would you…?

X: We… very young. Probably younger than most. I would, 8,9,10? Once the Sunday school teacher can say to me “wee Jimmy there understands what this is” as far as I’m concerned, and as far as my [church name] is concerned, wee Jimmy can have the Sacrament at that point. I’ve never in my life refused the Sacrament to anybody who's wanted it. Maybe it's worth saying it, as it goes. I had an instance once it was to do with a baptism, and a baptism, in the same regard as the Lord's Supper - and I sometimes take quite a hard line in Baptism, I believe it's forgiveness and it marks the beginning of the life in the Church and if they don't believe it does matter, I don’t do it - There are people who I’ve refused Baptism for. If I think it’s just a preamble with a piss up, I don’t do it, I’m afraid. [laughs]. But there was a situation in a hospital where a baby had died, and the family had asked the hospital chaplain, it wasn’t in this area, had asked the hospital chaplain to baptise the baby, and the hospital chaplain gave the theological line of why they couldn’t baptise the dead. The God I know is the God of love, so when they spoke to me I, baptised the baby, and I rationalised that by saying if it’s baptism, if it’s right, I’ll have done nothing wrong. And if the baby is dead, and it isn't baptism, what have I done? That was line I took, and I've actually baptised two dead babies. It isn't a pleasant thing to do. And I haven't done it believing it was a baptism – [his wife] lost her son, he was baptised and I knew it wasn't a baptism, for [his wife] and for other people concerned it about helping them move through difficult times, so when this happened in that situation for me, it's been a purely pastoral exercise. I haven't done that believing that I’ve done a baptism, I’ve done it believing I’ve done something pastoral, and believing that a God whose love will forgive me if I've done something wrong to help somebody, God will forgive me for that. He’s not going to cast me into hell for baptising dead babies.

A: Okay. And the Eucharist, the Lord’s Supper, and what the Lord’s Supper is taught in Sunday School, I mean you mentioned earlier…

X: Aye we speak about it, we talk about it. The peculiar situation in the Church of Scotland is that the person who is responsible for the Christian education of the young folk is me.

But I'm working somewhere else when the Sunday school is on. So it's a kind of stupid rule, because the people you've given that responsibility to is the one person who can never be there to see that it happens. There needs to be confidence in the Sunday school teacher and we have that. And she would tell me, I would ask, as the baptism is coming up, I'd pull her aside and "are any of them coming in?" We don't make them come in, but they're asked if they want to come in. Some do. Then I would ask if there's anybody new, and I would drag them away. The Church of Scotland used to have this horrible practice with regards to, already it's already the responsibility of the elders to, given some crackin' ways of dealing with that in the past historically. The elder would come round to your house and decide if you were good enough, you would decide if you were good enough to take the Lord's Supper and you were given a token, a little token and when you came to Church on Communion Sunday, when the Sacrament was happening the pews would all be dressed in these long white table clothes, and if you had a token you got to sit there. If you didn't have a token you had to sit at the back and you never got the Lord's Supper. I suppose the guiding thing about the reformed tradition is the scripture, the primary is scripture in all things, and I think things like that absolutely abhorrent. Because Jesus never gave us that teaching, that example - we find it nowhere in scripture, so that was a thing on man, a thing of humanity, it's something that we've done. And I just can't relate to a God who would treat us like that.

A: So normally a Sunday school would happen for the whole of the Sunday service?

X: No they come in for about the first 20 mins. A normal Sunday service here would be: we sing a hymn, we say some prayers and then there's a children's talk and that cupboard behind you there is full of all the stuff I've used for these children, that's why there's soft toys laying around! And then we would have kind of a children's hymn, and that's you about 20 past there, so they're in for about the service. Sometimes we have family services where they stay throughout and for the Lord's Supper, they would stay in for the whole service.

A: Thanks. And what's your understanding of the significance of the elements of bread and wine?

X: Purely remembrance. Purely, they are bread and wine at the start, they are bread and wine at the end. I say wine, we don't use wine, we use grape juice here. And there's a reason that many Churches will use something other than wine: in the Catholic Church, yous don't take wine in the Sacrament, do you?

A: No, we do now, not usually. It's usually offered in both species. But, historically it would not be offered.

X: So for all times, there's issues of alcoholism. We've alcoholics coming in for the Sacrament and then you are passing around a bowl, there was problems with that. So a lot of Churches use other than wine and when I came here they were using Ribena I had my "throwing tables in the air" moment, and we don't use Ribena any more, we use grape juice now. Matthew talks about the wine and the grapes of the vine. Ribena, I don't know what's in Ribena, surely what chemicals are in it? [laughs] I really don't think anything much at all. So we use grape juice - there is this belief that it starts bread and grape juice and remains bread and grape juice, but there's the problem, what do you do with it at the end? And what we tend to do, well, we use the wee cups. Have you seen the wee cups we use? The glass thimbles?

A: Uh huh.

X: So there's never waste anyway, with the grape juice, with the bread we tend to just feed the birds. But we do use the words set, these element set aside for this holy use of mystery. We acknowledge that while it's bread and wine, and it remains bread and wine, this bread and wine has been used for a special purpose so it wouldn't be appropriate to slab the butter and the bacon on the bread at the end of the service to go eat your lunch, that would be appropriate. I knew a minister who I trained under who used to go to the cemetery after the service if there was wine left and he would pour it at the graves. I think understanding Transubstantiation, I can understand that if you believe that, and I don't, but that's neither here nor there, I can understand if you believe that, that you'd be behaving very differently around the bread and wine then we do in a different tradition. But it's a Sacrament of memory, it's a Sacrament in which you remember the promises. It's like a knot in your hanky, it reminds you to pick up the milk. I mean that's - at its simplest level, that's what it is, it's a reminder that Jesus said this, and he said if to us, for us. But nothing miraculous happens in this. It's literally just it.

A: So you don't have a reserved Sacrament? For example…

X: No, no.

A: So thinking about your practical theological view of the celebration of the Eucharist, I think we've covered that insofar as it's an act of remembrance? Would you agree?

X: Yes.

A: And how well do you believe the congregation, or the laity, understand this?

X: Some will, some won't. You won't believe some of the things congregation say about these things. I think some will take the Sacrament out of habit. I try to use words that convey what we're doing. We never just have a situation where we say okay, the bread and the wine coming round now. We always lead into that with an explanation. We always read the narrative of institution; 1 Corinthians, so that's always made clear why we're doing this, what it is. Whenever I do a baptism or Communion, before we even begin, I always say to them that we're doing this, and it's a Sacrament which we're remembering Christ's promise. So, unless they're not listening you must understand what we're doing. But the significance of that understanding will vary from person to person. Some people will do it out of habit, some people will do it out of superstition. I hear people say, "I'm not good enough". They think that somehow to get God's love, they have to be good enough. Grace, is at the heart of this. This doesn't happen to us because we've earned it because we've deserved it, because we're good people - this happens to us because God wants it to happen to us, in spite of who we are. So I think. At the heart of understanding the Lord's Supper and at the heart of understanding baptism: is grace. And I think some people, especially in this modern world have difficulty understanding grace. You don't know when you don't get what you actually deserve, but you actually get what you don't deserve.

A: Thanks. I'd like to think about what is needed for the Lord's Supper to be a valid celebration. So what do you need to make it happen?

X: You need - can I just look at my liturgy? We begin with an invitation. We invite people to take part. And that's not me inviting, that's me inviting them on behalf of Christ. Because it's Christ that does this, it not me does it with them. It's Christ that does it with them. So, the invitation is important. In the reformed tradition, 1 Corinthians 11 has to be read, that the passage: "Follow my example, as I follow the example of Christ" so that's the biblical explanation for why we're doing what we're doing, and we find that in 1 Corinthians. We would normally, and I don't think in necessary at all times, we would normally, we say the *Apostles Creed* together during the service. And once the Lord's Supper has been served, we would declare Christ has died, Christ has risen, Christ will come again, and we share the peace of Christ with the community round about. It's an important part of this as well. I also have a view for the order in which this is done. In Church of Scotland, I know the Catholic Church has kind of come down together and Church of Scotland has taken to you, so on a Sunday morning, we would be sat at the Communion table, which is just a table.

There would normally be the minister in the middle, two senior elders, one on either side, and then there'd be a couple rows of other elders up in the chancel, at the front of the Church. The elders that are there will take the bread out on trays and there's wee cubes of bread and the wee cups, the wee thimble cups on a tray to take it out to the people. The established practice, I suppose, the majority practice, and the practice in the Church of Scotland would be for the minister to serve himself the Sacrament then serve the elders who will serve the congregation. That would be the normal way. And we, the two elders on either side of the minister are kind of there to serve the other elders. What we would usually do - those two elders would serve the Sacrament to the elders who are going to take it to the congregation. The elders then would take the bread and the grape juice to the congregation and then when they came back I would serve the two elders another side of me, and then I would be served last. And that's biblical to me. I'm not there for special treatment. So I shouldn't be getting it first. I should get it last, because that's a biblical statement of service.

A: So do you think ordination is important?

X: In its current form? No.

A: Okay.

X: I think we stand, I think the whole stand now stands at a point, I think the whole Church, I don't just mean the Church of Scotland, I mean the whole Church, the universal Church, the Church Catholic; stands in a place that it probably hasn't been at in 500 years. With the Reformation and the Council of Trent and all that was happening. And I think the whole way the Church does things needs to change and I think ministers like me are probably the last generation of ministers like me that the Church will have. We face a crisis just now in the Church of Scotland; we've got over 1000 Churches, 300 of them without a minister, currently. 75% of the ministers are in the last 10 years, and we expect a net loss of ministers of 30 a year going forward. If that's the practical situation that we face we need to find new ways of doing Church in which we don't have ordained, or set apart, or paid clergy because we're just not going to have an ordained and set apart and paid clergy in 10 years time. I'm 54, I'm just alongside this crisis, along this 75%, when I retire, unless something dramatic happens the Church of Scotland will have over 1000 Churches, and just over 300 ministers. We can't be the line in that model going forward.

A: Bleak.

X: It's not bleak! Well, it's scary, but there's an excitement in it - this is like 75 AD they were all setting out how they were going to do Church, that's where we are again. That's exciting.

A: Okay. Good. Thank you. Have you ever served as a chaplain?

X: Yes, I'm a University chaplain and a hospital chaplain and I've been a prison chaplain.

A: And do you think you have to treat the celebration, the Lord's Supper, differently when you're operating as a chaplain in these contexts?

X: I think because chaplains, see nowadays usually involve multi faith teams - the trouble with chaplain here is your working in other institutions. I'm a chaplain out in Paisley campus, UWS, I'm involved in chaplaincy at the RAH, the hospital, and I was the chaplain at HMP Addiewell. You're covered, you're working within secular bodies that have their own sets of - I choose my words carefully here - politically correct and all-inclusive values that sometimes makes it - when I'm going to hospital as a chap, I'm not allowed to wear a collar. My NHS pass is hanging up behind you, there, I have to deal with an open-necked shirt and an NHS pass. That's the capacity, that the way I look, that's the way I have to be dressed when I work as a hospital chaplain. So, if they can't even stand to see your collar they're certainly not going to let you be running about doing Eucharist in the hospital. If you're going to do it, and I have done to do it, it's usually to see my own people, which is a different situation, if I'm going to see my own, it's as a Parish minister, not as an NHS chaplain at that point. And there's discomfort. I can see it. Staff, when you pull out your Communion set and start setting up in somebody's bed, there is discomfort. I've actually had a nurse ask me if I could leave once, over it. That I was upsetting people. Because I'd taken it into one of my members who was in there. I think sometimes people don't know how to deal with it. But I think in a chaplaincy situation, if you have taken the Lord's Supper in, it's almost certainly going to cause discomfort. Because it's a public place, and it's a secular space, as well. So there's going to be people there would think I'm deluded, and absolutely insane, believing what I believe. And they don't want to see me doing that, but I have a pastoral responsibility to the person I'm seeing so I would do it. I do have a very shortened version that I use in those situations, though. I won't not do it. I do do it quickly.

A: And so you say you set out your Communion set, would that be just very simply a cup and a piece of bread?

X: Absolutely not. This is so important to me. I'm a joiner by trade, when I was at University I made my own Communion set. Oh, it'll be interesting to see [produces the Communion set he made, from wood] A lot of effort to make this Communion set so that when I took

to Communion to people in hospital and places like that, if you weren't getting second best, something that was diminished, they were getting the full. So this is the Communion set that I made, and there's the short liturgy I use at the top.

A: That's amazing.

X: So it's the set up. There is a cross which you normally wouldn't have in a Communion set and then there's the wee thing that holds the cup in it, there's a wee tablecloth. The grape juice would be in there, the bread would be in there and there's wee covers obviously for covering it. There's a wee plate for the bread. So it's important enough to me that when I'm taking it to people they shouldn't be getting - I think a lot of these Communion sets that the Church give you it's like a wee box, and there's a couple of these wee cups in it, and there's like a wee miniature with a plastic tub for the bread and it just seems very clinical and impersonal, and not something special. And I just think that when you set this out, when you take the wee tablecloth and you set the cross up in the middle and got all kind of stuff out, it's a statement about how special this is - special enough that I took the time to do that - but special enough that what we're celebrating something.

A: So would you view that as Sacramental? I know that's a word that would often be used in the Church of Scotland context, but would you view that as sacred, as set aside?

X: I wouldn't view it as sacred, no. There's a sense where it's the tools of my trade, I'd probably view this more as tools of my trade; it's something I've done, something I've made because I view this Sacrament as being a very special thing and I want to do everything I can to make it as special for other people. As I hold it to be.

A: That's great, thank you for showing that to me, it was lovely. Okay, that's I think that's all the questions that I've got, did you have anything that I've asked about that you want to tell me about the Lord's Supper?

X: Studying at the … in the Westminster confession of faith [laughs] I thought you were going to ask about the Church's position on it. I was clueing myself up for it.

A: No, it's very much about your individual position. Because I can look up the Church's position online, so I've sorry If I put you to any extra trouble… I'd like to ask though that you're reading form, do you mind if I take a reference?

X: You can take that as one of the acts of assembly. See what act it is, does it say in the front? Consolidating Act against... You can take that away with you, that's one of the Church of Scotland's Acts of Assembly.

A: That’s great thank you.

Appendix C – Transcript of Interview 2 – Roman Catholic Church

Adele: ...and I'm not going to keep data for any longer than is necessary for my research, so

X: Okay. And I don't need to be anonymous.

A: Thank you very much, right, so… would you like your copy of the form you've just signed?

X: No, it's alright.

A: Right. As I said in my email, my research is looking at archival theory of memory and authenticity, but in relation to the Celebration of the Eucharist. And as part of that, I'm visiting with various different ministers and priests in various denominations and talking to them about their experience celebrating the Eucharist. First of all, I'd like to just to talk to you a little bit about your training for the role of parish priest, so where did you train?

38:23 -- 37:17

X: For the role of priest?

A: Yes.

X: Or being a priest?

A: Yes.

X: In the Scots College in Rome. From 1985 to 1992.

A: And after you were at Scots College, then were you a curate somewhere?

X: Yeah, so I was ordained on the 29th of June 1992 and then a month later I was appointed short term to St. X's in (nearby town within the diocese) for 2 months, [interlude for cake -- not transcribed]

37:17 -- 36:11

X: Okay, so it was 2 months there and my first proper appointment then was in the October of that year to St. Y's in (nearby small town within the diocese) so I was there for 4 years in my first appointment. [Other voices] Is that enough on that?

A: Yes. [Other voices] And so you were full time obviously when you were in training at Scots College, if you can, can you talk to me a little bit about the subject of the Celebration of the Eucharist was covered in your training, so how much prominence or importance was given to it? Like, were there specific courses on the Mass, the meaning of Mass…?

X: So there were courses on liturgy, and so like, which is about: how the way we celebrate all the worship rights in the church and how they developed and then on how they are celebrated now, so then there were also there courses on what the church is teaching us

about the Eucharist, and about the other Sacraments, so ones the more kind of practical about how it evolved and what the elements are, and the other is about what is the kind of theological meaning about what it is when we celebrate the Eucharist.

A: Okay, and what about the practical training? So how did you learn what to do when you're at the altar?

X: Okay, so, well, so some of that happens through the time, throughout the course you get various, the kind of elements of the liturgy, what the people do, what the clergy do. Those kind of things, but during that time there would be, you'd pick up a sense of how to do things and in a good way, so a sense of tradition and form. For instance: like, when you're moving around a sanctuary, you do so in a way that kind of respects what you're doing. So for instance: say you know that there is something not quite right, and you know that somewhere you're out of place, that you don't sort of rush across and like, just distracting - you know like see a priest dart across and everybody notices, like you do things in such a way as if what you're doing is what you're meant to be doing, so that it doesn't distract people. So that kind of practical sense of doing things in a reverential way can happen through during the different ministries of serving, all the different parts that they do, and being in a college with students, and there's plenty of people to tell you you're not doing something just quite right, and maybe there's a better way of doing it, or whatever, you know? So, it was that kind of practical things that were picked up in that sense but it did mean that you have a sense of what you're doing and how to do it. Then more specifically, certainly in the last year of seminary, there were, there was a kind of training, an in-house conversation and observations with the staff that we used to do with, looking at things you may have to do as a priest. One of which would be the Celebration of Mass. But, to some extent, that's not something that a lot of time is given to because basically we were at Mass every day. Like, for 7 years, you were either involved or observing what happened.

And a year before becoming a priest, you were ordained a deacon, which meant you'd be proclaiming the gospel, there's more, and also you're more at the kind of heart of that, the kind of Celebration, so your kind of side-by-side with the person who's celebrating, which means you kind of get a feel for what that's like and how to do things. And also at the time when I became a priest… I was 25 when I was ordained a priest, like I'd wanted to be a priest since I was a kid, so I'd been watched from when I started serving Masses as a

youngster, I'd been watching what the priests did the whole time. So, I kind of, it wasn't as if there was a lot that needed to be done to teach me how to do this.

A: So you were an altar server…?

X: I was an altar server from 7 through till about 14 and then went to seminary at 18. We get like, practice Masses, where one of the kind of staff would, you'd be all kind of dressed up as you should be and go through the Masses as if you were celebrating Mass, but that really just happened a couple of times because you knew how to do it. That was a super thing, I suppose, you actually being the person doing the words and doing the actions but you kind of knew what to do.

A: So you had these practice Masses, would the interrupt and say: "you're on the wrong side" or "you forgot to do this" or…?

X: Yeah, probably if… I think there was only one or two things that were said so they were just said at the end, but is supposed if was something you'd been doing completely wrong at the time, something very obviously wrong that may sort of say, but that's… It probably isn't that likely to happen.

A: By the time you get to…

X: Because you're so immersed in the ritual.

A: And did you cover what the view of the catholic church was, compared to for example, the Scottish Episcopal Church or the Protestant non-conformist churches? Was any of that covered?

X: So there would have been in the, we would have covered what the Eucharist is for us and what it might mean for other churches in the liturgy courses, but obviously the emphasis being on what our belief is. But also there would have been the church history courses would have covered some of that as well, the courses looked at the time of the Reformation would have looked at the development of the different ways at that point, and different understandings, yeah.

A: So, thinking about the Celebration of the Eucharist at St. Z's; how often does that happen?

X: At the moment, there's Mass, 3 Masses on a Sunday itself; there's a vigil on a Saturday, for the Sunday obligation, and then there's Mass every weekday morning, and now, because there's Lent there's Masses every evening apart from a Wednesday, which is my day off. I've explained to others, that there's a limitation; we're meant to not say more than 2 Masses in a day, but if there's good pastoral reasons, you may have to do more. At the

moment, for instance, there's two days a week Mass at a primary school and there's two Masses in the high school, which myself and Father Matthew from St. Mirin's say. But also we've been doing class Masses in the St Andrew's High School for the first-years. So there's been a bunch of other Masses between the two of us, and externally 8 Masses during that time. So normally there would be 1 a day during a weekday, and 4 for the Sunday obligation, and seasonally it can be more than that.

A: Would it tend to just be Lent or…?

X: So, for here it's November, and Advent, and Lent that we have evening Masses.

A: Can you tell me a little bit about your understanding about what you're doing in Celebration?

X: Well, basically a priest is there to represent his people to God, so that many of the prayers, especially those at Mass and intercessory prayers, are ones where he's praying to God, but he's praying on behalf of the people, and just himself, not just me myself, but saying the prayers on behalf of the people that are there gathered and the people of God as a whole. Also, from the other side, the priest acts in the person of Christ in the Eucharist, so there's times in what the priest is doing is also something that's got God as the origin. So, like, the Consecration, obviously, you speak in the person of Christ, you're using the words that Jesus said, and because you are given authority by the church, using those words it has the effect in the Consecration, which we believe of Transubstantiation, the blood and body of the Lord.

But there's also times when you proclaim the gospel and then preach and our understanding of it part of the word of God, and although it's me, being a human person, in saying those things, and our understanding is that is an extension of God's words that the priest is there to try and give what God's message is to his people at that particular time in the circumstances which we're in. And depending on whatever it is, what's in the liturgy and the lectionary -- the words for that day -- so that basically the priest stands between God and the people, representing one to the other.

And I think there's an image, like Pope Francis and one of this Holy Thursday homilies, he talked about different things, but one being the chasuble being like what the high priest wore, when they went in to the follies of being a 'peacock'. He must represent the people before God by being humble. The high priest wore one with jewels for each of the tribes of Israel, so basically the high priest was representing God's people, the people of Israel, to

God. And the Pope talked about the chasuble being that for the priest; when he puts on the chasuble he is kind of carrying with him the people that he brings before God.

A: Thanks. To you, what are the most important elements of the service?

X: The central part is, the whole of the Mass is, can be called, the Eucharist because so centrally it's the liturgy of the Eucharist, the offering of the gifts to God, and becomes the body and blood of the Lord. And then which we are able to receive, so the prayers, meaning, thanksgiving and the Eucharistic prayer, we give thanks to God, and offer these gifts back to him, and he in response, gives himself to us again. Where through the Consecration by using those words of Jesus, then Jesus become present for us; by body by soul, by divinity, so really present for us. And that's preceded by the liturgy of the Eucharist which helps us to be in the right, to listen to God's word and respond to that before we then are able to receive. And the last, the very last thing the church does is to tell us at the end of Mass to go out and to announce the good news and whatever the different dismissals are, basically we are coming to be noticed by God to be sent out to be Christ like in the world.

A: And who is permitted to receive the Eucharist?

X: Any baptised, Catholic who's attained the age of reason, who has celebrated the Sacrament of Penance and who, so they can receive Holy Communion after being properly prepared. So generally speaking, thereafter, people who are in a state of grace without any knowledge of a grave sin, as baptised Catholics.

A: How is that enforced?

X: By them knowing that. So it's not that -- at the time of Holy Communion it would be presumed that those who present themselves for Holy Communion are able to receive Holy Communion.

A: Have you ever had to refuse anyone?

X: Yeah, well there might be times where you have a concern about whether someone should or shouldn't receive Holy Communion, but generally speaking it's not the thing to do to take action on that in front of the whole congregation because that can be a cause of scandal. So you have to, you would tell them to be careful. So, for instance, not that long ago, there were people here who looked a bit hesitant and I wasn't really sure if they really knew what it was that they were doing, but nevertheless they were there, so that wasn't the time to have a discussion about it, and if I, someone afterwards told me that the people were Baptists, in fact, that person kind of spoke to them about it, and they themselves have

come forward for a blessing, and made that obvious, so there's been kind of an understanding.

So, yeah, if that hadn't have happened I may have tried to seek out those people to have a wee word to see, to find out if they knew that ---- if they were Catholics or if they were, why there was a hesitation. So you want to deal with that in a caring and kind way, not be -- not sort of give the impression that you're making a judgement on people. For instance, another kind of -- sometimes there can be notorious things, in some countries; in the US there's been some bishops who have said about some people can receive the Holy Communion, where they've kind of publicly professed, such as politicians. You know, there's sort of this previous parish that I was in, there was someone who was a politician and some people from the parish has concerns with this person receiving Holy Communion because of what had been said publicly now. The thing about that for is me is that even if it's known, that someone has said or done something, I, in that particular moment, don't know if that person has repented of that, received the Sacrament of Penance, and therefore is able to receive Holy Communion. So unless it's something like a kind of a public thing that is ongoing, where someone is not free to receive Holy Communion, that we'd known about, then -- and even then, I don't know if the situation has changed, I would always presume that people who present themselves to the Holy Communion, know the discipline and feel in their conscience that they are free to receive Holy Communion.

A: Okay. Can you tell me a bit about your understanding of the significance of the elements of the bread and wine?

X: The bread and wine. Well, when it comes from the Jewish tradition of what happened at the Passover meal, so those elements, they're kind of a remembrance of the Passover itself, when God acted to save his people from slavery in Egypt. But also the bread and wine being the fruits of the earth in a sense it goes back to that disciple where the first, the best of what we have was given in sacrifice to God. So, again, these traditions, so we take the bread and wine as God's gift to us, but we give firstly some of that to Him, but then the added significance is when Jesus took himself at the last supper. And also again, the bread and wine are kind of the gifts for the people so there's the fact, the offer, that it's brought to the priest it's not -- there's the symbolism that this is the people's gift to God. So the priest takes what's given by the people to offer it to God.

A: Thanks. So what is your practical, theological view of the Celebration of the Eucharist.

X: I'm not sure what the question…?

A: So thinking about the theory which you believe underpins the Celebration of the Eucharist. What do you think that is?

X: Well, basically that would be, when we do what we offer -- we offer the bread and wine and we use the words that Jesus says, that becomes the body and blood of Jesus to give us strength that we can become more Christ-like in what we do. That's food for the journey of faith and a strength from him, a grace from him, to enable us to be the people he called us to be. And, but in the encounter, in the encounter with Christ and Eucharist , what becomes presence for us is Christ's sacrifice on the cross on Calvary for us, is present, that that's also the sacrifice that he's, it's the sacrifice that he offers to God the Father, on behalf of humanity, and so that there's a unity between… the sacrifice on the cross on Calvary that was offered to God, the Father, and the course of heaven, so the gathering, the gathering is of the church, both in heaven and on earth. In this one moment, we're kind of united with the angels and saints in heaven who are a part, also a part of who witnessed this offering of sacrifice, to God the Father. So you've got the kind of both becoming present from the sacrifice of Calvary and it's also the taste of the heavenly banquet. In that sense, it's practical, mind you.

A: No, no that's perfect, thank you. How well do you think that the congregation around you will understand this?

X: I think there still in an instinct, alright, of the importance of the Eucharist. I think there is certainly amongst the older generations, there would have been a great emphasis on this as a sacrifice of Calvary, so I think for the older generations that would be pretty clear to them, if that's the case. Probably less clear is the understanding that one sacrifice to God the Father in heaven, and I think people understand we use the words of Jesus, and definitely become, that becomes the body, blood, soul and divinity. Again I think the older generations will understand that more, I think younger generations are probably less clear on what we actually mean about the presence of Jesus. And I think there are people who see it as more of a symbolic way, than how our teaching is that it is actually is greater than that. I think there probably are people who haven't got clear what we understand, and I think younger people, that's more the case. Because I think that they're, there was a point, until the decade after the second Vatican council there would have been doctrinal sermons, kind of generally, which would have meant that this stuff would have been taught. It would have been taught in the Catechism when people learnt the Catechism. So the thing about

that is; they may not all understand when they are young what it means, but they remember those things, and they think about them when they're older, so they can begin to understand a bit more when they get older, so probably the clarity of what we were teaching was there even when they were very young and they didn't understand it, but they were able to when they got older. And this was backed up when there were these doctrinal sermons which meant that every year at some point, the priest would be talking about the Eucharist, specifically, about the church's teaching about the Eucharist, and that would be reinforced.

X: And since the second Vatican council that doesn't happen to the same extent, in such a purposeful way. At any time, you can talk about the Eucharist, as we're focused on the liturgy on the word on, in what's in the readings for that day. You don't need to do that, because at any point you can always talk about the Sacraments and you can always talk about the Celebration of the Eucharist, and there are always times, particularly when we're reading St. Mathew's or St. Mark's gospel there's a bit kind of chunk in the middle giving a summary. Where you've St. John's gospel putting in like 4 or 5 weeks that are on his Eucharistic parts of his… his Eucharistic discourses and therefore that's the kind of the perfect opportunity to do that.

A: And you've mentioned before that you have a role in both (local denominational) secondary school, and St. Z's as the primary school -- do you cover any of this in your visits to the school?

X: So we had with the Masses recently for the first years, and Father Matthew and myself kind of split the classes that we were celebrating Mass for, and we went in for a period beforehand to class to talk a little bit about the Mass and what we understand the structure of the Mass and what we understand to be happening so the core elements of that, so were covered, yeah. So, the primary school, that's probably done more by the fact that the teachers are doing that -- I haven't really done too much, but sometimes I'm fairly new (to this parish) in that, sometimes there are -- there would have been times when I've been in other places where you just take little moments when there are opportunities to talk about something and actually may focus on that. Or something the kids may be preparing for, for first Communion and the liturgy is kind of emphasised some of the elements of what that means, and celebrating Masses just at times in primary schools, as well. There would just be -- just take a wee moment beforehand to think about what we're about to do, and sort of emphasise the important things, even if they cannot understand. The fact that you're

kind of emphasising that Jesus is really present -- there are other opportunities and times for that to be looked at again, but emphasising the things that are core of, that are the core of what we think and understand. Yeah, you do, at times.

A: Thanks. The next question is about reserved Sacrament: I presume there is a reserved Sacrament?

X: Yeah.

A: At St. Z's?

X: Yeah.

A: Who has access to that and how/why do you know it. Why is it used?

X: So, principally, the purpose of reserved Sacrament, blessed Sacrament is so Holy Communion can be taken to the sick. And that is mostly why it is, what would happen. We have house-bound here, we've got at least, 50 people, 50 households that are being visited regularly, either by myself or, well, both by myself and with Extraordinary ministers, and the Extraordinary ministers would be there more often, but they generally take Holy Communion from us to be given to them. But at times, they may not be able to go at that point, and they don't have time to go. And generally, myself I take Holy Communion to the sick or housebound or the chaplain to the hospice, and last week I've been on call from the RAH so they can take Holy Communion to them there. So, that's the principle, in the blessed Sacrament. But, also the secondary reason is that the word is there for us to adore, and so for times of prayer, so every week we would, a kind of short time here, an exposition of blessed Sacrament and adoration, we did a 40 hours devotion, so we did a few days where the blessed Sacrament was discussed more, and sometimes there other kind of groups for adoration, so I've got a youth group I'm involved in called the "Catholic Youth Service Scotland", they do retreat work in different high schools, but the get quite the discipline of prayer. So sometimes they've asked if we can come and spend a time in adoration. In fact, they did that kind of all night, one day fairly recently, as well. So, basically, why we reserve the blessed Sacrament is so that we're able to take Holy Communion to the sick. That gives us the ability then to adore the Lord in the blessed Sacrament as well.

A: Thanks. What do you think the minimum requirements are for a Celebration of the Eucharist to be valid?

X: To be valid? That you have bread and wine. And that you're someone who is ordained, so you can celebrate Mass -- an ordained priest. Yeah.

A: So, is ordination important?

X: Yes.

A: Why?

X: Because that's the way that God, the way the church has passed down the authority to actually celebrate the Eucharist with the people. So, we understand, that this is both this is what God calls for people to give their lives in a particular way, and those people are deputised into act, in the person of Christ, for the Sacraments.

A: Next, I'd just like to ask about serving as a chaplain. You're chaplain to schools…

X: Schools, the hospice and mental health hospitals.

A: And do you have to treat the Celebration of the Eucharist differently when you're operating as a chaplain in any of these contexts?

X: The way you celebrate the Eucharist -- when, what you do, you do, with all the elements to celebrate Mass, they're always going to be present, but sometimes there would be differences, you know 20 mins in the high school in which to celebrate Mass, so therefore, you are curtailed about what you might see in addition to prayers that are celebrated; likewise with primary school or if you were celebrating Mass and -- like, one of my friends, goes to a home for the elderly, and again, you'd may make things simpler. You may choose simpler readings, shorter readings, like certainly in primary schools, you could use a children's lectionary so that the readings are simpler, but obviously when you speak to them you're going to speak more, in simpler language about what you're saying. So, time might constrain what option you choose, but the core of it is going to be the same. You have to have all the elements that you're going to have.

A: And finally, do you, believe the Mass is an act of memory?

X: Yes. because Jesus said to do this in memory of him. And our understanding is that as you do this he becomes present for us.

A: Okay, did you have anything else that you'd like to add?

X: Yeah, I mean, just that I suppose that it never become something that isn't in itself awesome. You know, were talking about the things of God, and we do it in human ways, but this is like God's gift to us, we can encounter him. And like as a kid, I remember, just as a 7-year-old, looking at the priest like, just at the time of the Consecration, look at the priests, kind of holding the hosts, thinking "this is amazing". That God gives this gift to us of himself and I still do think that; I still think that it's incredible as a gift that God gives. And I also think it's incredible that I have the ability to, by his gift, to bring that to others. And

I’m never not amazed by that. I think people get something of that - I mean, they may not know exactly what I’m thinking of all the time but there's been people comment on just the way that I celebrate Mass, I don't know what it is that I do, but somehow in the way that I do it seems to communicate that I absolutely believe in what this is about and somehow people get that from the way I celebrate it.

A: Okay.

X: Good!

A: Thank you very much.

Appendix D – Transcript of Interview 3 – Scottish Episcopal Church

X: What's today's date?

[indistinct chatter]

Adele: 15th? Thanks very much, and I'll take notes as we talk, just in case the recording doesn't work. Just as a bit of background: I'm a PhD student at the University of Glasgow, and I'm also a qualified archivist and that's what I do now at the University, is that I teach on the MSc Information Management and Preservation, which is teaching people to be archivists and records managers. And as part of that I'm doing my PhD on a part time basis with David Jaspar and James Currall, they're my supervisors. And…

X: Terrible pair, try to get some decent tutors.

A: [laughs] And it was David, actually, who suggested that I contact you, because as part of the PhD, I'm reaching the end point now, but it would be useful to be able to talk to people from different denominations about their experiences celebrating the Eucharist. So it's very much a sort of personal, your personal experiences and how that links in with the teaching of your Church, if that's okay? I've already spoken to someone for Church of Scotland and I'm talking with someone from the Catholic Church next week (*Details given*)

X: No, I don't really know the Paisley clergy, I knew your Bishop, John, when he was a chaplain at the University when I was there in the early 90's - I saw quite a lot of him and the whole Catholic team, there wasn't a great Episcopalian or Anglican presence at the University at that time; a lot of the staff in what was the faculty at the time were Anglican but - there was no - chaplaincy was a bit of a bit *ad hoc.*

A: It's a shame John Keenan is away at Bishops Conference Scotland this week or he could have popped in and said hello. He said I could use this…

X: Sure!

A:... room. So I think it's quite useful to be able have a nice quiet space. But first of all, I'd like to talk to you a little bit about your training for the role that you have. So you're a parish priest?

X: I was, I'm retired now. I had two small… I did my curacy in (*local nearby town*), *St. A's* in (*town*) for 3 years, I was 3 years in (*town*). I again got to know the Catholic clergy… What was his first name…?

A: Oh…

X: Is he here? Is he up here now?

A: He was but, it was the last set of moves which happened in October time. He got moved somewhere to St. B's? (the office) will know. But yeah, he was here for quite a while…

X: He was doing *St. B's* on *X* Street. We were just up the street around the corner. Nice guy. I can't remember the clergy guys at *St. C's* in (*town*), we met them quite a lot, as well. And then when I finished that I took on two small parishes; I took on *St. D's* and *St. E's* (two parishes in local nearby small town, within the diocese), which was quite interesting. I'd done a placement with the previous incumbent, who was a woman, a female, priest, and part of that I wanted to see - I'd heard that some women priests had found it difficult. I wanted to see what it was like for them. I also wanted the experience of the double charge, the twin charge, that was obviously coming, the churches, especially in our denomination are getting smaller and smaller, You're obviously going to have to take at least two, at some point, so I thought I'd get a hold of that, just to see what it was like. I think it took about 3-month stint with them, and then as it turned out, *trust in the Lord*, I ended up - it just fell into place - I ended up working there for 9, 10 years.

A: From *St. D's* to *St. E's* where you did the placement where you did the…?

X: Both of them, both of them.

A: So you took over from the female…

X: Shelley. This is heartening increasingly now. I can see them. Shelley, her first name was Shelley.

A: And so even before you did your curacy and your placement, where were you trained?

X: I trained with TISEC, Theological Institute of the Scottish Episcopal Church, it was called TISEC, in those days, it was based in Edinburgh. I'd been a schoolteacher, and I'd come out of education, but I'd been a garden designer at that point and was kind of rediscovering myself, so to speak. And what decided, came to me, "this is what I wanted to do", I continued working, but I went and did a - it was then called a Certificate in Christian Studies, at Glasgow University at night school - David and Alison Jaspar were both in the course… no I don't think David was on the course… Alison was the first one I'd met. Anyway, it doesn't matter. It was a 3-year certificate course and two years into that I realised that this was what I wanted to do, and I asked if I could, it must have the early summer when I asked if it would be possible for me to come in to the BD course, and do a degree in Theology. They said of course, I'd done a previous degree in fine art, and as said, I'd been a teacher, it wasn't as if… I was in my 40s. And that was that, I'd finished both my certificates in the

first year and BD quite comfortably, and obviously I'd applied to, for priesthood, and that was another bumpy ride, I must admit. But we got there. And because I'd completed a BD, normally it was a three-year course, because I'd already done most of the work, you know the academic work, I just did 2 years to do training and that was based in Edinburgh with placements in other Churches, usually we met about once a fortnight. We had residential weekends, I'd say we must of had, in the space of the academic year, we must have had 5 or 6 residential weekends; up at Kinnoull up at St. Mary's in Perth, dunno if you know it?

A: No.

X: Monastery just above the town. We had a summer school that lasted a week. A week's residential, again at Kinnoull. And that was the training that the Church provided, and, in terms of, if you hadn't - most people that went into ministry, would have experienced some sort of altar practice in their own Church, it depended, I suppose, on how much you'd done, but when you went into placements or certainly curacy, you're sort of given the practical side of things. How to wave your hands about. [laughs]

A: And can I check, was your BD at Glasgow?

X: Yep. While I was at TISEC, I Started at NTH, as well. Can't keep a good man down. I did that in a year, and there after that, I think it was a short break and I started my PhD.

A: And that was with David?

X: Yeah, David was my advisor.

A: Yeah, he mentioned that. Can you, I just want to think a bit about how the celebration of the Eucharist is covered in your training, so you said most people would have had some practical experience beforehand?

X: I'd have thought so.

A: And if they didn't have it before, they…

X: even at the Eucharistic assistant level, hopefully they'd know how to recognise, address an altar, where to stand how to proceed, how to handle a chalice. These small but very important things that make the whole business flow.

A: And so thinking about the BD that you took, do you recall any discussion about the celebration of the Eucharist, the importance of the Eucharist, and so on, that you took?

X: Not as such, no. I mean the core of the BD was Church history, biblical studies, and what you might call Pastor-alia; There wasn't a huge amount directed mainly at Eucharistic observance, or… by and large there were a few Roman Catholics on the course, but most

Roman Catholics studying theology, the Church would have set up. So I was one of very few Anglicans, most of the students, particularly the ones who were going on to ministry - in fact that year I was the only Anglican. It didn't put you at a disadvantage, I mean obviously, it wasn't a problem, but looking back on it now, since you ask about that, perhaps in terms of the BD it was all very academic, it wasn't intensely spiritual, that came more under TISEC when we celebrated with each other and prayed for each other a lot more, and that kind of thing.

A: So most of the people you were on the BD with they were Church of Scotland?

X: Yeah. I'm trying to think, usually classes got a mix of students doing an MA in religious studies and BD people. But most of the BD ministry people were Church of Scotland, yeah.

A: So at TISEC, do you remember coving things like history and ritual and the view of your particular denomination, versus other denominations. Did you do much comparison between, say what a Roman Catholic would believe or a Church of Scotland would believe?

X: Not really. We would concentrate on… if you were interested in that at all you'd do the kind of background reading. There wasn't a formal paper or a study cross-referencing different beliefs within the Christian Church. We did have conversations with Greek Orthodox people, again we were acutely aware that we were in a Roman Catholic environment, particularly up at Kinnoull but then most of us were what we would have termed: Anglo-Catholics, anyway. We're very close to the Roman tradition. We didn't use the word 'verses', we didn't really see each other as in opposition.

A: Okay, that's great thank you. So thinking about the celebration of the Eucharist, in your Church - Do you still act as a minister in any church even though you're retired?

X: Oh, occasionally. Not really often. This Sunday afternoon.

A: So thinking about the Church that you most recently minister for, how often was the Eucharist celebrated?

X: Twice a week. Sundays and a midweek service.

A: And do you think that fairly typical…?

X: Yeah, for the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Some, I mean, for the Cathedral they have a service practically every other day, but like Holy Trinity in Paisley, well, they don't have a clergy person at the moment, but they used to have three different midweek services at any time, in the evening. By in large, when I went to, that was always my tradition, so to speak, and certainly when I was working in the *larger towns along the coast*, and we had

midweek services in both Churches so and we had an early morning, so he was doing about 4 Masses in (*town*) a week. 4, 5...? Anyways that's small potatoes. When I got to (*local small towns*), they did not have a tradition of midweek services. I actually introduced that because I thought it was important, I mean, many people the way society is going, many people are working on a Sunday, or it's their only day off, or it's a family day. So if you can't offer them an alternative… the Roman Catholic, they have the Saturday evening services. So, I introduced the midweek services in both my charges, and quite successfully, I mean, I'm talking numbers in the *teens*, which was excellent. When I set it up I was thinking if I got half a dozen people, I'd be doing very well. And I never got less than double figures in (*town*) on a Wednesday afternoon, up in the high teens, set up extra chairs. Working in the lady chapel, I thought there would be a smaller congregation. Fairly big. Which was super. For a lot of these people that was their worship focus for the week, because they, if you were the single priest with two charges, one service is going to be early in the morning, the one at (*town*) was at 9:45, which if you're an elderly person, getting up, getting organised, getting dressed, and getting out, is not… I remember my old mother getting up, as my father described it, getting up at the crack of noon. It just takes you longer to get up and get... and again it was very much the older society the older sector of the community, that still came to Church, so you had to try and accommodate them the best you could. So, having a service at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, with you know, fellowship as they call it afterwards, in the afternoon was an absolute winner, it went down very well.

A: Do you think people saw the midweek service as a replacement for…?

X: for some of them, it would be yeah, because they just physically could not get to Church at that time on a Sunday morning. There was no alternative, so they stopped coming. It was just bonkers as far as I was concerned.

A: So can I ask what your understanding is of what you're doing in the celebration of the priest?

X: Okay. You want a kind of global… or you have specific questions you want to ask?

A: The essence is what do you think your role is?

X: I'm leading the congregation in worship. And I'm the kind of… I balk at this kind of thing, I'm interceding, I'm doing it for them. Organising it. Saying it. I was the one that was selected, trained, blessed, ordained, taught. I don't know if you want to go down the road of the notion of calling, which always feels a wee bit dubious. But certainly, and it also

depends in also how you view, Eucharist of a Mass, and how you see it. I always saw it just as a long prayer - a long continual prayer, different bits. I mean, hymns are just prayers set to music. You've obviously got a pattern that is established in both the Churches. The liturgy, obviously, we're a liturgical Church, same as you, it's part of it, too. The notion being that obviously, the more often you are into prayer state - the deeper you understood what the process was…

A: You're reluctant to go into the view of the notion of being called. Why?

X: I can sit back and look at it at this point in time and question a lot, I mean, I was very fond of the charges, and the people I worked with, the two communities I worked with were real salt of the Earth, real active Christians, not only in their worship, but in their lives as well. They were a joy to be with and I was very fond of them. But what got me was the Church itself, the authority of it, and its overarching - the diocese of it, the Church in capital letter, which simply in my mind, wouldn't moralise, wouldn't see the writing on the wall. Where capable of moving away from the dictates and [xx] in Victorian times which were totally out of date which we were trying to communicate with, and serve, in fact we were doing them a disservice. And they would hide behind tradition, or "this is how we do it". Dear, dear me. It was almost of if there were two different schools of thought. There were those that lead a God-like life and believe this is the way it is, just go down this… And if God was leading you down this road and the Church was slowly collapsing, and that the way it's going. Then why not resign and chuck it, and let God's will happen, and let it be? For my attitude was, if the Church was the body of Christ and we've got a duty, as with our own body; keeping it fit, keeping it fed, keeping it nourished and leading it forward into the new day, the new month, the new era. I was on my own, there are two people like me, in terms of clergy, but trying to get anything, trying to step out with the procedures was… drove me nuts. I couldn't, eventually I just couldn't do it. Mean, it was either you accept the word of the bishop, you accept the word of the authority, the Church, or step out. Let them get on with it. I wasn't a hardy boy. It's still much the same. And I don't know what you think about it. Generally, the whole Catholic Church is male dominated, well, male only clergy. I don't see that as being valid at all. I know that's the way. I'm not getting it.

A: I know.

X: It's just something I think that's bonkers in this day in age. Go back and look at Paul and his letters and the way he organised the early Church, and there's nothing like that. But, hey. You know, and that detracts, that stops, that stops people. When they're looking at

the politics of the Church then you're taking them away from the Eucharist, the core of the Church. Which I found raw. Because they're starting to talk about the politics of it, or the rights and wrongs of things, or whatever.

A: Okay. So, moving back to the Eucharist, moving back to the Mass. What, to you, are the most important elements of the actual service

X: I'm not quite sure what you mean?

A: So you mentioned the liturgy. Do you think that it's important that you keep to the liturgy? The bread and wine…?

X: Well the bread and wine are key elements obviously, and that they symbolism. In terms of the actual liturgy, and the words spoken, we had a pretty free range, even in the printed booklets, we had bit you could use, bits you could omit, we had obviously, liturgical prayers for the different seasons. The times of the Church year, no less; I'm sure you've got the same. And the format of the hymns and prayers and intercessions, confessions, general confessions were, I'm sure, the same every week. Which was important, too. So it's kind of a complete package, so it's not kind of just about - you mean the preparation for the Eucharist and the thanksgiving after it? It still part of the whole process, it's still part of the service, still part of worship.

A: So how would you prepare for the Eucharist as a priest?

X: As a priest? Prayerfully. Carefully. Just meditatively. Keep it quiet, keep it calm. I don't have, I'm my Churches, I didn't have a choir or anything like that, there was nobody to lead out. So the vestry prayers were just between me and my maker. Certainly when I was a curate down in Greenock, there was a big choir with sessions and things, you had to lead a group prayer before we went in. But prior to that you had your own time, sort of just to calm down and get your head in the right place and say the words, and put the clothes on - put the posh frock on. I don't even know.

A: So who is permitted to receive the Eucharist?

X: Who is permitted? We're very liberal - any baptised Christian can take part, can receive Communion, it doesn't matter what tradition they are from.

A: Do you enforce that at all?

X: No, you can't enforce that. If they come up to Communion, I mean, you wouldn't deny them it. I mean if they - I mean, if someone wanted to specifically abuse it, then I suppose we could, because you're not going to stop and - I'd never withhold it. It's not what I'm there for.

A: And what is your understanding of the significance of the elements of bread and wine?

X: You mean in Transubstantiation? Or in Consubstantiation? It'd be Consubstantiation. That tends to be the Anglican line.

A: Okay. Is that your line?

X: Yes. I think the prayerfulness and the blessing of these elements they become Holy. They are not transformed into anything else, but they are, how would you say? Enhanced. They become sacred through the prayers and the liturgy and the blessings thereof.

A: Do you have a reserved sacrament?

X: Yes.

A: What happens to - so the reserved sacrament - that would be bread, usually?

X: Uh huh, and wine. Both.

A: Last week I spoke to someone from the Church of Scotland, I went to their Lord's Supper, their celebration of the Lord's Supper on Sunday. Their bread after the service, the unused bread, that was left out to the birds. Would that happen?

X: Anything, if you had a practically large amount of wafers left, they would go to the [xx] they'd be kept. If it was just two to three, they would be consumed by the priest, officiating priest. And any wine that was left in the chalice would be consumed by them as well, you wouldn't leave that out. And then, [laughs] of course I was brought up in the Anglican tradition, so it was always wafers, but I remember going to the first Church of Scotland Communion an it was like pan bread, just chopped up into wee scraps. But that's fine! If that's the way they do it, that okay. It's still bread and wine. You can use wholemeal rolls, for all I'm bothered. But again, their attitude toward it was just totally, it's kind of symbolic, there was no real… however.

A: So what's your practical, theological view of the celebration of the Eucharist? I think we covered part of that already...

X: The practical, theological view of the Eucharist…? I always saw it, and still do, as a kind of an essential aspect to the Christian life. And people who are going to Church, say once a week, it's a reminder, it's a refresher. It feeds them, nurtures them, reminds them just of what that life is about. So, it is essential and it is very important and it is all encompassing to my mind, and you can understand, if you are involved heavily involved in the Church and Christianity, and it becomes more and more important, and you would communicate every day. Having moaned about the state of the Church in capital letters the Eucharist is far more important than that. And that would be my argument, doing a disservice to people -

the structures become more important than the actual service. Like when I saw structure, I mean structure of the Church - the leadership the politics over it, rather than the actuality of people sitting down together and celebrating the Mass praying with each other, hoping for the future trying to resolve personal difficulties, domestic difficulties they may have, through that. And getting enough strength to carry on for the rest of the week. I think it extracts some spiritual goodness, power to keep them going through their journey, jobs and domestic life, and travels and work and all this.

A: So do you believe the congregation will …… do you believe they have the same understanding of this as you do?

X: No.

A: Okay.

X: It's a yes/no answer there, and its no. You know, priesthood, it's a specialism, it's like law or medicine or something like that. You go into it, and people go deeper and deeper into it, and most people, they're going to a doctor or going to a solicitor to ask for help, but then cured, done. I think a lot of people look at their present in that way - they're going to help your life, they're going to help your understanding and your faith issues. Sitting down and doing all the details, I don't know if that's what they want. You know, the whole notion of theology, and I don't want to trapped in a massive conversation, but the whole notion of theology is an incredibly deep an incredibly interwoven, complicated, and it has been simplified by the Church, so people can grasp a certain level, because not everyone is going to sit down and do a serious analytical reading of St. John's gospel or something like that, they're not going to seriously think - they're not going to read Ramon Browns two volume study on the Crucifixion - they don't have time for that, they're not interested in that aspect of it. I mean, a lot of people wouldn't actually think about the differences between Luke's Gospel and Matthew's Gospel and what they're actually saying, and they're relying on clergy to stand up on the pulpit and hopefully, maybe occasionally, explain that kind of thing. Not just break down a gospel story on a Sunday morning and actually show them where it's come from, interpret it. At what particular point in history things were valid and where things have moved on. But, the message still exists, blah, blah, blah.

A: Okay, thank you. You mentioned there the word valid, and the difference between using valid and what might be valid today. What do you think the minimum requirements for the celebration of the Eucharist must be, to be valid today?

X: Well I suppose at one level, you're talking about, talking numbers, there has to be two people. If I'm doing a home Communion, or I'm in hospital doing a Communion, there has to be at least two - I can't communicate myself and they can't do it ether, so there needs to be two of us, at least. There has to be the element, there has to be, that prayerful intention, it's not a serious -- I beg your pardon, it's a serious undertaking, it's not something that should be done frivolously. You can obviously, in terms of, someone who is really ill, or possibly dying, cut the language, cut the time tying down a lot. I Mean are prayers, and I'm sure you've got them, I haven't looked at the Roman Catholic texts, but we've got prayers for the sick, prayers for the recovering, prayers for the dying. You can do that add a small bit of the liturgy into it - formulate your own. I had a, as a curate, a service for home Communion that we'd prepared that got vetted by the Church, that was passed that was okay. When I moved on I changed it, slightly modernised it, but I mean you could do it in about 10 mins, it wasn't a lengthy process. In terms of celebrating it in Church; I mean if you had a said service rather than a sung one you could do it without rushing in any way - you could do a said Eucharistic service in 25 mins. And that included readings, prayers and intercessions, all the rest of it. But you didn't really omit anything, you maybe change the language and shorten it, but you still cover the ground, so to speak.

A: And so thinking about what you'd like to be there - so in order for a celebration of the Eucharist to be what you'd like it to be, is there anything that you'd sort of over and above the minimum: the two people, the prayer, the intention?

X: No I don't think there's anything I've omitted, if you condense it into that - unless I've seriously overlooked something. Those are the elements that you'd want, given 30, 40, 50 people standing there on a Sunday morning with music and children coming in and out the basic aspects that take up a family Mass. You're just expanding it to fit the congregation, to fit the needs of the groups within the congregation. People coming up to the altar - and this day in age, me going down, wheelchair people and elderly people that maybe can't walk terribly well, you're always going to get members of the congregation like that. Is that cover it?

A: Yeah, I think so. Thank you. Do you think ordination is important?

X: That's a very good question. That goes back to this notion of calling, which they made great stress on you - you had to feel as though you'd been called to the Church, and that no - nobody would actually want to pin that down to Jesus calls you to this. What does that mean!? It depends on how you define ordination? I was examined, I was selected, I was

trained, taught, and ordained. In the sense that you do need a formal service in terms of marriage, and baptism - burial, an ordination one, too. So you do need to stand up publicly and say, this person, or these people are now *claps* recognised by the Church as capable of serving the community. How you frame that and how you do that can change. The language can change the emphasis can change, but essentially you're going to have some kind of service, some kind of public recognition of the change in status these people have.

A: And so do you view that as a sacrament in itself?

X: I could see how; I could see an argument for that. I don't know if I would say it was a sacrament as such. Again, the sacrament that's in there is the Eucharist, because that's celebrated there. So I would say not personally, but I could see an argument, because this person has given themselves to God. If you're going to live that kind of life, then yes, you could put forward a case for it. We're all human. And I think that can disappear suddenly, in a sense, prior to recent times, doctors were held in great esteem, and now we can argue with that because we've looked it up on Google and we think we know what wrong with us. And the same way priest are people. I'm going to leave that there.

A: Okay, thanks. We're near the end now.

X: That's okay.

A: Have you ever served as a chaplain?

X: Ah, yes. Not in a great official capacity. Not in terms of a prison or to anything - a school chaplain, or anything like that - but I have worked in hospitals, I have worked with students. Yeah. In a kind of minor way.

A: And do you think, whether it's you yourself acting as a chaplain in a hospital or to students, or thinking about experiences that other priests and ministers might have had, in prisons for example, do you think that the celebration of the Eucharist or the Mass has to be different when operating in these contexts?

X: Different how? Different why? I mean, if you - I had a friend, a Roman Catholic priest who was the chaplain to Kilmarnock prison: Willy - oh god, sorry his second name's gone… anyway. I was chatting to him about it, and he said that it was very, very hard, because he would put on a Mass on a Wednesday night in Kilmarnock and the place would fill up with about 40 guys there and about 2 of them would come up for Communion, and this went on for a couple of weeks. And he thought this was crazy - you're taking part, you're praying, and so, he came in at a different time to chat to them, have tea and the rest of it, and it

came out that they didn't think they were good enough to take Communion, that they would go and listen, and maybe, obviously everybody's different - feel at different levels the connection, and there was a need for them to be there, but they felt they couldn't actually go up and he was staggered by that, and he tried to develop a programme where they talked through it, because if you're going to do it you're going to do it, and if you're throwing bits out of it, as far as I'm concerned, cheapens the experience. It doesn't matter if you're a sainted being or somebody in prison for murder. You can't - it's not up to a priest to judge who gets what, in my view, I don't think – I'm not here to withhold the elements from people but to show them that grace and extend it. So, my gut feeling is that no, you wouldn't change it. You might shorten it down, again, if people were ill or close to death, you need to be very, very careful. And that's, can be a very harrowing, and I can remember one or two occasions, that can be a rather harrowing experience. The other thing, if you wanted me to go down a side road is the like, confession and absolution, putting our hand on a blessing. I was in hospital with an elderly lady and we went through the confession and absolution, and I put my hand on her forehead and had an immediate reaction, and I felt oh how lovely and cool, but I could feel the heat because obviously, I think it was cancer, really seriously ill. And I said, well, just leave it there - is it nice? And she said yeah. And I ended up with both hands on her head and she didn't die, but she drifted off to sleep - and the nurse came in and say, "did you get her to sleep? I've been trying to get her to sleep for ages!" And all these wee dots suddenly get joined up and you think "was that me or was that…?" Because you don't want to go down the road of mysticism or that bit, but I was doing what I would normally do, but because that was required, it helped. And things like that happen, okay, let's not blow a trumpet, let's not go daft. But just store it away. Yeah. I remember another woman in RAH in Paisley. Very, very distressed. Really in pain and I was doing a Communion for it, and I thought "is this fair?" Even just a sip of wine, what happens if it upsets her stomach? What if she can't really digest this wafer. Oh, god. You know but you do it through faith. And as the elements are in, you could just see it [whoosh] just went calm. And I finished the prayers and I gave her a blessing and she went to sleep. I think she woke up later, but she died early that morning. But she'd been sitting up in in bed like this, and I thought "is this what she needs?" It worked.

A: And so would you describe that as a moment of grace, or an experience of grace?

X: Oh, it was! I mean, you get very tentative, you don't want to say - I don't think it was me, it certainly wasn't me. Again, I always regard myself as a servant of servants. I'm not special

in that way, I never felt that - but such grace, such power as there was, was possibly coming through me, or coming through the elements coming through the air, you can't define that. It's quite a shock when it happens. Maybe some people see themselves as special, I never did. I - there was a kind of quality, a kind of tradition, a ministry particularly - I hope not so much in olden times where you put your stamp on a Church. You come in a did it your way. I remember old guys saying this to me and I thought: "oh, you're joking." I was always just passing through. This community had been founded hundreds of years ago, it would survive after me; I was simply, as I said, a servant of servants. I never saw myself as special in that way. In the sense, that yeah, I was the one that got togged up on a Sunday morning and did the Holy stuff. Yeah, I was the only person that could do it, according to the dictates of the Church. But you did not feel yourself gifted in any way. It's difficult to describe. I never saw myself as sainted, or better or higher, or different from anyone else. I just had this training, and I had this experience, and I had this…

A: Yeah.

X: So my ministry was always very open; there was no covert plan for anything, what I want for the Church, for the communities I served. It was out on the table it was discussed, it was voted on, it was collective. Whereas I know with some people it was "what I want", you know.

A: Okay, thanks. That's been really helpful, and I want to ask one more question, and that's about the Mass as memory, or memorial.

X: It is. It is a memorial; it is a memorial as they say. That's part of it that we "do this in remembrance of me". So the whole thing is a memorial service too - it's for us, but it's also a reflection on Christ's life and suffering and his gift of the Last Supper, his pattern of celebrating something that is rich, and strange and… mysterious.

A: Okay, thanks very much. I mentioned earlier on that'd I'd been to the Church of Scotland last Sunday for the celebration for the Lord's Supper. I'd quite like to come to a Mass where you are the celebrant, if that's okay?

X: Yeah!

A: But just, not to ask any further question, but just to see, yeah just to sort of contextualise everything that you've told me. But, because you're retired, it might be a bit more difficult.

X: I'm celebrating this Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Holy Trinity and St. Barnabas, Paisley. It's a Franciscan. A member of the third order, so I celebrate for them, so you'd like

to come along to that you're perfectly welcome. It's about, I think we'll be having the Mass first, about 3 o'clock.

A: Okay.

X: It'll be a short said service, about a half an hour.

A: I'd be happy to come out and do that.

Appendix E – Transcript of Interview 4 – Scottish Episcopal Church

Adele: First of all I just like to talk to you a little about your training for the role of parish priest, and so where did you train or go to seminary or college, and can you tell me a little bit about that?

X: I could say it started when I was four years old, I was reflecting on that this morning, but that, apart. I went to Cuddesdon Theological College Oxford. To do a master's in ministry, an MA in ministry, and that was… but before that I read theology when I left school. So I got an honours degree in theology all that time ago.

A: Okay, so you're so you had an honours degree in theology so undergraduate level, and where did you do that?

X: I did that at Exeter.

A: Okay, Okay, and so, when you when you got your MA in ministry was that full time or part time?

X: Sort of in between the two, because one, I was older and also there was an option to do mixed mode and I know that means something different, here and now, but at that point… it meant that I was residential for two nights a week and joined the residential students for lectures in different places and aspects. And also the blocks of a week and blocks of weekends, so we sat between the full time residential students who were mostly younger - under 30 mostly, and between those who were doing just a course who just came in for one evening a week. Plus there were various other things if that makes sense, so we were a bit of in the middle.

[Interruption from a cat]

There something else was going to say about it, which is relevant -sorry the cat is, you know...

What was it..?

Yes, I didn't complete the masters, because I didn't complete the dissertation I ran out of time with that, so I just did the taught but, I just exited with a PGD; post graduate diploma. And at the same time, I was working in there too, that was the other thing I was working part-time because those of us who were older often couldn't do the full time.

A: So yeah, so you had a career first before you went back and did your PT dip. And what was that in?

X: I went into nursing after studying theology, for all sorts of reasons, although I did feel called to be a priest. I needed to earn a living, so I went to train as a nurse, in order to earn a living, but it was a very prestigious career in the day. I burst into tears the day I got into nursing school. It sounds terrible but actually, it was a good thing to do. And then I went into Community nursing, and I work for 13 years as a public health visitor. Then I worked a lot with homeless families… housing, homelessness, and health was kind of my area of work and focus mostly.

A: Okay, and you continued working part time as a nurse or a health visitor whilst you were taking your training?

X: That's right what I did was… and my colleagues were very lovely about it... I managed to do long days, two 12-hour days and a little bit more in order to be able to go to college for those other two, two days each week uh huh.

A: yeah that must have been really tough, really hard going.

X: It was it could have been worse, though I was very… I was very lucky really the colleagues were supportive, my children were a bit older then, and it seemed to work out well surprisingly well. Better than I thought it would, and of course it was so exciting to be doing theology and ministry. Also theology had changed a bit in those years.

What I'd studied was a very academic, traditional, deeply biblically based… whereas this, with modern living theology, with contemporary issues as well, so I think it was the excitement of that that really helped.

A: And it must have tied in really quite nicely, then with the practice element with erm, your, your health visitor work and your nursing.

X: Yes, yes, it did, I mean nursing is incredibly practical and in my day that was one of the things I found very difficult, it is very reductionist - it has to be. Not holistic, although it says it is, and of course that was years ago. But what was exciting and lovely as well about going into ministry, as well as feeling, it was very much my calling was that things are more open ended. It's a lot about uncertainties in the big things of life, whereas nursing was very busy to focus to get us down; 'don't think nurse X and just do it!' and focusing down and making things quite black and white, because that works. I'm being crude now, but just to convey the idea.

A: That's great. Thank you. And thinking about the training you had and also your undergraduate degree, then… What importance is placed on the celebration of the Eucharist? So were there specific courses or specific modules that you had to take which concentrated on the celebration of the Eucharist?

X: There were, and I'm trying to remember what they were. A lot was packed into those two years and I looked not long ago, and there was about 26 different courses or topics that we dealt with, I guess my feeling was it wasn't massive. It was quite rudimentary, and I think, to be fair, one thing was that it was that the expectation was that the Eucharistic side we've received training in-situ, like in our placements or like in our sending Parish and so on which was certainly so.

Also, I think I'm speaking coarsely now, I think there was quite a range of perspective towards the Eucharist within college. It consciously was not one of those that I mean … for instance, one of the colleges nearby did a huge amount of Eucharistic training a lot, a lot, a lot, all of the time, and you know, on a practical level, as much as a theological one. Ours less so, because it… it prided itself, I think on having quite a broad range of theologies, so we did some, but it was quite piecemeal and I think probably there was more actual training as a curate and also at my sending parish.

A: uh huh and so you went on placement, then.

X: yeah, yes.

A: Yes, and thinking about the training that you did, did you cover the history of the celebration of the Eucharist or ritual at all?

X: All of it, yes. Yes, all of it theology, the ritual, history. All different aspects, I mean there was a lot packed in, from different perspectives and the spirituality of it and… Yes, there was a lot packed in that continued after we'd actually been ordained as well, and once we were all curates, we'd have the diocese who would put on days. Like we had a training day to do with you and Christ which covered everything. It was exceptionally good, I remember, it was very, very good.

A: And did you get to practice before you were ordained?

X: I'd say not enough probably. There were people saying 'oh get an ironing board and put it up in your sitting room and get yourself a little cup and things' to practice, piecemeal I think is probably the answer to that… One of the loveliest things I'm digressing a bit, but this was important, just before we were ordained. The bishop, who was a very lovely man and said 'how can I help' is, to paraphrase there was lots going on. So I said well just your... your presence with us, and he said 'how about if I invited you and I will go through the eucharist with you,' in a little nearby church to where he lived so he went there and it was one of the most wonderful moments, because he took us carefully through Eucharist. What he did, how he was feeling and thinking at the time, and what it meant to him, and that was one of the most sublime moments, because it brought together theology, practice, spirituality, and the whole sort of ontological thing about it, if that makes sense?

A: uh huh yeah absolutely so he was he was passing on his… his practical way of celebration, the history of his practical celebration, his theology, to the next generation if that makes sense?

X: Exactly, and it was very beautiful, and I often sense his presence at still times.

A: yeah that's, that's great, thank you. And thinking of when you celebrate the Eucharist, what is your understanding of what you're doing in that celebration?

X: presiding, leading. I suppose leading and, and… It is so difficult to put into words, I thought, and reflected on this and the priest has a place in the Eucharist. Personally speaking it's what I do, and who I am, and what I'm for, but that is both as a priest as a human being, and as a Christian. Something we do together in which the priest has a particular job and role and function. But it's the absolute root of who I am and who we are, and what I feel created for. hmm…

A: So to you what's, the most important element or elements of the service?

X: All of it all of it, but especially and the whole thing it's all the elements, the gathering of the people, the coming together. The remembering, the salvation history, what Christ told us. What we're simply - quite simply - doing what Christ told us. I mean he didn't really give us a lot of orders, but he did say do this in remembrance of me and that word remembrance is absolutely at the core.

A: Okay, thank you. And so, thinking about your celebration at your church, how often does that happen, so is the Eucharist celebrated every Sunday or in normal times or, more often than that.

X: In normal times we have a Eucharist in each of the churches every Sunday that's the main parish Eucharist we also have weekly mass at the bigger church at [Church name]. So we have that as a weekly one. There's also obviously home communions if need be, but that's it.

A: Okay, thanks, and who is permitted to receive the Eucharist?

X: Anyone who's baptized that's the Anglican understanding now and anyone who is baptized and feels ready.

A: Okay, and is that strictly enforced, and can you enforce it?

X: I feel very strongly I'm not a gatekeeper. I also wouldn't want to, I haven't had to really, I mean there's a couple of times I want to tell you a little story no do you mind?

A: No, please, please…

X: there's a colleague of mine, a curate when I was down south. And he was there with his very experienced lovely vicar and, one day, a man came into church and didn't receive communion, and this was the morning weekday mass. And the curate - my friend - said to

the vicar ‘why didn't so and so receive communion this morning?’ and the vicar replied ‘because it's Ramadan he's fasting’. (Both laugh) Is that not just beautiful?

A: uh huh. Yeah that that's, that's, that's wonderful and so, if you were in that situation and you were faced with that, I presume that you would have the same the same openness, you said you're ‘not the gatekeeper’?

X: I don't know what I would do it's very, very difficult isn't it, I mean, I know, for instance, there have been people who've received who I’m pretty sure are not baptized, but I do not want to make it a battleground I mean I will talk to them later. Also, I tend to think God's bigger than that, do you know I’m saying? We can get very precious about things, and I know in my head and the sort of the teachings and things, but I think God is bigger than that; He can look out for himself. For me, it would be a conversation point, and so long as somebody's not abusing it then who are we to say? We have a duty of care pastorally, and teaching wise, but that has a context and the pastoral situation is important. In the end, will these situations be important?

A: Okay, thank you and to change tack slightly, what's your understanding of the significance of the elements of bread and wine?

X: Oh, I believe deeply that it's the real presence, the real presence of Jesus in the body and the blood. I couldn't possibly put words to how, I just know it is, I mean not in any literal sense not literally... But truly.

A: Okay, and… And what's your practical theological view of the celebration of the Eucharist so can you just talk a wee bit about that?

X: How do you mean?

A: So I’m just wondering about, we have the teachings of your church, now the Scottish Episcopal Church and they have a particular stance so could you just outline what that is?

X: Oh. Oh that's you've caught me on the hop now! I mean I suppose that it's the main thing, this is what you're asking, it is the main service that has to be celebrated every Sunday in church. Not, not, notwithstanding the Covid regulations which make a difference, that there are obviously particular rules about who can lead it and what role, people have and people need to be licensed and all that. Um, and you can have communion from the reserve but that that has to be by eucharistic minister who is licensed and so on by the Bishop. But having said that, we have a few at the moment, who haven't been they haven't had their things updated. Not that they can anyhow so that's all right, but I’m aware that that's adrift and that doesn't need to be addressed.

I'm not making any sense and…

A: No, no, no, no, that makes, that does make perfect sense, so you have you have the, the licensing of the priest, it is the priest who is presiding, and then you have… um the, the people who are able to help, so the people from the congregation who are able to help in various different forms, so as Eucharistic ministers is that what you call them? And who also have to to have a… they have to go through a process, they have to be able to demonstrate that they understand what's happening, and they understand the importance of their role.

And then you have the congregation, so the rest of the congregation are obviously still important as well. How well do you think the congregation generally do you think this is generally a good understanding of what the Eucharist is, what it is about what the Church's… what your church's position is on the eucharist.

X: that's a very interesting question, I think it varies massively. I've always found this and I'm still getting to know these guys, it does take a long time to know where they're at in their understanding and of course it's never consistent, I mean people's faith and understanding and the nuts and bolts of it does not necessarily consist at all with their own intellectual and professional standing. And it amazes me sometimes what people don't know when you begin to have conversations. So I can only say really it varies and I think peoples' theologies varies, and I would guess, this is probably more so in the Episcopal church and it would be in the Catholic Church, you get a wide variation of view. And there could be quite enough awareness about how they assume what other theologies are like oh that's high church or that's very Roman Catholic or whatever. And there's all sorts of myths and whatevers and that to me seems to happen in every single congregation regardless of what their outward, theological, spiritual label is.

A: Thank you, and you mentioned before a reserved sacrament, so you have a reserved sacrament in your church, and is that kept securely?

X: Just kept locked yes.

A: And who can access that and how might it be used?

X: Well, I can access it and also the sacristan - one person I mean two or three others could as well. I should be blunt now I think there's only one who really understands the importance of it and recognizes its importance and why its there and what's it for and everything. I would use it to take communion to people if they're dying or well if they wish, if they're sick or at home or anything else. So it's very much used for that.

A: Okay

X: but also the presence there is really important, as well it's just put that into words again either I don't know it's something that I've always known and felt and thought to be important that presence there a church without it kind of feels… Naked we're not naked, but bereft:

there's something missing fact in our other church we don't have the reserve sacrament and again I'm going to digress which kind of relates to a couple of your other questions, it seems strange to me...

One of them commented, oh we don't want her doing lots of Catholic things and talking about Mary and genuflecting, although I don't know what it was, but not in my hearing, but I was aware that have been said. They were a little bit wary about they thought my theology was, but it's fine that's all cool. Anyway, we discovered an aumbry - you know for keeping the sacrament. It's beautiful it's old it's just lovely and it'd be perfect. And it would be ideal, because at the moment the reserve (my hair stands on end) is all over the place, 'oh we keep it in the safe oh it's the spare no it's not the spare'... This is the sacrament so that's a teaching thing which is kind of ongoing and also not to scare people and things but just gently and quietly.

An extraordinary thing was, and I said to them, I said oh isn't that enough free wouldn't be nice to have it, so we can know exactly where the reserve sacrament is etc, etc. So I put it to the vestry and do you know unanimously they voted that we would like that, with the sacrament in it. Isn't that extraordinary. But that was from them, it wasn't with me prompting or anything so it just fascinates me how people often will, well how they think and how they respond and all that. So we're working on that one.

A: yeah good, good, good and things don't change overnight because it's all about tradition and maintenance of tradition and it must be really difficult to come as a priest a priest with experience in a different Parish and come to a new parish where they have their own traditions and how, how to merge the two. And I mean do you this isn't on the list of questions I sent you beforehand, but do you have any more to say? You have especially described a little bit of some of the different contexts, which could have proved sticking points is there anything else you'd like to say about, about the traditions, especially regarding the Eucharist?

X: It's interesting what you say, I think, I think it's very important to respect and value where people are and why. Because that's the thing, and I think, where they are, and why is much more important than me inflicting upon them what I think they should. I mean it's one thing to have my beliefs as a priest, and it's important that I serve them in the context they're in and although that can be a bit of a strain and a tension, just as differences between different denominations can be. There can be pains in that. It can also be something to be embraced and I deeply respect how they are and where they've come and how they've got there. And again, as I go back to what I said I think God can look after Himself. So although I might feel (gasps) the sacraments not locked oh it's there Oh, they've got into plastic tupperware

box, you know all that sort of thing. God can look after himself and so yes it's a matter of teaching but it's also a matter of respecting and loving.

If that makes any sense?

A: Yes, yeah absolutely and I suppose coming into communities is as priests always, always will do, I suppose you're very rarely setting up a new Community from scratch it's about being mindful of the traditions and practices of the Community you're coming into exactly as well as the broader church community.

X: Yes!

A: Okay, so my next two questions are interlinked and are related to each other and really about practice and also about church rules, and it's about the minimum requirements for a celebration of the Christie be valid, and also to be well formed and so, could you tell me a little bit about your into something that's what makes the Eucharist or the Eucharistic celebration valid.

X: Well, the factual. The person being authorized to lead is the priest, and at least having at least one other person present; it's not something you do privately on your own. And that there are certain sets of… within the liturgy, the work of the people, I love that that it is the work of the people, and it's not just something one or two people do. Certain elements in it are necessary. And so you need to include those and not everything is necessary. That makes sense, according to and using the prayers authorized by the Church.

A: And do you think that… that's what we need for it to be valid, is there anything different for, for the Eucharist be considered well-formed, or do you think it's very similar.

X: For the Eucharist to be well formed. ooh.

I think that it has all those elements of gathering, confession, the prayer, reading of the Gospel, the breaking open of the word the gospel, the eucharistic prayer that beautiful prayer, which tells of our salvation history, so the remembering reminding each other, I mean I suppose right like in Jewish life there's a lot of going through the history and what happened and why and how we've got to where we are now interceding for ourselves for the world and for others, I think those are all important. Yes, obviously, and receiving. Think. Just all those vital elements really.

A: Okay that's, that's great it's I suppose you could never do an exhaustive an exhaustive list, anyway. So I'd like to just thin a little about ordination now, and do you think ordination is important?

X: Yes.

A: Why?

X: Yes, yes, yes…. That notion of being called and we are all called to whatever we're doing. feeling called, feeling set apart, responding to that call, responding to the needs God has called us to, and the people's call and need for that. And that set apart. I love the thing that… was it Michael Ramsey Archbishop said that 'as a priest ordained you, are before God, with the people on your heart… and you're before the people with God in your heart'. I think that to me, is it so.

A: that's Michael Ramsey who wrote the Christian priest today?

X: Yes, yes, yes! and its about service, of course, I mean, whatever we do is about service in a way isn't it and as Christians, the ordination important because it's also a public recognition of a public role that you fulfil as well.

A: Okay, and that's, that's great so have you ever been involved in the training of curates or the training of people who are thinking of entering the ministry or the training of Eucharistic ministers?

X: No, they wouldn't let me loose! (laughs) No, I Certainly haven't had a curate, and this is my first role as a rector I don't think I'm experienced enough but yes, I have been involved informally, with people. People on placement and people who are exploring, exploring, exploring calling for ordination So yes, I have, in that way.

A: Okay, and have you been able to you spoken about how you the Eucharist was covered in your training and have you had the opportunity to update that if or could you if you wanted to.

X: I would very much like to update that, that's a good point. Because of well first we were in vacancy here we didn't have a bishop, when I arrived and also both places have been in vacancy for a director for a couple of years. And then Covid came along, so I actually, frankly feel very lacking and in need, of professional training and updating very much so. It's, it's difficult as well the SEC is, is quite small, and all this stuff out there, but I just haven't had the... It hasn't been possible to engage with it, yet, but I would like that very much. It's very good, where I was before it was kept updated and it was really, really good, but then there was a heap of it was about 900 clergy, and I think there's about 60 in comparison here so very different setup.

A: yes, yes...

X: Well, I will support it and welcome it is what I'm trying to say.

A: Okay, good, good and a slightly different note now have you ever served as, as a chaplain?

X: Yes

A: Yes, Okay, and what context?

X: various different ones I've been to various nursing homes, including a few for people with dementia. To school of little, tiny ones aged four to six, believe it or not. Twice I've been Mayor's chaplain in different places and once I was a hospital chaplain which was with the NHS part of my it was one I was a curate, but it was a separate job if you like, additional.
A: Okay.
X: And another one sorry was for homeless from a homeless people's group and various other informal ones, but those were the key ones.
A: And were you able to celebrate the Christian these contexts so with the homeless people, for example.
X: Not with the homeless people, that was a different sort of role, I mean a couple of them did start coming along to Mass at the Church. And I took a couple of funerals for them or their loved one, so I had that sort of role, and they would have they would come and receive the eucharist but not do it there for everybody. Erm, in the other places, most definitely so; with a little children it with fabulous because I'm Oh, that was lovely there was 200 in this little school and we go through the eucharist and what it meant and have explore the church days, and that was just wonderful because the questions they come out with. And then we've got little Mass sets for them to sit and you know little for them actually to do themselves so... Yeah and, and in also in the nursing homes and which was absolutely wonderful because you've got to be inventive and creative, especially if people have dementia so working out and using music and song and you just pasting things in a different way, but working closely with two or three of us on a little team, how to make it beautiful and accessible for people. Okay.
A: And that's, that's great so you've described, I think, quite a lot of the differences and that's really the end of my questions, did you have anything that you wanted to add.
X: um I don't think so. I mean, I think, just the eucharist is the heart and soul and centre of everything and it's where everything is distilled and, from which everything arises as far as I feel, and one of the privileges and delights as a priest is that in any context, except until Covid came along, which is one of the shocks and distresses really... Being with somebody in a difficult and dark place, with the Eucharist as well. I can think of a woman who hadn't received communion for years and really, really wanted to receive communion, she was very sick and she had all sorts of cancer treatments and everything like that. And erm couldn't eat… Anyway, long story short, but she could drink, and so I thought 'wine', you know, because both elements are in wine and the bread, I said, would you like us to wait to find if you can receive the eucharist yes, she said, and there was tears in her eyes anyway as I said I took along wine and the first sip made her choke so, so we had to dilute it, but it was just

so beautiful and it meant so much to her that she could receive communion and that worked, and that to me, is just illustrative of... Well, it matters and it's important.

A: My final question is your status as a priest who happens to be a woman, do you think that this has any bearing on the way that you practice or even the way that the congregation the CV.

X: That's a very, very interesting question I would say in terms of the Eucharist. Not one bit because I feel deeply, I'm there as a human being well, I hope I am. But in church and practical terms, it has made a big difference in terms of how I'm viewed and treated and all manner of things that I would never have imagined and some I would. So yes, it is and it's interesting how often still people say, well, not so much here, are you the new lady vicar. It's like I guess with men being a nurse at a particular point in history, you are male nurse no I'm a nurse that sort of thing So yes, it has it had all sorts of consequences but say eucharistic itself, you know it's, it's just you know we're All human beings, put crudely.

A: Okay, thank you, thanks.