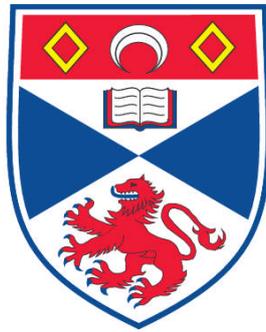


**EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE IN SCOTTISH EPISCOPACY,
1620-1875**

Wallace Douglas Kornahrens

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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Eucharistic Doctrine in Scottish Episcopacy, 1620–1875

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Divinity
University of St Andrews
in candidacy of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Wallace Douglas Kornahrens

19th December 2007

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the eucharistic doctrine of ten Scottish theological writers in the tradition of Scottish Episcopacy; five from the seventeenth century, two from the eighteenth century, and three from the nineteenth century. The doctrine espoused by each one throughout the stated period, 1620–1875, is found to agree with the other writers considered herein, because each writer turned to many of the same Church Fathers as the source of his doctrine and his interpretation of Holy Scripture.

The argument of this thesis is that all of the writers, rejecting the Tridentine, Lutheran, Bezan-Calvinist, and Zwinglian definitions of the Eucharist, maintained a material sacrifice in the Eucharist, which is an offering to God the Father of bread and wine as the propitiatory memorial of Christ's death on the Cross, commanded by Christ himself at the Last Supper. The sacrifice is propitiatory because it is the means of representing the one sacrifice of Christ on the Cross to God the Father, thereby pleading the benefits of the Cross for the communicants. The bread and wine do not change substance, but become effectively the body and blood of Christ.

Three of the ten writers produced eucharistic rites, one in the seventeenth century, and two in the eighteenth century. It is argued that each of these rites is expressive of the Eucharist as being a commemorative and representative sacrifice. Each rite explicitly offers bread and wine to the Father, invokes the Holy Spirit's action over the elements, and prays that by receiving the consecrated bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ, the communicants will receive the forgiveness of sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life.

I, Wallace Douglas Kornahrens, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2000 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September, 2001; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2000 and 2007.

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signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Chapter I Introduction

It is the intention of this thesis to defend two propositions: 1) That a succession of Scottish theological writers, both the episcopalian¹ academic theologians of the periods of established Episcopacy in the seventeenth century and the Episcopalian private scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, held a discernable theological perspective regarding eucharistic doctrine, and 2) That the doctrine they espoused and articulated both theologically and liturgically was derived from their reading of the Fathers of the Church.

The Episcopalian parson-scholar George Hay Forbes (1821–1875) writing in his own periodical, *The Panoply*, not only claims the existence of such a perspective, but also that it was the product of men ‘deeply imbued’ with the theology of the ancient Fathers of the undivided Church. ‘... for the succession of our Scottish Doctors...consisted of men who were deeply imbued with the spirit of Primitive Christianity. It was not a mere book knowledge that they had of the Fathers.... They made them the witnesses of Apostolic teaching, fearlessly endeavouring to conform their own faith and their own practice to them, in spite of the opposition of the prudence of this world; and on this account they must carry an all-but conclusive weight with us their children and disciples’.² Although Forbes’ statement does not mention eucharistic doctrine, it is made directly in connection with eucharistic doctrine in his criticism of John Keble’s *Eucharistical Adoration*.

The existence of the tradition that George Hay Forbes claims for ‘our Scottish Doctors’ has been unnoticed by the academic community, and its writers unidentified. There are two criteria for identifying the exponents of this tradition: 1) they are Scottish writers who upheld Scottish Episcopacy, and 2) they are both disciples and teachers of the doctrine of the Church Fathers, in this instance with respect to eucharistic doctrine. The writers examined in this thesis are: John Forbes of Corse,

¹ Following the use of Professor Gordon Donaldson (*Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*, p.23) the term episcopalian [lower case ‘e’] will be used adjectivally to denote those Scottish writers who were adherents to the Reformed Episcopate of 1610—1637, and the Restoration Episcopate of 1661—1689, as opposed to the term Episcopalian [upper case ‘E’], which will denote those writers who come after the disestablishment of Episcopacy in 1689.

² Forbes George Hay, ‘Eucharistical Adoration’, *The Panoply*, vol. II, Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, undated, p. 263.

Bishop William Forbes, James Sibbald, Bishop James Wedderburn, and Henry Scougal in the seventeenth century; Bishop Thomas Rattray, and Bishop Robert Forbes in the eighteenth century; and John Skinner, Bishop Alexander Jolly and George Hay Forbes in the nineteenth century.

There is not only a lacuna in the literature dealing with this theological tradition of Scottish Episcopacy, there also has been very little study of any of its writers. With the notable exception of John Forbes of Corse,³ hardly any attention has been paid to the other writers included in this study. While the phenomenon of the Aberdeen Doctors is well known, their meagre surviving work has been grievously neglected, and they have never been seen as part of a continuing tradition leaping across the period of the Covenant to the period of the Restoration Scottish Episcopate and surviving into the emergence of the disestablished Scottish Episcopalianism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Historical-Theological Context

How did such a succession of Scottish theological writers who maintained their theological position by a careful study of the Fathers of the Church and who accepted their teaching as authoritative in Scottish theology, come to exist in the first place? This succession of Scottish theological writers, who so resolutely maintained the tradition 'in spite of the opposition of the prudence of this world', could not have existed in a theological vacuum. The final answer to such a question is beyond the purpose of this thesis, none the less there are indications which allow a tentative sketch of its origins, suggesting that the work of Scottish academic theologians such as John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes writing in the 1630s, was part of a much wider revival of interest in Patristic study in the early seventeenth century on the continent and in England.

H. R. Sefton and T. F. Torrance place John Forbes of Corse as pre-eminent among Scottish theologians of his own day, and as a Patrologist and theologian of lasting

³ Two works of John Forbes of Corse have been published in English in the twentieth century: *Part One of the Irenicum of John Forbes of Corse*, translated by E. G. Selwyn, and *The True Catholic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* by W. L. Low, both published in 1923.

significance,⁴ yet also as one whose line of thinking was not followed in his own country, and which has consequently languished, ‘...Forbes was concerned with soteriological and ontological connections—a form of theological thinking which some of his contemporaries and his Calvinist successors in Scotland and Holland failed to appreciate’.⁵ In their younger years both John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes, studied in Reformed Northern Europe. John Forbes of Corse spent several years in Holland and studied principally at Heidelberg and at Sedan.⁶ William Forbes studied in Germany (possibly at Helmstedt),⁷ Poland and at Liege.⁸ While abroad both men made friendships with leading Reformed Patristic scholars of their day. At Liege William Forbes is known to have made friends with, among others, J. Scaliger and G. J. Vossius.⁹ Between the ‘*Praefatio ad Lectorem*’ and the ‘*Index Librorum et Capitum*’ of John Forbes’ *Instructiones*, there are several pages of testimonials praising Forbes’ *Instructiones* by professors of several Universities in the Low Countries. The final one is written warmly and at length by G. J. Vossius,¹⁰ one of the outstanding European scholars of his day,¹¹ then at Amsterdam.¹² It is only to be observed here that there was a thriving Patristic scholarship in Reformed Northern Europe, and that it was there that both John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes became established as Patristic scholars.

T. F. Torrance has commented that the rigorous scholasticism of ‘rationalistic Calvinism’¹³ which came to characterize Scottish theology was introduced from the Netherlands. Torrance cites Pierre du Moulin’s ‘logically impeccable syllogisms’ which he says, ‘helped to give rise to a rigidly scholastic and rationalistic...Calvinism

⁴ Sefton, H. R., ‘Scotland’s Greatest Theologist’, *Aberdeen University Review*, vol. XLV, 4, No. 152, Autumn, 1974, pp. 348—352; Torrance, T. F. *Scottish Theology*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, pp. 79—80.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 80—81.

⁶ Low, W. L., *The True Catholic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, Edinburgh: Scottish Chronicle Press, 1923, p. 14.

⁷ Mullan, D. G., *Episcopacy in Scotland, the History of an Idea, 1560—1638*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986, p. 171.

⁸ Sydserf, Thomas, ‘*Vita Auctoris*’, *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae* (see note 57 below) p. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰ Forbes, John, of Corse, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae* (Dr. George Garden’s edition of *Omnia Opera*), vol. II, Amsterdam, 1702, p. unnumbered.

¹¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 12, ‘Vossius’, p. 434.

¹² 1645, the year of the first edition published by Forbes at Amsterdam.

¹³ Bruce, Robert, *The Mystery of the Lord’s Supper*, T. F. Torrance, ed., London: James Clark & Co. Ltd., 1958, p. 32.

in which logico-causal relations tended to replace ontological relations'.¹⁴ Basil Hall lays the blame for the new tendencies and changes at the door of Beza.¹⁵ The changes he attributes to Beza are, '1) disciplined Presbyterianism; 2) complete rejection of Episcopacy, 3) making of scripture itself into a corpus of revelation in almost propositional form with every part equal to every other part in inspiration, thereby encouraging a literalism in the doctrine of the inspiration of scripture...beyond the more guarded statements of Calvin. Beza hardened the lines which Calvin had left inexplicit, e.g., supralapsarianism and limited atonement'.¹⁶ He claims that these resulted in the Synod of Dort in 1619; Torrance says, '...Bezan Calvinism... was held to express true Calvinist orthodoxy'.¹⁷ Professor Jill Raitt describes the situation thus, 'When Calvin died in 1564 the close relationship he had established between biblical exegesis, sound learning, and the well-being of the Civitas Dei ...suffered a loss of balance. The biblical exegesis became subordinated to a restored Aristotelianism, for Protestantism was now recoiling before the victories of the counter-Reformation, and it was beginning to use the weapons of its adversary'.¹⁸

This phenomenon resulted in the significant narrowing of the scope, not only of Reformed theology in Lowland North-western Europe,¹⁹ but also of Scottish theology, so that the study and the authority of the Patristic tradition subsequently withered in Reformed thought. Vossius in his commendation of John Forbes of Corse's *Instructiones* laments this change, 'But who would not admit that by that sort of leading writings [of the Church Fathers] our minds are greatly strengthened in the true interpretation of Scripture, and that heresies are more toughly and in a well-armed way repelled? So the holy Fathers always fought with this sort of argument: they certainly respected the chief authority of Scripture; but they do not ignore the consensus of earlier times.... I would like to draw these things to the attention of those, who...put off by what they call the 'diffuse ocean of ecclesiastical antiquity' ... do not read the old theologians, and because they do not pay attention to them, do not

¹⁴ Torrance, T. F., op. cit., p. 60.

¹⁵ Hall, Basil, 'Calvin against the Calvinists', *John Calvin*, G. E. Duffield, ed., Abingdon: Sutton Courtney Press, 1966, pp. 25—26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁷ Torrance, T. F., op. cit., p. 60.

¹⁸ Raitt, Jill, *The Eucharistic Theology of Theodore Beza*, AAR Studies in Religion, American Academy of Religion, No. 4, 1972, p. 10.

¹⁹ Torrance, T. F., op. cit., p. 80.

know them; and because they are ignorant of them, despise them; and...to avoid appearing to despise them rashly ... [they] criticise them unfairly, alienating many people's minds from them'.²⁰

It was not only on the continent, but in England also, that the Patristic tradition was both alive and influential in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly in the person of Lancelot Andrewes.²¹ At the same time men like Isaac Casaubon²² the Reformed French classical and Patristic scholar, found in England both refuge and acceptance. John Skinner writing in the first decade of the nineteenth century,²³ and Alexander Jolly writing in the 1830s,²⁴ seeking to establish as a fact that Scottish Episcopalian liturgy and eucharistic doctrine were not alien to English eucharistic ideas, produced lists of English theological writers such as Poinet, Jewell, Overall, Andrewes, Bilston, Hooker, Morton, Montague, Cosin and others. According to Skinner and Jolly, Scottish eucharistic tradition in the light of the works of the men cited is neither unique nor eccentric, but is consonant with the thought of generations of eminent English theologians from the period of Elizabeth I onward, and that it is expressive of the teaching of the Fathers of the Church. D. G. Mullan quoting Isaac Casaubon's biographer, Mark Pattison, commenting upon his subject, could well be speaking for all of the men considered in this thesis, '...men of this outlook "...regarded the Reformation, not as a new religion, but as a return to primitive Christianity..."''.²⁵

There are two points to be made: the first point is that there was a native Scottish school of Patristic study at Aberdeen, parallel to, but independent from, the English tradition mentioned above both in origin and in existence; the second point is that the 'Aberdeen school' was not alone or isolated, but was one of several schools of theological ideas who looked to the authority of the teaching of the Church Fathers.

²⁰ Vossius, G. J., commendation of John Forbes of Corse's *Instructiones*, unnumbered page, trans. Mr. Patrick Watson, M. A., W. S.

²¹ Lossky, Nicholas, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 326—353.

²² *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol 10, 'Isaac Casaubon', Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 459—464.

²³ Skinner, John, *The Office for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with a Preliminary Dissertation*, Aberdeen: J. Chalmers and Company, 1807, pp. 14—15.

²⁴ Jolly, Alexander, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co., 1832, p. x.

²⁵ Mullan, D. G., *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Patristic theological orientation can be seen in Calvin's own work.²⁶ Professor Torrance has stated in several places²⁷ that a reliance on the teaching of the Fathers formed a significant aspect of Scottish theological ideas. There is also contemporary evidence for this from Vossius' encomium in John Forbes' *Instructiones*, '...similarly like your father Patrick Forbes you yourself will excel your country, and all who love the right use of study in this study of antiquity [i.e., the church Fathers]'.²⁸ A strong orientation toward the study of the work of the Church Fathers found particular expression in the 1620s and 1630s in Aberdeen, but adherence to the authority of the teaching of the Fathers of the Church was also part of a wide-spread Reformed interest in the Patristic tradition both on the continent and in England. After the Covenant, Scottish interest in the Fathers survived in an explicit and special way in Scottish Episcopacy, established and disestablished.

Geographical Context

The North-East of Scotland has been the native ground in which both reverence for the teaching of the Fathers of the Church and adherence to Episcopacy has flourished, and is the part of Scotland from which most of the writers examined in this thesis either originate or have a particular connection. The City, and in the seventeenth century, the Universities (as they were then) of Aberdeen played a critical role in the emergence and sustenance of the theological and liturgical traditions of those who adhered steadfastly to Scottish Episcopacy and the Patristic theological tradition both in the days of Establishment and afterward. John Forbes of Corse, James Sibbald, and Bishop William Forbes of the Jacobean-Caroline period prior to the Covenant, all held academic posts at either King's or Marischal Colleges. After the Restoration, in the 1670s, Henry Scougal, son of Patrick Scougal the Restoration Bishop of Aberdeen, held the same post at King's as had John Forbes of Corse. In the eighteenth century, Bishop Robert Forbes, also an Aberdonian, was educated at Marischal College, but lived at Leith²⁹ for most of ministry, even though he was Bishop of Ross and Caithness. In the nineteenth century all of the writers had strong Aberdeenshire connections; John Skinner was the son of the famous Bishop of Aberdeen, John

²⁶ Lane, A. N. S., *John Calvin, Student of the Fathers of the Church*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999, passim.

²⁷ Torrance, T. F., 'Introduction', *Mystery of the Lord's Supper*, p. 32, and *Scottish Theology*, pp. 80—81; also see Lane, A. N. S., op. cit., pp. 68—70.

²⁸ Vossius, J. G., op. cit., p. unnumbered.

²⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Forbes, Robert', (1708—1775.), pp. 409—410.

Skinner who consecrated Samuel Seabury in 1784, Alexander Jolly lived all of his life in Aberdeenshire, and George Hay Forbes, though an Edinburgh man, had strong Aberdeenshire connections on both his mother's and father's sides of his family. Only Bishop James Wedderburn, member of a noted Dundee family of mariners, and great-grandson of James Wedderburn the poet, and with academic connections to St. Andrews University both as a student, then later as Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's College,³⁰ and Bishop Thomas Rattray, a Perthshire laird and private scholar,³¹ had neither academic nor personal Aberdeenshire connections. Otherwise, the extent of the relationship between Episcopacy and the North-east of Scotland is too well known to deserve comment here; however there is the unanswered question of why Aberdeen in particular and the north-east of Scotland more generally became so identified with Scottish Episcopacy and with its emphasis on the study of the Church Fathers, and the acceptance of their authority?

Aberdeen, Erasmus, and Patristic Study

A possible answer to the question is the continuing influence of Erasmus' ideas at Aberdeen. James Kirk's essay, 'The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants', details the influence of Erasmus himself and Erasmian humanism in Scottish universities in the early sixteenth century, suggesting that Erasmus' ideas had a force at Aberdeen beyond other Scottish universities. 'Support for the Dutchman [was] particularly pronounced at Aberdeen University...whose first principal, Hector Boece [was] Erasmus' fellow-student at Montaigu, in Paris'.³² Boece's 'successor, William Hay, who as a student with Boece, had attended Erasmus' biblical lectures in Paris....In addition the grammarian...John Vaus, was also a product of the Paris humanism'.³³ Kirk adds that 'By the troubled 1540s... Aberdeen's momentum was not maintained'. Kirk also details the influence of Erasmus and humanism across Scotland in the early sixteenth century. Kirk certainly suggests that initially Erasmian influence was stronger at Aberdeen than elsewhere in Scotland. The pervasive early influence of Erasmus at Aberdeen suggests that possibly some residual influence of the intellectual

³⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*. 'Wedderburn, James', (1585—1639), pp. 1048—1049.

³¹ Lachlan Clerk-Rattray, current owner of Craighall, the Rattray estate, relates that family tradition maintains that Rattray attended University at Leyden.

³² Kirk, James, 'The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants', *Humanism and Reform: the Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400—1643*, James Kirk, ed., The Ecclesiastical History Society, Oxford: Blackwell's, 1991, p. 362.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

outlook and freedom of Erasmian humanism lingered in Aberdeen, and created a climate conducive to the pursuit of Patristic study, while other theological developments were taking place elsewhere in Scotland. Vossius, in the second of his comments quoted above, commends not only John Forbes, but also his father, Patrick, the Bishop, for the right use of the study of antiquity.³⁴ It is Bishop Patrick Forbes who is credited with the ‘re-foundation’ of King’s College in 1618.³⁵

Philosophical Framework

Understanding the philosophical sub-structure of the theological ideas that are the subject of this thesis is essential to gaining any conception of the meaning of the eucharistic doctrine set forth. The modes of thinking used on the one hand by the Fathers of the first seven centuries, and on the other hand by mediaeval theologians, chiefly Thomas Aquinas and by Luther and his followers are incompatible. Professor T. F. Torrance in his book *Space, Time, and Incarnation*³⁶ describes these distinctions. In chapter one³⁷ Torrance discusses the way in which the early Fathers avoided the Aristotelian concept of space as a container, at the centre of which is the still point of rest, choosing rather elements of both the Platonic idea of space as the medium in which events take place, and the stoic idea of the intelligible universe in which the *logos*, the active agency of creation, makes room for itself. The critical idea, not only in relation to the Eucharist but also in the whole of Christian theology is that God does not have a spatial relationship to his creation. As George Hay Forbes wrote in his critique of John Keble’s *Eucharistical Adoration*, ‘Strictly speaking, God who created place, does not exist in place. As Nazianzen expresses it, “the Godhead is superior to ‘where’.” It would not be incorrect to say in a certain sense that God is nowhere’.³⁸ God the Holy Trinity transcends and penetrates his creation, but he cannot be located within it. His relationship to his creation is relational, not spatial.

The second chapter³⁹ of Torrance’s book deals with the shift, just before the end of the 1st Millennium, from the older Patristic mode of thought to the new Aristotelian

³⁴ Vossius, G. J., op. cit., p. unnumbered. [See quote noted in footnote 24.]

³⁵ Snow, W. G. Sinclair., *The Times, Life and Thought of Patrick Forbes of Corse*, London: SPCK, 1952, pp 116—133.

³⁶ Torrance, T. F., *Space, Time, and Incarnation*, London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 1–21.

³⁸ Forbes, G. H., ‘Eucharistical Adoration’, *The Panoply*, vol. II, Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, p. 271.

³⁹ Torrance, T. F., op. cit. pp. 22–51.

mode and the rise of the idea of Transubstantiation to explain the relationship of Christ to the eucharistic species. The concept of Transubstantiation is that the bread and wine offered in the Eucharist ceases to exist in substance, with only their accidents, or outward appearance remaining, and the substance of the person of Jesus Christ, in his risen and glorified body and soul, becomes the substance of both the consecrated bread and wine in every particle. At the Reformation, Reformed (in the widest sense of that term, but not Lutheran) theologians turned from the more Aristotelian mode of thinking, returning to the older Patristic mode.

Both John Forbes of Corse and his distant kinsman George Hay Forbes writing two and a half centuries later, working within the Patristic conceptions just described, not only condemn the Tridentine doctrine of transubstantiation, but also the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation in which doctrine the substance of the bread does not cease to exist, but exists along with the substance of the person of Christ, only modified the doctrine of transubstantiation. In both the Thomist and Lutheran doctrines, the bread and wine offered in the Eucharist become containers for the Body of Christ, in which either the accidents of the bread and wine, or the substance of the bread and wine become vessels to contain the risen and glorified human body and soul of Jesus Christ.

Douglas Farrow's *Ascension and Ecclesia* has a radically different interpretation of how Christian thought developed. He sees the tension between the concrete, biblical view of the 'particularity' of Jesus of Nazareth, characterised by Irenaeus in his writings, and the abstracted, 'cosmic Christ' characterised by Origen's theology, as shaping the theological-philosophical development of the history of Christian thought and practice. His view of the development of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he pinpoints as originating with Paschasius Radbertus, in his treatise, *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, (AD 831). Farrow says, '[Radbertus]...insisted that the elements consecrated...become, contrary to our senses, the very flesh to which [Mary] gave birth. ...this was meant to guarantee the quality of the church's offering'.⁴⁰ In a footnote, Farrow expands a bit further, 'For Radbertus the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist was the most important. [He was articulating] the need to bring Christ

⁴⁰ Farrow, Douglas, *Ascension and Ecclesia*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999, p. 155.

down, so that the sacrifice might be a worthy one'.⁴¹ Farrow argues that transubstantiation, in its essence was a theological development that diverged from the particularity of the person of Jesus of Nazareth, ascended to the right hand of the Father, to a new particularity, that of Jesus present in the consecrated elements. Farrow says, '...even Radbertus and his heirs had to admit *some* distinction between the Jesus who ascended, and the Jesus who became present at the bidding of the Church, but every such contrivance only confused the issue further'.⁴²

Maintaining the 'particularity' of the person of Jesus, and the integrity of his personhood is one of the main themes of the 'Scottish Doctors' who are the subject of this thesis. From first to last they maintain, as Farrow asserts, the integrity of his personhood, and that by his Ascension he in his person is absent, not to return until his second and glorious Advent as judge. He is present to and in his People in his Godhead by the Holy Spirit, particularly when they celebrate the Eucharist. Both John Forbes of Corse, in the seventeenth century, and George Hay Forbes in the nineteenth century, as will be seen, turn to Cyril of Alexandria, who articulates these ideas clearly.

The Eucharistic doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice

The first proposition of this thesis is that there was a discernible theological perspective regarding eucharistic doctrine held by the Scottish theological writers named above; this doctrine can be termed the 'Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice', and as will be demonstrated, the writers held this doctrine, not as formula, but as aspects of the teachings of the Fathers as they perceived that teaching.⁴³ The basic elements of this doctrine were articulated in the early seventeenth century as evidenced particularly by the work of both Bishop William Forbes in his *Considerationes Modestae*, and his junior by nine years, John Forbes of Corse, in his *Instructiones Theologico-Historicae*, (both men were writing at approximately the same time),⁴⁴ and that the study and acceptance of the authority of the Patristic

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 155.

⁴² Ibid., p. 155.

⁴³ Forbes of Corse, John, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, Amsterdam, 1702 (2nd Ed.), Book XI, cap. XX, 21., p.574; Forbes, Bishop William, *Considerationes Modestae*, Book III, Chap. ii, 2., p. 599.

⁴⁴ While an identity can be made between John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes with respect to their eucharistic doctrine, they speak with different theological accents. William Forbes was perhaps unique in his desire for all sides to try to find common ground, and unusual in his refusal to condemn

eucharistic tradition continued and developed in Scottish Episcopacy into the latter parts of the nineteenth century. The basic elements of the doctrine are: 1) that the Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but that is an improper sacrifice in which the thing offered is not destroyed; it is the offering of bread and wine as a memorial and commemoration of Christ's sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the Last Supper; 2) that it is a representation of Christ's death both to us, to 'proclaim the Lord's death', and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ's once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice, as the one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice; 3) that by the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the Forgiveness of Sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice; 4) that the bread and wine do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine, but by the prayer of the Church, said by the Bishop or Presbyter on behalf of the Church, (i.e. the gathered people) in union with the Catholic Church, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ (not the whole Christ); 5) that the consecrated bread and wine become neither Christ's actual natural body as born of the Virgin Mary, nor his Ascended and Glorious Resurrection Body; the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine are denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood, and the breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ, referring back to the Christ's own words in the Institution, '...my Body broken [in death] for you'. The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol; and 6) that Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second and glorious

Tridentine doctrine as heretical; John Forbes of Corse writes from a definitely 'Reformed' point of view. George Grub says that John Forbes' point of view shifted 'toward the model of the ancient church' as he became more deeply read in the Church Fathers. (Grub, George, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. II, Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861, vol. II, p. 372.)

Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit.

This doctrine was held not only in opposition to the Romanist Tridentine doctrines of sacrifice and of transubstantiation, but also in opposition to the Lutheran doctrines of the ubiquity of the Body of Christ and consubstantiation, and the Zwinglian doctrine of the inefficacy of any occasion for the memorial of Christ's death.⁴⁵

Liturgical expression of the Doctrine

There are three Scottish liturgical texts to be considered with reference to the eucharistic doctrine outlined above as the 'Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice'. They are: 1) 'The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion', from the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637; 2) Bishop Thomas Rattray's, *The ORDER for the Celebration of the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist*, the English language text (as opposed to his Greek text) for the eucharistic anaphora found at the end of his *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* published posthumously in 1744; and 3) the Scottish Communion Office of 1764. For ease of reference these texts will be referred to in this thesis as the 1637 Liturgy, Rattray's *ORDER* and the 1764 Liturgy, respectively.

Tracing the origin of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 to the Black Acts of 1584,⁴⁶ the late Professor Gordon Donaldson, asserted that the desire for a Scottish liturgy long antedated the 1637 liturgy. He said that, among other objectives, the Black Acts 'reaffirmed episcopal government'.⁴⁷ Certainly Article 10 of part II (For the Ministry) of the Acts, 'The office of bishop is of the apostolic institution, and most agreeable to the primitive purity of the Church of God' affirms that.⁴⁸ Donaldson suggests that both Episcopacy and the impulse toward a liturgy in Scotland can find links back to Archbishop Adamson and his policies. Donaldson says that the movement in the Scottish Church, until the final breach following the Revolution of 1688, embracing episcopacy in church government, liturgical texts in public worship rather than being a

⁴⁵ Stephens, W. P., *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 69.

⁴⁶ Donaldson, Gordon, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*, Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Press, 1954, p. 31.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23—24.

⁴⁸ Grub, George, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

latter-day import from England, have roots that lie deep in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and are themselves a function of the Reformation rather than a reaction to it.⁴⁹

The desire for a definitive eucharistic rite amongst Scottish Episcopalians did not end with the disaster of 1637, but continued until Bishop Robert Forbes' text of 1764 found immediate common acceptance.⁵⁰ Bishop Rattray's comparative and textual analysis of J. A. Fabricius' edition of the Greek text of Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem,⁵¹ *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, is certainly a significant step in the direction of a definitive Scottish Liturgy. Rattray's intention was to provide a dignified, usable liturgy with the provenance of antiquity, if not quite apostolicity.⁵² His text though much admired by many Scottish bishops, was never put forward as potentially the authoritative liturgical text for Scottish Episcopalians.⁵³ None the less it is the contention of this thesis that Bishop Rattray's *ORDER* was the precipitating factor in producing the 1764 Liturgy, and the chief single influence upon it.

In the case of each of the three liturgical texts examined in this thesis, each one is a step on the way to that definitive rite, and the respective authors will be seen to be theologically motivated by a conception of the nature of the Eucharist that could be described as the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice.

⁴⁹ Donaldson, Gordon, op. cit., pp. 13—24.

⁵⁰ Dowden, John, *Scottish Communion Office of 1764*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922 (posthumous ed., H. A. Wilson, ed.), p. 81.

⁵¹ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, London: James Bettenham, 1744, p. 2, footnote *; Rattray's text is taken from Fabricius' *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*.

⁵² Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. iii.

⁵³ See Dowden, John, op. cit., pp. 73—74; Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 190—196.

Development, Continuity and Demise

It is hardly reasonable, even under the most auspicious circumstances, that the enunciation of theological ideas over a period of about two hundred fifty years there should be no variation or shift in emphasis. Given the pressures and difficulties experienced by Scottish adherents to Episcopacy from the seventeenth century into the nineteenth century, it is amazing that even with some variation of emphasis and difference of articulation, that a consistent doctrinal stance concerning the Eucharist can be determined. For instance, it will be shown that the writers of the seventeenth century, with the exception of William Forbes, are shy of proclaiming the Eucharist a sacrifice, yet they refuse, within the terms of Patristic authority, to deny that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, or to condemn those ancient authorities who do call the Eucharist a sacrifice. The writers of the eighteenth century, with Establishment and the need for care how ideas are expressed because of political or theological constraints behind them, vigorously declare that sacrifice is integral to the whole idea of the Eucharist. None the less, both the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be seen to hold to a virtually identical stance on eucharistic doctrine.

John Dowden, the late nineteenth century historian of the 1764 Liturgy, asserts that the eucharistic doctrine of the eighteenth century Episcopalians was not an expression of native Scottish theology but was an import from the English Non-Jurors. He writes, ‘...the feeling in favour of the eucharistic doctrine afterward expressed in the Scottish Liturgy ... reached Scotland from the South.’⁵⁴ Bishop Dowden’s statement makes no connection between the eucharistic doctrine of those who were loyal to Scottish Episcopacy in the Scottish Church before Disestablishment, and the writings of the post-Disestablishment Episcopalians. It is fundamental to the propositions defended by this thesis that a clear connection can be demonstrated between the doctrine of the writers of the two periods of established Episcopacy, and between them and the doctrine of the writers after Disestablishment. It is therefore necessary to deny the accuracy of Dowden’s statement.

The powerful influence of some seventeenth and early eighteenth century English writers upon eighteenth and nineteenth century Scottish Episcopalians is undeniably

⁵⁴ Dowden, John, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

true. The works of Andrewes, Mead, Bull, John Johnson's *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveil'd*, and the work of Thomas Brett, the Non-Juring bishop and liturgical scholar, were significant influences. None the less, while a body of English eucharistic theology was influencing eighteenth century Scottish Episcopalians, there also existed a strong eucharistic tradition native to Scottish Episcopacy which not only created and maintained the climate in which the congenial English ideas could flourish, but also was itself a potent and defining influence. Sinclair Snow discusses the influence of the Aberdeen Doctors and their doctrine in a chapter of his biography of Patrick Forbes of Corse. He claims a continuing influence in particular from John Forbes through Henry Scougal and the Garden brothers, George, (minister at St. Nicholas, close friend of Scougal, and the publisher of John Forbes of Corse's *Omnia Opera* in Amsterdam in 1702) and James, (Professor of Divinity at King's College from 1681 to 1697) down to Bishop Robert Keith, the friend and eulogiser of Thomas Rattray.⁵⁵

One important point on which there is not unanimity amongst the ten episcopal writers in this study, within the idea of the Eucharist as having an impetratory function, is prayer for the dead. The particular dissenting voice is that of John Forbes of Corse; he specifically discourages prayer for the dead as dangerous, even though advocated by many of the Fathers.⁵⁶ However, his contemporary William Forbes approves prayer for the dead.⁵⁷ The other seventeenth century writers do not comment, but given the circumstantial evidence regarding their relationships with William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse, a more than 'educated guess' can be made as to their position on the subject. The known connection of James Sibbald, to William Forbes,⁵⁸ suggests that one may conjecture that Sibbald agrees with him. Anthony Milton⁵⁹ suggests that James Wedderburn's ideas about prayers for the departed and those of William Forbes were similar, if not the same. Correlatively, one may conjecture that Henry Scougal, successor of John Forbes of Corse may well have held a position like that of his predecessor. The eighteenth and nineteenth century

⁵⁵ Snow, G. W. S., op. cit., p. 163—169.

⁵⁶ Forbes, John, of Corse, op. cit., p. 648.

⁵⁷ Forbes, William, *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae*, George Hay Forbes, trans., ed., vol. II, Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1850, pp. 89—115.

⁵⁸ Gordon, James, *Scots' Affairs, 1637—1641*, vol. III, Edinburgh: The Spalding Society, 1851, Appendix iii, p. 283.

⁵⁹ Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 335.

Episcopalians find prayer for the departed an integral part of the eucharistic intercession.

The nineteenth century presented Episcopalians with the urgent need for the remnant of Scottish Episcopalians to find political toleration from the Government and acceptance by the Church of England. There was a corresponding desire to demonstrate that their liturgy and doctrine were neither alien nor contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. John Skinner and Alexander Jolly produced works in which they describe the liturgy and doctrine of Scottish Episcopalianism as consonant with that of many well known theological writers the Church of England. However it is important to observe that their respective apologies are also robust statements of Scottish Episcopalian doctrine and practice without compromise of the tradition.

George Hay Forbes, the latest of the authors considered in this thesis, who is the *terminus ad quem* of the old tradition of Scottish Episcopacy in so far as published work is concerned, mourns the passing of the old tradition in a poignant lament in his preface to his own edition of *Bishop Rattray's Works*, 'Earnestly do I trust that in these days of development and change, when our native traditional theology seems in no small danger of being quite forgotten, the calm deep learning of these admirable works may be the means of recalling earnest minds to the landmarks which our fathers set up'.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, his words proved to be all too prophetic. As the nineteenth century moved to its conclusion, so too did what George Hay Forbes called 'our native traditional theology'. Forces both within and without the Church produced its demise. The continuing rise of the influence of the Oxford Movement turned minds away from the more 'primitive' and eastward cast of mind of traditional Episcopalianism toward a more Romanised eucharistic theology. Rowan Strong in his biography of Bishop A. P. Forbes, the older brother of George Hay Forbes, suggests that dogmatic theology was not the key to the theological doubt that was gripping the latter nineteenth century, and that from a theological point of view, the future of Scottish

⁶⁰ George Hay Forbes, 'Preface', *Bishop Rattray's Works*, George Hay Forbes, ed., Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1854, p. ii.

Episcopalianism lay with English Liberal Anglo-Catholicism. Strong writes 'Dogmatic theology was not the solution for religious doubt that Forbes believed it to be. The future of Anglicanism lay with the acceptance of biblical criticism and that of Anglo-Catholicism with the liberal Catholicism of men like Bishop Charles Gore. These both impacted upon Anglicanism in the essays of *Lux Mundi* in 1889. Forbes' attachment to a pre-critical dogmatic theology would have led the Episcopal Church into a historical dead-end, and only increased its difficulties in accepting the insights of the *Lux Mundi* school'.⁶¹

⁶¹ Strong, Rowan, *Alexander Forbes of Brechin, The First Tractarian Bishop*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 257.

Chapter II The Seventeenth Century Academic Writers: John Forbes of Corse, William Forbes, James Sibbald, James Wedderburn, Henry Scougal

Part I Eucharistic doctrine in Bishop William Forbes' *Considerationes Modestae* and John Forbes of Corse's *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*

Bishop William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse have been presented as representing contrasting theological views. T. F. Torrance in *Scottish Theology* presents John Forbes of Corse as a 'mild Calvinist...close to Bruce, Boyd and Binning...'⁶²; as a man whose views would be in line with Bezan Calvinism. E. G. Selwyn in his study of John Forbes' *Irenicum* dismissed William Forbes in an aside as representing, 'a theological position scarcely distinguishable from that of Dr. Pusey'.⁶³ There are differences between William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse, for example with regard to prayer for the faithful departed, but with regard to the Eucharist, they espouse the same doctrinal point of view: that the Eucharist is the commemorative and representative sacrifice, the offering of bread and wine which is according to Christ's institution and command the memorial of the Cross and the propitiatory offering of his death to the Father.

William Forbes

William Forbes' only surviving work, *The Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae*, most probably written in the early 1630s, was intended as an irenic contribution, 'A Fair and Calm Consideration', to disputed issues in the increasingly heated theological debates of the period. It was published posthumously in London in 1658 by Thomas Sydserf, the deposed Bishop of Galloway, William Forbes' friend and disciple.⁶⁴

⁶² Torrance, T. F., *Scottish Theology from John Knox to John McLeod Campbell*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1996, p. 79.

⁶³ Selwyn, E. G., *The First Book of the Irenicum of John Forbes of Corse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Forbes, William, op. cit., vol. II, p. 351.

William Forbes was a native Aberdonian, and a distant relation of John Forbes of Corse who was nine years his junior. William Forbes was educated at the grammar school in Aberdeen where he excelled in Latin and Greek. At the age of twelve he entered Marischal College, Aberdeen, and studied philosophy, gaining his MA. At the age of sixteen he was made Professor of Logic, and taught Aristotelian logic for the next four years. At the age of twenty he went abroad to study for the next five years. He studied in Germany [Helmstedt]⁶⁵, Poland, and at Liège, where he made the friendship of such eminent scholars as Scaliger, Grotius and Vossius. At the age of twenty-five, due to ill health that was to plague him all his life, he returned to Aberdeen, and became the Minister of Alford. During this time by order of King James VI, he was made, along with some others, Doctor of Sacred Theology. In 1619 he was then appointed Principal of Marischal College and Rector of the faculty of Divinity. Afterwards, he was, for a while, minister at St. Giles⁶⁶ in Edinburgh, where his views clashed with the temper of the populace, and he returned to Aberdeen.⁶⁷

William Forbes was appointed to the See of Edinburgh because Charles I heard him preach during his visit to Scotland. ‘Dr. William Forbes had preached for him in Edinburgh. The king was much pleased with the sermon, and as the high attainments and eminent virtues of the preacher were well known to his ecclesiastical advisers, Dr. Forbes was nominated to the see of Edinburgh. His appointment took place in January, 1634; ...and in the beginning of February he was consecrated in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood’.⁶⁸ He died on the 12th of April that same year, at the age of 49.⁶⁹ William Forbes’ whole theological perspective can be summed up as ‘all later writers must be tried by the older authorities, “The Christian Commonwealth stands altogether by holy antiquity, nor will it be properly repaired when waste than if it be re-modelled by its original”’.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Mullan, D. G., op. cit., p. 171.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 171

⁶⁷ Forbes, William, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 13—21.

⁶⁸ Grub, George, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 348—349.

⁶⁹ ibid., p. 349.

⁷⁰ Mullan, D. G. op. cit., p. 172; Forbes, William, op. cit. vol. II, p. 141.

De Sacramento Eucharistiae

William Forbes' *de Sacramento Eucharistiae*, the final section of his *Considerationes* is divided into three books. Book I discusses the presence of Christ and participation in Christ in the Sacrament. Book II is a discussion of the practices of communion in one or both kinds, and of the consecration, reservation, and veneration of the Sacrament. Book III is a consideration of whether the Eucharist is a sacrifice, and whether it is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice.

Book I, Chapter I

The discussion in Chapter I is an extensive discussion of the nature of the relationship of Christ to the consecrated elements of the Eucharist and to the communicant in receiving them. It is structured in four parts, first of Continental Protestant opinion, 1—13; second of English Opinion, 14—23; third of Forbes' own opinion, often stated as agreement with other writers, and often stated in their words, 24.; and finally, general opinions on the Eucharist which he held to be wrong, 25.—28.

Continental Eucharistic Opinion

Forbes' survey of continental opinion is divided. First he cites Zwingli and others whose opinion he deplors. Of them Forbes writes, 'But it is not wonderful that those who have such abject opinions of this most august sacrament... should find nothing in it that they can wonder at. ...the pious Fathers...were wont to style it, "this most terrible mystery" and would never think of so great a thing without a sacred and religious awe'.⁷¹

Forbes then cites Continental writers and a document which he perceives as having his point of view, Melancthon, Cruciger, Bucer, Hedio, and the Confession of the French Reformed Churches to the Diet of Worms in 1557, to which 'Farel, Beza, Carmel and Budaeus, the deputies subscribed'.⁷² The agreement that Forbes finds with all of the citations is that Christ is communicated in the Sacrament, but how he is communicated is left undefined. From Melancthon he quotes, 'What the inspired writers held concerning the words of the Institution appears from what they say. S.

⁷¹ Grub, George, op. cit., p. 383.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 399, 401.

Paul tells us that the “The bread is the communication of the body of Christ &c.” Therefore, when these things (the bread and the wine in the Lord’s Supper) are given, the Body and the Blood of Christ are exhibited to us, and Christ is truly present in his Sacrament, and works effectually in us, as S. Hilary says (*de Trinitate*, 8. 14), “These things being taken and drunk cause Christ to be in us and we in him”⁷³.

About Calvin’s opinions, Forbes is ambivalent. Forbes examines Calvin’s opinion in *de Coena Domini*, and finds it unsatisfactory.⁷⁴ Forbes writes of it, ‘How religiously, how reverently and agreeably to the phraseology of the Fathers does... Calvin seem to speak in other parts of his writings [the Institutes] about this most august mystery’. and concludes, ‘More passages to the same purpose may be brought forward from the same writer’.⁷⁵ But then Forbes qualifies this approval of Calvin with an accusation of opportunism, ‘In trying to gratify now one party and then the other he has written not a few things but ill agree with each other’.⁷⁶ ‘To many very learned men’, Forbes writes, ‘the opinion and teaching of Calvin upon this matter has always appeared exceedingly uncertain, and doubtful and slippery’.⁷⁷ As evidence, he cites, ‘That Mutual Agreement upon the sacramentarian controversy between the Ministers of the Church of Zurich and John Calvin, [which] is alone sufficient to show this most clearly, if diligently weighed’.⁷⁸ Bishop Forbes thinks Zwingli’s opinions on the Eucharist constitute serious error, and Calvin’s to be sound, except when he is trying to accommodate his opinions to Zwingli, in his attempts to unify Reformed Swiss opinion.

Forbes’ principal point in chapter one is that the nature of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist is real, that is to say that there is a true communication in Christ in the Eucharist, but it is beyond any human definition. He says, ‘the Body and Blood of Christ is truly, really, and substantially present and taken in the Eucharist, but in a way, which is incomprehensible to the human understanding, and much more, beyond the power of man to express; which is known to God alone, and not revealed to us in Scripture, a way indeed, not corporeal or by oral reception, but not by the mere

⁷³ Ibid., p. 391.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 385.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 385, 387.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 389.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 387.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 389.

understanding and simple faith either, but by another way, known (as has been said) to God alone and left to His omnipotence'.⁷⁹

English Eucharistic Opinion

Forbes next moves from Continental theologians to English ones. Grub observes that Forbes is the first Scottish theologian to cite English divines as authorities to be appealed to.⁸⁰ His survey of English opinion is of that with which he agrees. He summons passages from Andrewes, Casaubon, Buckeridge, Montague, Hooker, Covell, Field, Bilson, Sutton, Synge, The Archbishop of Spalatro, Picherellus, and Poynt. From all of the writers Forbes extracts passages that repeat the same theme already strongly established by his citations from the Continental writers. This passage (and others) from Isaac Casaubon, who is cited often by Forbes, is of interest, since James Wedderburn, later Bishop of Dunblane, was as a young man tutor to Casaubon's son Méric (himself a noted scholar in adult life), and resided several years in the Casaubon household.⁸¹ In the passage chosen by Forbes, Casaubon is answering the *Epistle* of Cardinal du Perron, and quotes Andrewes' argument against Bellarmine. 'It cannot have escaped the notice of the Cardinal... that Christ said, "This is my Body," not, "after such a manner this is my Body." We agree with you as regards the subject; all the controversy is about the manner...as to the manner whereby it comes to pass that *it is: by, or with, or in, or under, or by transition*, there is not a single word there. And because there is not a single word there, we rightly banish it far from the faith. What Durandus is reported to have said of old, by no means displeases us; "The words we hear; the effect we feel; the manner we know not, the presence we believe....As to the manner of the presence we define nothing rashly;...no more than how in our baptism the blood of Christ washes us;...than how in the incarnation of Christ the human nature is united to the divine in the same person. We reckon it among mysteries'.⁸² Casaubon is quoted again as reiterating this statement, and further professing, '...this is the belief of the King and the English

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 389.

⁸⁰ Grub, op. cit, vol ii, p. 351.

⁸¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Wedderburn, James', (1585—1639) pp. 1048—1049.

⁸² Forbes, op. cit., pp. 401, 403.

Church upon this matter...She owns and teaches that this is a great mystery, incomprehensible to the human understanding, and much more inexpressible'.⁸³.

John Buckeridge, an English Bishop, is quoted quoting S. Bernard, “even to the present day the same Flesh is exhibited to us, but spiritually, not carnally.” Agreeable in all respects to this’, says Buckeridge, ‘is the doctrine of the English Church which asserts that in the Lord’s Supper the Body and the Blood of Christ are truly and really exhibited and received by faith; but that the manner is spiritual, and therefore ineffable and unknown’. Forbes adds, ‘and in the same place he teaches from S. Cyril [of Alexandria] and Theophylact that we are to abstain from the question as to the manner of the presence’.⁸⁴.

Forbes’ Conclusion

To Forbes’ mind, although the opinion of ineffability in the manner of the relationship of Christ to the Sacrament is often stated, it is not often understood, and therefore there ‘is a hindrance of concord’⁸⁵ among the various parties in dispute. Forbes focuses on the word ‘spiritually’.⁸⁶ Forbes states bluntly that fear of being seen to have erred is at the root of the situation, ‘Many lest they should seem to admit and assert that this true and real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and the communication of them is somewhat real and corporeal, affirm that both of these are effected and brought about merely and by faith’.⁸⁷ Forbes then quotes Casaubon, seeking support from the Greek Fathers and even indeed, Cardinal Bellarmine, for a too metaphysical understanding of the Eucharist, ‘The English Church believes that in the Supper of the Lord she is really made a partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ spiritually, as the Greek Fathers say, and as Bellarmine himself allows’.⁸⁸

⁸³ Ibid., p. 403.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 403.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 409.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 411.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 409.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 409.

Forbes acknowledges that in some places the language of the Fathers says as much, and he furnishes quotations from St. Athanasius [Ep. 4 to Serapion, 19], ‘To how many men would his body have sufficed for food, so as to become nourishment for the whole world? But in this account did He make mention of his Ascension into heaven, that he might draw them away from a corporeal interpretation; and that they might understand that His Flesh of which He had spoken, was a heavenly food from on high, and a spiritual nourishment to be given by himself’,⁸⁹ and from St. Macarius [Homily 27], (speaking of the kings and prophets before Christ) ‘...nor had it entered into their hearts that ...in the Church bread and wine were to be offered as antitypes of his Flesh and Blood, and those who took of the visible bread would spiritually eat of the Flesh of the Lord’.⁹⁰ St. Bernard is also cited as affirming that ‘the true substance of His Flesh is exhibited to us, but spiritually not carnally’,⁹¹ and Bellarmine reluctantly acknowledges the same, being uneasy over too much use of the word ‘spiritual’, ‘It does not seem that this word “spiritually” should be much used, because there would be a danger lest it should be wrested by our adversaries to signify not so much the manner as the very nature of the presence’.⁹²

But neither do the Romanists explain the word ‘spiritually’ any better. Forbes referring to Bellarmine says, on the one hand ‘they say that Christ is present in the Eucharist not carnally, “not corporeally, (that is not after the manner in which bodies exist according to their own nature,) not so that it can be perceived with the senses, nor so that it can be moved &c. but spiritually, after the manner in which spirits exist, since Christ is whole in each part”’.⁹³ Yet on the other hand they insist that ‘He is present by transubstantiation, so “that when the species are moved, the Body of Christ is truly moved, although by its accidents; so our soul truly changes its place when our body changes its place...that [it] is lifted, laid down, carried about, placed on the altar or in the pyx, transferred from the hand to the mouth, from the mouth to the stomach...”’.⁹⁴ Forbes objects to the Romanist opinion saying, ‘...neither the Scripture, nor the Fathers have ever delivered to us any of these expressions or of the

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 411.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 411.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 411.

⁹² Ibid., p. 411.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 411.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 411.

many others of the same sort which Romanists employ'.⁹⁵ Forbes understands the word spiritually to mean something wrought by the work of the Holy Spirit, that is the bread and wine under go change that is neither a change of substance, nor is it no change, where grace is communicated immaterially directly to the communicant; In Forbes understanding, the bread and wine under go a change by the work of the Holy Spirit, in which they are, as the consecrated body and blood of Christ, the means whereby the receiver with 'living faith' participates in 'in a true communication of Christ', in a manner that is beyond the power of human understanding or communication.

Forbes concludes '...wrongly do many Protestants teach that this presence and communication is effected by faith because "faith" as they say, "resting upon the word of God makes things which are promised to be present." Faith as is well known is more properly said to receive and apprehend, than to promise and bestow....The promise of the presence and communication does not work or obtain its effect...save in those who believe with living faith, and who worthily communicate, yet the cause and foundation of both is Christ's promise, not our faith'.⁹⁶ The communicant contributes nothing to the reality or the efficacy of the benefits of the Sacrament but worthy reception, and living faith in Christ—all the rest is through the divine power at work in the 'action' and reception—the 'word of Christ's promise'.

Book I, Chapter II

In chapter II Forbes considers at some length the possibility of transubstantiation and questions related to it. He readily concedes its theoretical possibility, allowing for Divine omnipotence.⁹⁷ In Forbes' mind, to deny to the Creator the possibility of anything in nature is the first step on the road to atheism,⁹⁸ but rejects transubstantiation as the divine operation in the Eucharist. The question at issue for Forbes with reference to the divine omnipotence is not, 'Can He do these things?' but, 'Does He do these things?'

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 411.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 417.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 425.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 437.

The whole of Chapter II is taken up with a theological and philosophical discussion about the possibility of transubstantiation in terms of three questions: 1) can two bodies exist in the same place? 2) can one body be in two (or more) places simultaneously? 3) can accidents exist without substance?⁹⁹ Forbes engages in a long discussion, summoning many authorities, but which in the end is inconclusive on the matter of the three questions raised; in conclusion he quotes Scaliger, ‘Never had man an understanding sufficiently powerful to conceive all the magnificent, great, immense things that concern the unspeakable omnipotence of God. For how few of us are ignorant of our own want of knowledge? Which...one will ...exchange for true knowledge...when he shall own that he knows nothing’.¹⁰⁰

Book I, Chapter III

However, Forbes’ fundamental disagreement with Transubstantiation is that, all of the arguments apart, there is no hint of it in Holy Scripture. He quotes Bellarmine quoting Duns Scotus that “there does not exist any passage of Scripture, so express as plainly to force us to admit transubstantiation, apart from the declaration of the Church” [i.e. the fourth Lateran Council of 1215]¹⁰¹. Forbes uses the whole of this chapter to produce Romanist authorities, Biel, Cajetan, Fisher of Rochester, W. Chedsey (a Roman disputant with Peter Martyr), and Picherellus, who affirm transubstantiation is not to be found in scripture.¹⁰² Forbes then produces the crucial passages from the Fathers, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Gelasius, and Ephrem of Antioch, by which he makes the claim that finding transubstantiation in the Fathers impossible, and that there is no change of substance in the consecrated elements of the Eucharist.¹⁰³ The rest of the chapter is quotations from other Romanist authorities who admit, to some degree, that the doctrine of transubstantiation, specifically the change of substance, is not to be found in the scriptures or the Fathers. Forbes concludes suggesting that the decrees of the fourth Lateran Council are worthy of little respect.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 425—443.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 447.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 447.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 447—451.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 459.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 481.

Book I, Chapter IV

Yet, Forbes acknowledges that in the Greek Church transubstantiation is also taught and believed, ‘The same opinion has for a long time been received and is defended, though not by all, yet by very many...in the Greek Church’.¹⁰⁵ Forbes then names six later Greek theologians : Euthymius, Nicolaus of Methone, Samonas of Gaza, Nicolaus Cabasalis, Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion, ‘who all in their treatises most openly acknowledge transubstantiation. And in the Council of Florence, the question between the Latins and the Greeks was not whether the bread is substantially changed, but by what words that unspeakable change takes place’.¹⁰⁶ None the less Forbes says, ‘...it would be an act of great rashness and temerity to condemn as guilty of heresy or deadly error all those followers of Christian religion’.¹⁰⁷ Forbes also suggests that the capacity of the Lutherans and the Calvinists to ‘extend the ‘right hand of fellowship’ in spite of their bitter disagreements on the subject is an example of such forbearance.¹⁰⁸

After considering the Greek Church, Forbes examines the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, first Luther himself, whom he exonerates in specific quotations from three of his earlier works, and concludes, ‘But I excuse not Luther’s inconsistency in other of writings’.¹⁰⁹ Forbes says that the official Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation are gross errors, but are not outright heresies. Forbes produces a number of authorities, both continental and English who agree, and thinks that there should be silence on the matter.¹¹⁰

Book II, Chapter II

In the first third of this chapter Forbes asserts the necessity of a prayer over the eucharistic elements, invoking the Holy Spirit to consecrate them, as opposed to the recitation of the words, ‘this is my Body’, ‘this is my Blood’, alone. Forbes begins with a preliminary statement, ‘All the more sound Protestants admit that the words by which the Eucharist is consecrated ought to be consecrative and not merely homiletic,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 483.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 483—485.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 491.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 493—495.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 491—493.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 495—503.

that is for the mere purpose of instructing people’,¹¹¹ but neither is ‘...the consecration ...performed by these words alone, “This is My Body”, and “This is My Blood”, as the Romanists contend against the Greeks. For they think that the consecration is effected by the mystical prayer also whereby the descent of the Holy Ghost is implored, that He may sanctify the elements; and so by the whole service in so far as it is performed, both by the minister and the communicants, according to Christ’s institution’.¹¹² This last observation is indeed very striking. As a way of looking at the Liturgy it is particularly modern, although its roots obviously lie in Eastern Orthodox attitudes. Fr. Alexander Schmemmann has been perhaps the foremost contemporary liturgical theologian to promote the idea of the integrity of the whole liturgical action as opposed to the analysis of various portions of the liturgy in isolation from each other¹¹³. Forbes’ suggestion of an approach to understanding the liturgy as a whole stands in marked contrast to Tridentine theology which says that the consecration of the eucharistic elements happens at a precise and isolatable moment through the utterance of a few words (the consecration each of the species is reckoned to have occurred at the last syllable of the words *Meum* and *Meus* respectively), by the priest (who by virtue of his ordination is empowered to speak these words effectually) without respect to any participation of the congregation or laity.

‘The Scripture’, Forbes writes, ‘it is true, favours more the opinion of the Protestants, and very many of the Fathers say repeatedly that the elements are consecrated by prayer and invocation’.¹¹⁴

Book III, Chapter I

In Book III Forbes deals with the manner in which the Eucharist is a sacrifice. In chapter I he makes two substantial points. The first is that the Eucharist is an offering of bread and wine. The second is that the sacrifice (i.e., the offering of the bread and wine) is not a proper sacrifice, but a commemoration and representation of the one only sacrifice of the Cross.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 531.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 531.

¹¹³ Schmemmann, Alexander, *The Eucharist*, Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988, pp. 11—15, 159—227.

¹¹⁴ Forbes, William, op. cit., p. 531.

Considering the first point, the offering of bread and wine in the Eucharist, Forbes engages in a long discussion about Melchizedek: whether the bread and wine he brought forth were mere refreshment or were an offering to God? He turns to the work of the Polish Reformed scholar Andrew Chrastovius whom he quotes at length to establish the point that both were done.¹¹⁵ Forbes quotes Chrastovius' view of Kemnitz's and Calvin's objections to the assertion of sacrifice to God in Melchizedek's action, "For the reasons which Calvin or Chemnicus bring forward, do not overturn the benediction of the bread and wine, but the real oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ under the species of the bread and wine."¹¹⁶ Forbes' own opinion is that although the Scriptures are not conclusive about the nature of the presentation of the bread and wine, the Patristic treatment is, 'although it cannot be clearly and evidently proved from the Scriptures that bread and wine is offered in the Mass, yet the Fathers everywhere teach this, as is clear from S. Irenaeus, from various passages in Cyprian, from S. Fulgentius, and others almost without number'.¹¹⁷

Considering the second point, Forbes says, 'The Holy Fathers, moreover, say very often that in the Eucharist Christ's Body itself is offered and sacrificed, as appears in numberless places, but so, that not all the properties of a sacrifice are properly and really preserved; but by way of commemoration and representation of that which was performed once for all, in that one only Sacrifice of the Cross, whereby Christ our High Priest consummated all other sacrifices, and by pious prayer; by which the ministers of the Church most humbly beseech God the Father, on account of the Perpetual Victim of the one only Sacrifice, Who is seated in heaven on the right hand of the Father, and is, in an ineffable manner, present on the holy table, that he would grant that the virtue and grace of this perpetual Victim may be efficacious and salutary to his Church for all necessities of body and soul'.¹¹⁸ He says 'For the Apostle most expressly affirms [Hebrews 10: 14, 18] that there is only one single oblation of Christ whereby "he has perfected forever them that are sanctified", so that, "there is no more any oblation for sin". In like manner the Fathers teach; S. Chrysostom, than whom no one more frequently mentions this sacrifice, having called

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 569.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 575.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 577.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 557—559.

that which is performed in the church a “sacrifice”, immediately subjoins, either by way of explanation, or even of correction, “or rather a memorial of a sacrifice”¹¹⁹. Forbes names S. Ambrose, Eusebius, S. Cyprian, Theodoret, Theophylact, S. Augustine, and adds, ‘and very many others’ who teach the same.¹²⁰

The rest of Chapter I, Book III is a very long catalogue of quotations exhibiting the failure of the Roman Church to establish a consistent and coherent doctrine of the nature of the sacrifice in the Mass. Forbes, writes ‘...whether the sacrifice of the Lord’s Body is a true and proper sacrifice, about which, as we have seen, Romanists disagree wonderfully among themselves’.¹²¹ Forbes shows that many Romanists, incline toward, and some openly agree with the Patristic understanding.¹²²

Chapter II *Whether the Mass is propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice.*

In Chapter II Forbes asks whether the Eucharist is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice; his answer is yes it is, but only ‘if this expression is used with its proper meaning; not indeed as if it effected a propitiation and forgiveness of sins, for that exclusively belongs to the Sacrifice of the Cross; but as impetrating or supplicating the propitiation which has already been made, in the same way that prayer, of which this sacrifice is a kind, may be called propitiatory’.¹²³ He begins by quoting moderate Romanist opinion such as Cassander, the *Enchiridion of Cologne*, and John Barnes. Here Forbes observes that ‘very many Romanists say that this sacrifice is not merely representative and commemorative, but also applicatory, viz. of the propitiation which was once for all made sufficiently upon the cross; and that on this account it may be rightly called a propitiatory sacrifice....All the more sound Romanists, what ever opinion they may hold about the manner of the true and real presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, acknowledge that the unbloody oblation of the sacrifice of the Mass derives all its force and efficacy, from the one bloody Sacrifice which was made upon the cross, in the same way as do all the (other) sacraments of the New Testament. Let the passages of the Fathers which are wont to be adduced to confirm

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 579.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 579.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 599.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 579—597.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 599.

this opinion, be read in the numerous other writers who treat of these matters at greater length'.¹²⁴

Forbes then turns to Protestant writers who support the view he is presenting. He quotes Isaac Casaubon, "I freely admit and I contend that it is plain from the rites of the ancient church that the Eucharist is a sacrifice; and not merely a sacrifice of praise... but a propitiatory, a hilastic sacrifice".¹²⁵ He then produces quotations from Polanus and Bucer supporting the same position,¹²⁶ and also answers from 'the Greeks at Venice' at the Council of Florence, "This divine rite is called both expiatory and for thanksgiving."¹²⁷

Forbes' final point concerns the Prayer of Consecration; that it is a specific kind of prayer, and that this prayer is profitable for all for whom it is offered. He deals with the latter point first. He writes, 'But that this Sacrifice of the Lord's supper is not only propitiatory, and that the Lord's Body can be said to be offered in the aforesaid manner [that is offering the bread and wine as the representative memorial of Christ in his death on the Cross] for the forgiveness of sins...but moreover, is impetratory of blessings of every kind, and is even rightly offered for them—although the Scriptures do not clearly and expressly say this, yet the Fathers with unanimous agreement have so understood the Scriptures, as has been proved at length by others; and all the ancient Liturgies repeatedly enjoin that while the offering is going on, prayer should be made for peace, for the abundance of the fruits of the ground, and for other temporal blessings of the same sort...'¹²⁸ Forbes quotes Francis White, Bishop of Ely at the time of Forbes' writing, and J. Zanchius in support.

Not shrinking from discussing the full extent of benefits received in the Holy Eucharist, he also quotes Cassander in a brief passage that obviously expresses Forbes' own view as Forbes precedes the quotation with the connecting conjunction, 'But, "since this victim (to use the words of Cassander) has been offered for the common salvation of the whole world, as well of the living as of the dead, and

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 601.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 603.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 605.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 607.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 607.

possesses a perpetual efficacy in order to bring about that salvation, there is nothing absurd, if in this sacred action it is said to be offered for the living and the dead and the common salvation of all; since not only is it commemorated as having been offered for them [the living and the dead]; but moreover, by solemn prayer, supplication is made that it may be efficacious and saving for them all”¹²⁹ Forbes is quick, however to condemn, ‘the requiring of sacrifices of masses, and those often repeated, in order to deliver the souls of the departed from the flames of purgatory—it is the invention of idle men who wrongly abuse the ignorance of the people for their own gain. For very different ends was prayer and offering made in the ancient Church, as we have shown at length against the Romanists when treating of purgatory and prayers for the dead....Not lightly do many, both Protestants and Romanists sin in this matter’¹³⁰

John Forbes of Corse

John Forbes’ theology of the Eucharist is most completely put forward in Book XI, *de Eucharistia*, of his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae de Doctrina Christianae*, published in Amsterdam in 1645 during his exile following his refusal, with the others of the Aberdeen Doctors, to sign the National Covenant.¹³¹ The *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae* is a massive survey of dogmatic theology. Torrance writes of Forbes’ *Instructiones*, ‘...it is a work of monumental importance in the history of theology, for in bringing together the interpretation of the Scriptures, the teaching of the Orthodox Fathers, and the Ecumenical Councils (Nicea, Constantinople and Chalcedon particularly), he laid the foundation for Christian dogmatics, and initiated the pursuit of Reformed Patristics’.¹³² The content of this massive work embodies the substance of his teaching at the University from his appointment as Professor of Divinity in 1620, aged 27, by his father, Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, until his deposition from the professorship in 1641.¹³³

E. G. Selwyn, the translator of Part I of Forbes’ earlier work on the Eucharist, the *Irenicum*, observes that Forbes’ eucharistic teaching, ‘will be found to embody a

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 609.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 611. (See Willaim Forbes’ *de Purgatorio, Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae*, George Hay Forbes, trans., ed., vol. II, Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1850.)

¹³¹ Grub, George, op. cit., vol. III, p. 108; Low, W. L. op. cit., p. 28.

¹³² Torrance, T. F., op. cit., p. 8.

¹³³ ibid., p. 51.

doctrine of impressive consistency and weight',¹³⁴ and that Forbes' possessed a 'remarkable knowledge'¹³⁵ of the Fathers of the Church. W. L. Low writes of Forbes' knowledge of the Fathers, 'His whole teaching shows that he knew the writings of the Fathers, the schoolmen, and of theologians and historians down to his own day as few men have known them...' and 'when he claims the support of any Father, [he took] pains to be sure of that Father's mind'.¹³⁶ Selwyn further says and that, '...he is a Catholic. He takes his stand on no private judgement of the meaning of Scripture, but makes his constant appeal to the Fathers of the undivided Church'¹³⁷ as the authoritative basis for determining Christian doctrine. In the *Irenicum*, published in Aberdeen in 1629 in defence of the Articles of Perth enjoined upon the Scottish Church in 1618 by James VI,¹³⁸ he argues persuasively to remove objections to, and to ease scruples over the injunctions of the Articles. The *Irenicum* caused Archbishop Ussher of Armagh to hail Forbes as 'the new Irenaeus'.¹³⁹

Liber XI, De Eucharistia.

John Forbes' eucharistic doctrine can be described on the one hand by his rejection of the Tridentine doctrines of Transubstantiation, of the priesthood, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass, and on the other hand by an examination and affirmation of the doctrines of the Fathers of the Church, supported by writers into the mediaeval period whose teaching was consonant with the Fathers. Book XI falls (one may perceive) into four sections. Section one: chapters I—VIII consider the basic elements of eucharistic doctrine. Section two, chapters IX—XIX, are arguments in two parts against Transubstantiation; the first and principal part, Chapters IX to XV, is his seven 'arguments from the Fathers against transubstantiation', and the second part, chapters XVI—XIX, is further arguments against transubstantiation. Section three, Chapter XX, is Forbes' argument against the Tridentine doctrines of the priesthood and the propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass. It is in this chapter that Forbes most explicitly describes the Eucharist as the representative and commemorative sacrifice, in opposition to Tridentine doctrine. Section four might be described as miscellany:

¹³⁴ Selwyn, E. G., *The First Book of the Irenicum of John Forbes of Corse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 213.

¹³⁵ Low, W. L., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁷ Selwyn, E.G., p. 212.

¹³⁸ Grub, G., *op. cit.*, vol II, pp. 317—319.

¹³⁹ Low, W. L., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Chapter XXI is his argument against Lutheran eucharistic doctrine. Chapter XXII is a ‘compendium’ of Calvin’s eucharistic doctrine, fourteen points from Chapter 17, Book 4, of Calvin’s *Institutes* are briefly commented upon.

Chapters I–VIII Preliminary discussion of basic ideas concerning the Eucharist

Book XI of the *Instructiones* begins with three chapters considering the distinction between the visible sign, the material bread and wine, and the grace communicated to the receiving believer, between *materia* and *res*. Forbes comments, ‘according to a certain manner, namely, sacramentally, these symbols are called and are, the body and blood of the Lord. For so Scripture is wont to speak, naming the things signifying as [it names] the things that are signified’.¹⁴⁰ In other words, Forbes thinks that the elements that constitute the Eucharist are: 1) its divine institution by Christ; 2) its materials elements of bread and wine; 3) the grace conveyed to the faithful communicant by eating and drinking, and 4) the correspondence between the materials used and the grace conferred which enables the interchange of terms whereby the bread can be called, and ‘in a certain manner is’ the body of Christ and similarly for the wine in relation to the blood of Christ. Forbes is careful to distinguish between the sign and the grace communicated, yet at the same time to assert the efficacy of the sign to convey that grace, and the identity that can be stated between the sign and the grace, ‘naming the things signifying as [it names] the things that are signified’.

In Chapter IV, Forbes discusses what kind of change happens to the bread and wine in the Eucharist. In 3. he quotes Ambrose from *de Sacramentis*¹⁴¹ concluding that the changes that take place, are accidental, that is of the accidents, and not any change of the substance. By the term ‘accidents’, Forbes is indicating a change of property, and not a change in appearance. Forbes uses this argument again in the seventh of his arguments from the Fathers against transubstantiation. Forbes thinks that there is a change in the material elements: they are made capable of conveying the grace they signify.

In chapter VIII, (...*Also about the Lord’s words ‘This is my body’...*) Forbes’ argument about the nature of the Lord’s words, ‘This is my body’, quotes Augustine’s

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 55. (*Instructiones* XI, iii, 5)

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 55. (*Instructiones* XI, iv, 3)

distinction between things to be taken literally and to be taken figuratively.¹⁴² Forbes quotes Augustine at length from chapters 5 and 10 of *De Doctrina Christiana*, distinguishing between the literal and the figurative. Forbes concludes his examination of Augustine with this passage, ‘And to this agree his words on Psalm 98, where he says, “Understand spiritually what I have said; not the body which ye see are ye to eat; and not that blood are ye to drink which they who will crucify me will shed. I have bestowed on you a *sacrament*: spiritually it will give you life. Although it must be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be invisibly understood”’.¹⁴³ Then lastly in Chapter VIII Forbes quotes Athanasius the Great from his sermon on Matthew 12: 32, “The Lord says (John 4: 63), ‘...What then if you should behold the Son of Man ascending where he was before? It is the Spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life’. He discriminates between the spirit and the flesh, in order that believing not only in what appeared to the eyes, but also in the invisible signification, we should discriminate the things that were spoken, that they were not carnal but spiritual. For to how many men would His body have sufficed for food that it could become the sustenance for the whole world?...”¹⁴⁴

Having established what a sacrament is, and both the distinction and the identity between the sign and that signified, Forbes establishes the relationship between the Cross itself and the memorial of it, ‘...would His body have sufficed for food ...for the whole world? ...for this reason he made mention of the Ascension of the Son of Man into heaven was ...that...they should understand that his flesh...was celestial food...and spiritual sustenance which was given by himself’.¹⁴⁵ The Ascension stands between the Cross, and the Eucharist, Forbes says, ‘[Jesus Christ] rising from the dead ascended in triumph to the right hand of the God where he is now everliving to make intercession for us. The all-sufficient sacrifice itself is one thing: the memorial of it on earth is another. The one is the never failing well-spring of blessing: the other the means and pledge of the reception of that blessing by the penitent and believing communicant’s soul’.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 58. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 6)

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 58. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 6)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 60. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 7)

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 60. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 7)

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 60. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 7)

Chapter IX, First argument from the Fathers: *What the Faithful receive in their hands is the sign, sacrament, symbol, type, antitype, figure, image, memorial of the Body of Christ.*¹⁴⁷

In this first argument, Forbes asserts the distinction between what he calls the ‘proper body of Christ’, that is his natural human body, born of the Virgin Mary, now seated at the right hand of the Father, and his body and blood in the Eucharist as sacrament, symbol type, etc., ‘...that which, in the celebration of the Eucharist, is after the consecration given to the faithful and by them received with the hand of the body and taken with the mouth of the body, is the sign, sacrament, etc. of the proper body of Christ’.¹⁴⁸ He argues from the ‘immovable axiom’ that a thing cannot be at the same time both sign and thing signified’.¹⁴⁹ He further says ‘a sign is a thing which over and above the appearances which it presents to the senses, by itself causes something else to come into the thoughts’.¹⁵⁰ He quotes Gaudentius of Brixia, ‘a figure is not the reality but a similitude of the reality; ...man was made in the image of God, yet he is not therefore God’.¹⁵¹

Forbes opposes his argument to Peter Lombard and his followers, who assert that the ‘proper body’ of Christ is the sacrament of the ‘proper body’ of Christ; the ‘proper body’ of Christ is, at once, both, the thing itself and that signifying the thing, both *res* and *sacramentum*. ‘No one’, Forbes says, ‘of any name among the learned has been found who said that the proper body of Christ is the sacrament of the proper body of Christ’.¹⁵²

He then cites a number of Patristic authors who use these terms as they discuss the consecrated bread and wine as the sacrament symbol, type, etc of the ‘proper body’ of Christ. Pseudo-Dionysius calls the eucharistic gifts ‘symbols and not the reality’; Eusebius of Caesarea says, ‘Having given us a *memorial* in place of a sacrifice, to be offered to God continually....’. Basil the Great (after pronouncing the Words of

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 61. (*Instructiones* XI, ix, 1)

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 62. (*Instructiones* XI, ix, 3)

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 62. (*Instructiones* XI, ix, 3)

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 62.

Institution) says, ‘the *antitypes* of the holy body and blood of Christ’, Ambrose (*de Sacramentis*, book iv, chapter v) says, ‘make to us this ...oblation...that it may become to us the figure of the body and the blood of ...Christ’. Forbes goes on to cite Gaudentius of Brixia, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gelasius and Theodoret in the same vein.¹⁵³

He concludes that even the Tridentines in the face of these arguments admit that ‘the Eucharist is a visible form of invisible grace... and yet...transform the sign into the thing itself. ...They refer all that is read in the ancients concerning sacrament, sign, symbol, figure, type image, of the consecrated Eucharist to the ‘accidents’ alone of the bread and wine which remain after consecration’.¹⁵⁴

Chapter X Second Argument from the Fathers: *The Sacrament of the Eucharist is Bread and Wine.*

Forbes’ argument is that after the prayer of consecration, in particular after the Words of Institution, the sacrament that the faithful receive is bread and wine, and that it is not the substance of the ‘proper body’ of Jesus Christ ascended. ‘...although ...it is called and is, that Body itself, and not vainly but efficaciously, by Divine Institution’,¹⁵⁵ it is still bread and wine.

He begins his argument with Holy Scripture, citing the institution of the Lord’s Supper in St. Matthew’s Gospel, where Jesus says, ‘I tell you I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom’ (Matthew 26: 29). Forbes says, ‘Then therefore he was drinking it, and after his resurrection he was to drink with his disciples the fruit of the vine, that is wine’.¹⁵⁶ He cites I Cor. 11: 26—28, in which St. Paul refers to ‘this bread’ after the Words of Institution. He says, ‘...therefore...notwithstanding the intervening benediction, the Apostle still points to the same bread, saying, “τον ἄρτον τουτον”. Nor does any other mention precede the text’.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 62—64.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

Forbes then examines the Liturgy of St. Mark and sees that the oblations are formally referred to in the Liturgy as bread and wine after the Words of Institution are said over them. ‘Observe here, 1) That after these words of the Lord, “This is My body”, “This is My blood”, it is still called bread, and that you may know that that bread is made of flour you perceive the plural number, “τους αρτους τουτους”, “these loaves”. 2) The Priest still prays that these loaves may be sanctified even after the words of the Lord’s institution. 3) It indicates that the bread becomes the body of the Lord by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, and the cup is made His blood, and so becomes to us unto faith, unto soberness, unto healing, etc. The Transubstantiarrians reject all of these’.¹⁵⁸ From point three he argues that the bread becomes, ‘improperly’ (that is not the proper or natural body of Christ, raised from the dead) the body of Christ, but sacramentally, figuratively, in image, in sign etc. Forbes asserts that the change that takes place is not one of substance, but rather one of accidentals,¹⁵⁹ by which he does not mean a change of appearance in strict Aristotelian terms, but in a change of properties.¹⁶⁰

Thereafter Forbes provides a long *cataena* of quotations from the Fathers (as he often does) to support his argument that the bread and wine of the Eucharist do not change substance at the Words of Institution, but remain bread and wine. He begins with Ignatius’ *Epistle to the Philadelphians* and Justin’s *Second Apology* and *Dialogue with Trypho*. It is in his discussion of Justin that Forbes states ‘1) The sacrifice of Christians in the celebration of this Sacrament is bread and wine; also afterwards thanksgiving offered over them; in the distribution itself and the participation. 2) That this sacrifice was not offered for propitiation, but in commemoration of the propitiatory Passion of Christ for us that we may render thanks to God. This sacrifice is there for not “έλαστικον” but “έυχαριστικόν”’.¹⁶¹

[Here it may seem that John Forbes is in disagreement with William Forbes who explicitly states that the Eucharist is ‘hilastic’, however it must be remembered that John Forbes is rejecting the Tridentine claim that the eucharistic offering possesses an ‘hilastic’ or propitiatory character in and of itself. This William Forbes also explicitly

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁶⁰ Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 231—232. (*Instructiones* XI, IV, 2, 4, ff.)

¹⁶¹ Low, W. L., op. cit., p. 68.

rejects. They both agree that the ‘hilastic’ character of the Eucharist is by way of applying, or making available to the communicants the expiation of the one sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, as seen in the exposition of William Forbes above, and will be seen in John Forbes below.]

It is important to note John Forbes’ treatment of Malachi 1: 11, a passage of Scripture which will be seen to be of great importance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In XI. x. 9, John Forbes, quotes Justin Martyr from his *Dialogue with Trypho*, ‘Concerning, however the sacrifices of us Gentiles which are offered in every place...the bread of the Eucharist, and similarly the cup of the Eucharist, which speaking in time past the prophet Malachi foretold’.¹⁶² And in XI. x. 11, commenting on Irenaeus’ discussion of the same passage, he says, ‘Et hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram, offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus’. (And this is the only pure offering of the Church, offered with thanksgiving from his creatures.)¹⁶³ Forbes clearly agrees with Both Justin and Irenaeus that an offering of bread and wine in thanksgiving for Christ saving death, is the ‘pure offering’ of the Church. Following this line of thought puts John Forbes as an antecedent and precursor of his Scottish theological successors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Forbes quotes Augustine, Theodoret, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Gaudentius, and Chrysostom. Forbes mentions the Quinisext Synod a support for his argument in connection with the mixed cup. He says ‘the Holy Fathers...at Carthage...[say] in clear words that in the Holy Things...the body and blood of the Lord is offered as the Lord himself ordained, that is bread and wine mixed with water. ...the moderate mixture of water is an indifferent thing, and so...is neither necessary nor unlawful. These also make for our proposition...that certainly the eucharistic sacrifice is in substance bread and wine’.¹⁶⁴ Forbes continues with Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Fulgentius, Gennadius, Isidore of Spain and two mediaeval writers, Alcuin and Rupert of Deutz, who support his argument. Forbes spends some time defending Rupert from the accusations of Cardinal Baronius. In the process of this

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁶³ Forbes of Corse, John, op. cit., pp. 528—529.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 72.

argument, defending the integrity of the ‘proper body’ of Christ ascended against the assertions of transubstantiation and the ubiquity of the body of Christ he says, ‘Christ who is now intact and glorified...is represented to us in the sacrament...as broken in body and with his blood shed, dying for us in his passion. This celebration he enjoined on us...in commemoration of his death. Therefore...the symbols of the body and blood are separated, as once...the blood was separated from the body by being shed. Hence the Eucharist is called a sacrifice although it is without blood, because it is “a memorial in place of a sacrifice”, a “remembrance of a sacrifice”. It is the sacrifice of Christ in sacrament as Eusebius, Chrysostom, Augustine, say and as Rupert of Deutz says...’.¹⁶⁵

Chapter XI Third Argument from the Fathers: *The Sacrament of the Eucharist is visible food, nourishing our bodies.*

Forbes begins by asserting that the Body of Christ in the Eucharist cannot be the proper Body of Christ, because the proper body of Christ is incorruptable, where as the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament pass into the substance of our natural bodies. He says, ‘The Sacrament of the Eucharist after consecration is visible food which passed into our bodies: therefore it is not the proper Body of Christ. The Body of Christ is not the corruptible food of the stomach’.¹⁶⁶ He also argues with Augustine in Treatise 50 on the Gospel of St. John, that the proper Body of Christ is not visible, ‘“For a few days the Church had him according to the presence of the flesh; now she beholds him by faith, not with the eyes”’.¹⁶⁷

Forbes quotes Augustine that ‘the Sacrament is eaten outwardly...and is bodily food. The *res sacramenti* is eaten which is spiritual food is eaten inwardly by the heart in faith’.¹⁶⁸ Likewise Forbes asserts that the wicked cannot communicate of the Body and Blood of Christ even though they eat the bread of the Eucharist and drink the wine. He quotes Augustine, ‘Without doubt you neither eat spiritually the flesh of Christ, nor drink his blood...but rather eat and drink unto judgement...because you have presumed to draw near unclean to the Sacrament of Christ’.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 76—77.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 83. (*Instructiones XI, XI, 1.*)

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

Chapter XII Fourth Argument from the Fathers: *Christ is not physically present in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.*

This chapter sets out three proofs that Christ is not corporeally present in the Sacrament. The first lies in the distinction drawn between sacramental and spiritual eating; the second is an exposition of Hebrews 10 against Thomas, and the third is the proposition that the body of Christ cannot be in a plurality of places, and being in Heaven it cannot be in the Eucharist. For this last proposition he relies upon Cyril of Alexandria; for the first two almost exclusively upon Augustine.

First proof: Sacramental and spiritual eating according to Peter Lombard and Hugh of St. Victor is contrary to that as defined by Augustine. According to the transubstantiationists sacramental eating is the physical reception of the Sacrament, in which both the faithful and the wicked eat of the body of Christ. Spiritual eating is a non-physical activity, not necessarily related to the reception of Holy Communion ‘when there is no contempt of religion, sufficient without sacramental manducation’. (Hugh of St Victor.)¹⁷⁰ Augustine, says Forbes, understands sacramental and spiritual eating differently. ‘He contrasts sacramental with true and real manducation; visible with invisible: but spiritual manducation alone he terms invisible, true, real; while those who do not eat spiritually, but only sacramentally, eat only the visible sacrament—the outward part, but do not truly and really eat the flesh of Christ, like this who ate the manna in the wilderness and are dead’.¹⁷¹

Second proof: ‘We will vindicate first, the words to the sacred text to the Hebrews (10 :1) to which Thomas attaches a foreign sense...that according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Old Law contained the shadow , but not “the very image” of the good things to come, ...so the sacrifice of the New Law should contain Christ himself crucified, not only in signification and figure, but in the truth of the thing’.¹⁷²

Forbes first turns to Chrysostom, according to whom the good things are ‘the sacrifice’ and ‘the forgiveness’. Forbes writes, ‘That is the offering of the Incarnate

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 90.

Christ for us in his Passion, being now finished is not to be repeated...'.¹⁷³ So he says also write Theodoret and Oecumenius. He then turns to Augustine in *Contra Faustum*, for a thorough examination of the Promises of the Old Testament unveiled in the New, '...in the Old the grace of the New was veiled: in the New the obscurity of the Old was unveiled'.¹⁷⁴ 'From these it is evident', says Forbes, 'that the passage to the Hebrews makes nothing for the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. For it is not the Eucharist that is treated of there, but the bloody offering of Christ himself once made'. He adds, 'And of this Eucharist, albeit commemoration, yet not iteration'.¹⁷⁵

Forbes engages in a long argument against Bellarmine, who states in his *de Eucharistia*, Book I, that those who drank of the rock in the Wilderness drank of Christ as God. Forbes' argument is that as the Israelites in the wilderness drank the water from the rock, and ate the manna, they received Christ in sign, 'From these it is clearly evident that the Rock, according to the mind of Augustine, and the water flowing from the material rock were a sacrament of Christ signifying to the understanding the same thing as the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, although another thing in visible species, and that those believing Fathers [of Israel] drank the same *res sacramenti*, the inward thing signified, as we, that is the true flesh and blood of Christ'.¹⁷⁶ Forbes also quotes Chrysostom to the same effect.

In this same proof Forbes argues against Bonaventure who suggests that the words of Jesus in St. Matthew 28, 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world', as being understood as the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.¹⁷⁷ He quotes Augustine '...according to that which was born of the Virgin, according to that... which was laid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in his Resurrection, "Me you have not always". Wherefore? Because... He ascended into Heaven and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and He is here; for the presence of His Majesty (His Godhead and grace) did not depart'.¹⁷⁸ 'Augustine', Forbes wrote, 'does not reserve an invisible corporal presence on

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 94.

earth...he argues from the Ascension into Heaven that that He may take away all expectation of corporal presence and eating, “And so,” [Augustine] says, “a Sacrament is commended to us to be eaten indeed carnally, but to be understood not carnally but spiritually”¹⁷⁹.

The **third proof**: ‘The body of Christ is not in a plurality of places at the same time; therefore being in Heaven, it is not substantially present in the Eucharist’. With the exception of a few brief quotations from other Fathers, the entirety of the argument is drawn from Cyril of Alexandria.

Forbes begins his discussion with a number of penetrating quotations from Cyril’s *On the Gospel of St. John* from which he draws the following four points. 1) ‘The Flesh of Christ is life to partakers of the Eucharist’. Those who approach unworthily do not eat the flesh of Christ. 2) ‘This comes to pass, not by the virtue of the flesh, as the flesh, but by virtue of the Deity, to which the flesh is hypostatically united, and our salvation and all the wonderful effects belonging to it, are also attributed to the glory of the Deity’. 3) ‘For the effecting of these things the corporal presence of the flesh is not required, nor to be desired’. 4) ‘These things Christ effects by the power of his Deity, his flesh being absent from us but the ineffable power of his Deity being present with us’.¹⁸⁰

Forbes’ point from Cyril is that Christ was present in human flesh to enable humanity to have salvation through him, but that salvation was not through the human flesh of Jesus; it was through the divine action of the Word hypostatically united with him. When Christ was with his disciples, it was his Godhead, not his flesh of itself, who saved them. Now absent from them, it is still his Godhead who saves them, no less now than then. And that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit interpenetrate each other so that we will not be separated from any person of the Trinity anymore than any other, and as he penetrates all things, and that there is nowhere he is not, the Father in the Son is everywhere present by the Holy Spirit. After Christ’s Ascension he is no less present in his Godhead by the Holy Spirit, than he was before his Ascension.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 101—102.

The point to which Forbes is moving with Cyril is that it is through the Holy Spirit in whom life in Christ is lived, he quotes Cyril again from *On the Gospel of John*, ‘The Holy Spirit by his divine operation joins us to the flesh of Christ and to the Deity, and we are joined to both spiritually, so that through the flesh, or human Mediator, access may be given us to God’.¹⁸¹ Forbes comments, ‘But he understands that the communion of the flesh of Christ which is inseparably conjoined with participation of the Holy Spirit; but this is communion, not by bodily eating, but by spiritual, as has been often shown above’.¹⁸²

Forbes notes that Cyril calls the spiritual and sacramental reception of the body and blood of Christ ‘corporal and substantial’, but he goes on to observe, ‘by this corporal and natural union, [Cyril] says, ’that all believers who are members of the body of Christ, are united with Christ the head, and with one another. Although in bodies and souls were so separate from one another, that each subsists and is bounded separately. For that the Church is the body composed of individual men as members, and that its head is Christ, so that we are all fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ’. Forbes follows, ‘Whence it is manifest that Cyril does not require for our bodily conjunction with Christ that the body of Christ should be at the same place with our bodies; for to this mystical union of body, distance of place and absence of bodies from one another and separate existence offer no hindrance...But it suffices that all are made partakers of the one heavenly bread, we are all made one body in Christ, and have all been made to drink into one Spirit’.¹⁸³

One of Forbes’ themes throughout Book XI is that the Body and Blood of Christ are not partaken by the wicked or the unbelieving. He often draws upon Augustine for support, but here he looks to Cyril. ‘[Cyril] says...that this society of the body and members of Christ, by the participation of the one food is the Holy Church in His predestinated and called and justified and glorified and faithful ones. Therefore that corporal conjunction which Cyril says we have in Christ through the sacramental

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 107.

blessing belongs to the elect, who spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and are sacramentally and spiritually incorporated in Christ'.¹⁸⁴

The rest of the chapter is a refutation of Bellarmine's use of Cyril *On the Gospel of St. John* to support the Tridentine position that the Body and Blood of Christ are eaten by the wicked as well as the righteous. Forbes accuses Bellarmine of wilfully distorting Cyril's text in the manner of a heretic, 'truncating sentences and suppressing those things that would lay bare his fraud',¹⁸⁵ and sets forth Cyril's exposition of the Vine and the Branches at length to show that Cyril allows that only the faithful in Christ eat the Body and Blood. In the passages quoted, Cyril does not expressly teach that those who receive the bread and wine of the Eucharist in bad faith, do not receive the Body and Blood of Christ, yet he teaches in such positive terms about the benefits of faithful reception, that Forbes' point is the clear implication.¹⁸⁶

Chapter XIII Fifth Argument from the Fathers: *It is even eaten by bad people, and does not sanctify, by its own nature, the person using it.*

Forbes' argument in this very short chapter is that the consecrated elements of the Eucharist cannot of themselves sanctify the user. He quotes St. John of Damascus from *On the Orthodox Faith*, 'The Word made flesh (the Word incarnate) by his own nature and infallibility, sanctifies the eater, and is not eaten by the wicked persevering in wickedness...the Body and the Blood of Christ is neither consumed, nor corrupted nor goes out into the draught'.¹⁸⁷

Chapter XVII Sixth Argument from the Fathers: *Bread and water are not transubstantiated into people (against the Aquarii).*

This short argument is principally drawn from St. Cyprian's letter 3 (or 63) *To Caecilius*. Cyprian is arguing against the *Aquarii*, a North African sect who used only water in the eucharistic cup without any wine.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 108—110.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 111.

Chapter XV Seventh Argument from the Fathers: *After the Consecration, the Sacrament remains the same nature & substance of Bread and Wine, which there was before the consecration.*

The argument in this chapter is that the character of the change in the eucharistic bread and wine after the consecration Eucharist is one of accidentals, not substance. Forbes is not using the Aristotelian-Thomist or the Tridentine sense of the terms. Forbes' definition is the polar opposite of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Forbes bases his discussion on Gregory of Nyssa's *Oration on the Baptism of Christ*. Gregory states that the Holy Spirit 'Blesses the body that is baptized, and the water that baptizes. Wherefore do not despise the divine *lavaerium*, nor value it as common, on account of the use of the water, and consider it of slight moment. For that which is being performed is great, and from it wonderful effects ensue'.¹⁸⁸ This quotation continues to speak in the same vein about the Holy Table, and the bread offered in the Eucharist, 'the bread is also at the beginning common; but when [the Priest] has offered or consecrated it, it is called a Sacrament and made the Body of Christ...', and the priest's ordination.¹⁸⁹ Forbes concludes, 'According, therefore to the mind of this Father, no other than their previous nature remains in the consecrated bread and wine, and with the water of Baptism, in the consecrated altar, and the ordained priest. And the whole change is *accidental*, that is relating to use and office, fruit and dignity. Besides, when he says that the bread is made the Body of Christ, he overthrows Transubstantiation'.¹⁹⁰

Forbes also discusses John of Damascus (Book IV, *On the Orthodox Faith*) who, 'in describing the manner in which, after the consecration, the substance of the bread and wine remains, wavers, but teaches that it remains. "...the Holy Ghost came upon them and brought to pass these things that go beyond the faculty of words and the understanding of the mind....It has become the use and custom of men that they eat bread and drink wine and water, therefore he joined his divinity with them, and made them his Body and Blood, that by things usual and agreeable to nature, we might we might rise to these things which are above nature". Thus Damascene against

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 113.

Transubstantiation, for from these words it follows that the substance of the bread and wine remain after consecration. The mind of the Second Nicene Council was the same as Damascene's'.¹⁹¹

Wresting this point from John of Damascus, is crucial as far as maintaining the whole Patristic witness as not supporting transubstantiation is concerned, as it was in John of Damascus' thought that the shift toward the Aristotelian concept of space can first be seen, but as Forbes' quotation illustrates, John of Damascus never went so far as to identify the corporeal presence of Christ with the consecrated elements.¹⁹²

Chapter XX *Dissertation on the Sacrifice of the Mass, and on the vocation of Roman Priests to the offer the Sacrifice of the Mass.*

This chapter of Book XI, is the heart of Forbes' of Corse argument in presenting the Fathers' perspective of what is happening in the Eucharist in opposition to the Tridentine understanding as presented in the documents of the Council and in the writings of supporting authors. It is the longest and most densely argued chapter in Forbes' study of the Eucharist. In this chapter Forbes states most clearly his own doctrine of the Eucharist.

Forbes first refutes the Tridentine assertion that the priesthood of the Roman Church is of the order of Melchizedek on seven grounds:

1. The Roman priesthood is of many: the order of Melchizedek is of one—Christ.
2. That one Priest after the order of Melchizedek has no successor in the Priesthood.
3. No one who is a sinner can appropriate this priesthood.
4. In the Priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, there is one sacrifice, not many.
5. The Priest is himself the sacrifice, without spot, a fragrant offering to God.
6. This sacrifice he offers not daily or often, but once, never afterwards to be offered.
7. After that unique offering once made, no place is left for any new oblation, either of this sacrifice or of any other sacrifice for sins. Nor is there any other thing or act of propitiatory oblation which may be offered.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁹² Torrance, T. F. *Space, Time, and Incarnation*, pp. 22—51.

¹⁹³ Low, W. L., op. cit., pp. 133—134.

In the Tridentine view, Christ at the Last Supper offered himself to the Apostles, whom he there constituted priests of the New Testament after the order of Melchizedek, under the species of bread and wine, to repeat often, ‘...do this in remembrance of me’. Forbes, on the grounds of his previous points, contrasts this with the offering of the Cross, offered once, ‘...a unique oblation, once made [to] obtain eternal redemption, abolish sin, ...and perfect forever those who are sanctified’.¹⁹⁴ Forbes’ argument is that the Eucharist is the commemoration of that one sacrifice by Jesus Christ himself, alone the priest after the order of Melchizedek; it is not a repetition of it, by an order of priests, and that in the narrative of the institution there is no mention of any terms other any action other than commemoration.¹⁹⁵

Forbes next attacks the contradictions in the doctrine that a true immolation of Christ takes place in the Tridentine doctrine of the Eucharist. The words *frangitur* (is broken) and *effunditur* (is shed) are he says, ‘sacrificial words’ yet they are interpreted figuratively, where no injury to Christ is admitted. However, the words *corpus* (body) and *sanguis* (blood) are not taken figuratively but realistically. Forbes, asks, ‘Why are not all of the Words of Institution seen figuratively? Why are they so averse to the figurative exposition of the words *corpus* and *sanguis* [when] *frangitur*, *effunditur*, they themselves expound figuratively?’¹⁹⁶

Forbes says, ‘When the breaking and pouring out of the species alone cannot be propitiatory for us, or merit the remission of sins and eternal salvation, yet that breaking and pouring out of which the Lord speaks in the Institution of the Supper, may be propitiatory for us, and meritorious of remission of sins and eternal salvation; it is certain that that very breaking and pouring out is understood which was made in that unique oblation in which Christ gave himself for us to be an offering and sacrifice to God... As therefore the breaking that takes place in the Eucharist is the Body of Christ dying on the Cross; in the same manner also, that which is called the Body of Christ, is that very true body of Christ which was taken of the Virgin Mary, and broken for us on the Cross. Christ himself indeed is immolated in that celebration, yet

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 136.

not in himself, but in Sacrament. These two, “in himself”, and “in Sacrament”, Augustine opposes to one another in Epistle 23. So also, what is given to us in the Supper under the species of bread is the very Body of Christ, not in himself, but in Sacrament; that is, in the Sacrament of that very Body’.¹⁹⁷

In the last sentence of the above quotation Forbes makes the crucial distinction between the ‘real’ body of Christ, and the ‘true’ body of Christ. The ‘real’ body of Christ is at the right hand of the Father, and is not present in the Eucharist in the manner as the transubstantiationists claim, but rather the bread and wine, as the faithful memorial of his death become in truth his body broken, and his blood shed. That memorial which faithful Christians make is not in and of itself propitiatory, ‘yet’, he says ‘that breaking and pouring out of which the Lord speaks in the institution of the supper, may be propitiatory for us and meritorious of remission of sins and eternal salvation. It is certain that that very breaking and pouring out is understood [as] that which was made in that unique oblation [of] Christ...’.¹⁹⁸

The faithful memorial in and of itself has no merit, but it is propitiatory and meritorious, because it is applicative of the propitiation and merit gained by Christ in his unique Sacrifice. Forbes says, ‘The Tridentines claim the merits of the offering of the Mass accrue to us the merits of the Christ’s Death’. Forbes says not so. The application can be made without new merit. ‘The saving virtue of that offering [Christ’s] is indeed applied through Sacraments, as through applicative means, and not as through sacrifices [in the Tridentine sense] obtaining merit. ...but the applications are effected by the Word and the Sacraments, and by faith, and by supplications, without any new propitiatory offering, for that first one suffices for ever’.¹⁹⁹ And ‘...The Eucharist is therefore applicative of that saving virtue of that true and proper propitiatory sacrifice...but is not itself truly and properly a propitiatory sacrifice’.²⁰⁰

Forbes next severely criticises Bellarmine for defending the Tridentine assertions that the Eucharist being a true sacrifice, can also be a bloodless one in which the body of

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 136—137.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 137.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 138.

Christ suffers no hurt. Forbes says, '[What Bellarmine says is] just as if Christ had given his vesture...to be nailed to the Cross...a silent spectator while that crucifixion was gone through, [Christ] being unhurt'. It is a doctrine like that of the Gnostics or Docetists.²⁰¹ '...Scripture says "The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed" (Isa. 53: 5). "...And without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins" (Heb. 9: 22).²⁰² Christ in his sacrifice suffered both sorrow and pain,²⁰³ and his bloody real sacrifice is the only propitiation for sins, not the bloodless memorial of it. 'God so fully remits on account of that unique oblation...that no place is left for any other offering for sin'.²⁰⁴

Forbes concludes this section of the chapter with the argument that Christ alone, by the merit of his act, has offered to God a propitiatory sacrifice for mankind, and no other but Christ, either before, or after, or in any other manner whatever. 'Therefore, Christ alone truly offers to God a sacrifice for men truly and properly propitiatory'.²⁰⁵

The last section of this chapter is the discussion of the two ways that Forbes acknowledges that the Eucharist is a sacrifice in the terms of the Fathers' thinking. 1) The first way is improperly and by metonymy the Eucharist can be called a sacrifice, 'from the thought of the true and proper sacrifice which Christ offered... for us, of which the remembrance and commemoration is celebrated in the Eucharist; ...properly and truly it is a sacrament commemorative of that sacrifice, but improperly and by metonymy of the thing signified...it is called a sacrifice. And in this sense it can be called propitiatory....John Chrysostom in sermon 17, *On the Epistle to the Hebrews*, x., says, "We offer, indeed, but making a commemoration of his death...*this* is the very figure of *that* and the very self of it"²⁰⁶ He also adduces a long quotation from Augustine (*Contra Faustus*, chap. 21) to the same effect.

2) The second way the Fathers called the Eucharist a sacrifice was in a spiritual sense, and this can be seen in three ways: i. 'From consideration of the action itself; as...part of the worship due to the only God'. He again quotes from Augustine's *Contra*

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 138—139.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 139.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 139.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 140.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 141—142.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 147.

Faustus, Book 22, chap. 21., ‘To sacrifice to God...in that rite in which he directed sacrifice to be made to him in manifestation of the New Testament; which pertains to the worship which is called *latría*, and is due to God alone’. ii. The second sense ‘is found in calling upon God out of a contrite heart and sincere faith’.²⁰⁷ John Chrysostom is quoted again from sermon 17, *On the Epistle to the Hebrews, ix.*, ‘In the oblation which we offer, we offer also our sins, saying, “Whether we have sinned wilfully or thoughtlessly, forgive.” That is we remember these first, and then seek pardon’.²⁰⁸ Forbes adds, ‘...in the sight of others we make a...real public profession of our faith regarding the passion of Christ,...also we make the same commemoration to God...giving thanks to him in the name of the Mediator crucified for us...and thus setting forth the Passion of his Son...can be said in a manner to offer to God Christ immolated in his Passion, or his very obedience and his bloody immolation. And this we offer to God, not sacrificing Christ, or immolating him anew, but commemorating that unique immolation of Christ made once in his Passion suppliantly praying God, that looking on it, he will be propitious to us sinners: not on account of this our commemoration, but on account of that ...properly sacrificial and propitiatory oblation; which we commemorate and offer to God, by an offering not sacrificial but commemorative, not propitiatory and meritorious, but supplicatory and eucharistic’.²⁰⁹

Forbes statement ‘...we offer to God...suppliantly praying God, that looking on it [the offering of bread and wine as type, symbol, sacrament, etc. of the body and blood of Christ in death], he will be propitious to us sinners...’ is a crucial comment on the sacrificial nature of the commemoration. The exhibiting of the Lord’s death is not only to those present at the Eucharist, but more importantly it is exhibited before God ‘who looking on it’, that is, the body of Christ as slain, in his body and blood on the Holy Table, ‘will be propitious to us sinners’. It is crucial in understanding Forbes’ teaching in terms of the ‘Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice’ as described in the Introduction. It also stands in stark contrast to doctrine in the mould of Robert Bruce whose teaching was influential in the 1630s. For him the exhibition of the Lord’s death was to the partakers of the Lord’s Supper only: in Bruce’s understanding nothing is, or can be offered to God; everything is from him to the faithful recipient.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

iii. The third sense of the second way the Fathers saw the Eucharist as a sacrifice, ‘meets us in the oblation which the faithful offer to God—not only the symbols to be consecrated, but also themselves... The Apostle exhorts that we present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy acceptable unto God, that we may be transformed by the renewing of our mind (Rom. 12:1—2.). “This”, says Augustine, “which also the Church celebrates in the Sacrament of the altar known to the faithful; where...in that oblation which she offers, she herself is offered. (*De Civitate Dei*, chap.4)”’. The three senses Forbes says, can be summed up in a passage from Eusebius of Caesarea, (*De Demonstratione Evangelica*, Book 1), “Therefore, we be both sacrifice and are sacrificed, at... the commemoration of the great Sacrifice, and the mysteries appointed by him, and offering the thanksgiving for our salvation in solemn hymns and prayers to God, then dedicating ourselves to him, and to his great High Priest, ...devoted in body and soul”’.²¹⁰

Chapter XXI *Against the Corporal and Ubiquitous presence which the Lutherans affirm.*

Forbes’ argument against the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament according to the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, which asserts that Christ is corporally present, is substantially present, in the bread and wine of the Eucharist along with substance of the bread and wine. The doctrine of ubiquity is that since his Ascension, the body of Christ is present where the Godhead of the Son is present. Forbes says, ‘Although the Lutheran brethren deny Transubstantiation, and with us reject its fruits...they do not swerve from the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Supper, and the ubiquity of Christ’s flesh has been devised to support it. To remove from them this error...[to] what has been brought forward above...I will add...testimonies from the Catholic Fathers’.²¹¹

Forbes produces quotations from a number of Fathers, among them, Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Gelasius, Vigilus, and Fulgentius. to defend his argument. It is Forbes’ statement itself that encapsulates concisely and clearly the opinion of the Fathers and offers a firm well founded argument against the

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 152.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 171.

two Lutheran doctrines, '[thus] falls the [argument for] ubiquity...to his disciples before his ascension, Christ showed his body palpable, visible, defined by the...structure of flesh and blood, bounded by space, and of the familiar stature, differing from our bodies in innocence and glory alone. ...although in the unity of his person he is united to Deity, yet not on that account is it everywhere. ...For structure and bulk and limits of the body accord with the body through its corporal nature, and do not depend on personality'.²¹²

Forbes continues, '...those who defend [the ubiquity of Christ's flesh] argue from the hypostatic union in such a way, that if they wish their argument to be safe, they must necessarily affirm that the flesh of Christ, even from the beginning of the hypostatic union, in the womb of the ...Virgin, from that moment was everywhere. ...with out reason do they fear that the hypostatic union...would be dissolved if Christ were anywhere as God where he is not man. ...For the immeasurableness of the Deity is not quantitative, but above quantity, because Deity is everywhere whole, indivisible, co-extensive with nothing, neither separated from itself nor humanity by any interval of space, not having one part outside another, but simply indivisible, so that wherever the humanity of Christ in circumscribed in one place, although it be immovably fixed to no certain place, yet remains personally united to Deity in the person of the Word...and...Deity to him in the person of the Word. ...the hypostatic union is not taken away by this—that Christ...is according to his Deity everywhere, and according to his humanity circumscribed in one place. For the unity of the person [of Christ] is to be so understood that the properties of each nature remains unimpaired as Catholic antiquity has always taught in harmony with the Holy Scriptures'.²¹³

Conclusion to William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse

Examining John Forbes' *de Eucharistia* of his *Instructiones* and William Forbes' *de Sacramento Eucharistiae* of his *Considerationes* with reference to the doctrine of the Eucharist as the commemorative and representative sacrifice, one can see that both men expound a doctrine of the Eucharist that, with different emphasis here and there, is strikingly the same. The most noticeable difference between them is the vehemence and rigour with which John Forbes condemns transubstantiation in the terms of

²¹² Ibid., p. 173.

²¹³ Ibid., pp. 175—176.

heresy, and the refusal of William Forbes, although sharing John Forbes doctrinal ideas, to do just that. They agree with the six points set out in the Introduction to this thesis, which is also an accurate description of their eucharistic theology:

William Forbes

1. The Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but that is an improper sacrifice in which the thing offered is not destroyed, Book III, Chapter I, pp., 557—559, 10. It is the offering of bread and wine as a memorial and commemoration of Christ's sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the Last Supper, Book III, Chapter I, 11., p. 579; Book III, Chapter I, 9., p. 577.

2. The Eucharist is a representation of Christ's death both to us, to 'proclaim the Lord's death', and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ's once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice, as the one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice, Book I, Chapter I, 16., p. 403; Book III, Chapter I, 10., pp. 557—559.

3. The act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the Forgiveness of Sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice, Book III., Chapter II. 2., p. 579; Book III, Chapter II, 4., p. 601.

4. The bread and wine do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine, (Book I, Chapter III, 1., p. 447) but by the prayer of the Church, said by the Bishop or Presbyter on behalf of the Church, (i.e. the gathered people) in union with the Catholic Church, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, (Book II, Chapter II, 1. and 2. p. 531); the bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ (not the whole Christ): (Book I, Chapter I, 7., p. 389)

5. The consecrated bread and wine become neither Christ's actual natural body as born of the Virgin Mary, nor his Ascended and Glorious Resurrection Body; the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine are denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood, and the breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ, referring back to the Christ's own words in the Institution, '...my Body broken [in death] for you', (Book III, Chapter I, 10., p. 577; The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol, Book I., Chapter I., 24. p. 411, and, Book I, Chapter I, 28., p. 423.

6. Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second and glorious Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit, Book I, Chapter I, 28., p. 423; Book I.,Chapter I., 28., p. 423; Book I, Chapter I, 4., p. 389.

John Forbes of Corse

1) The Eucharist is an improper sacrifice. (p. 147; XI. xx. 21.), the offering of bread and wine (p. 68, 72; XI. x. 10, 31) as type, antitype, symbol, sacrament, memorial, figure, etc., in commemoration of the one sacrifice of the cross. (pp. 61—64; XI. ix. 1—31.). Forbes also describes the Eucharist as a sacrifice in that it is 1. 'the worship which is called *latría*...due to God alone', (p. 149; XI. xx. 22); 2. It is calling upon God in confession, 'the oblation of sins' and prayer, 'the petition for pardon' (p. 149—150; XI. xx. 23. [see 2. below]; 3. it is the offering of the faithful themselves to God (p.151; XI xx. 27).

2) The Eucharist is exhibiting the Lord's death, not only before those present at the Eucharist, but also before God as a supplicatory commemorative sacrifice. (p. 150; XI. xx. 25).

3) The Eucharist is propitiatory, in that it is applicative (p. 137; XI. xx. 13) of the Christ's propitiation on the Cross, and 'because symbolically it is that very sacrifice'. (p. 147; XI. xx. 21).

4) In the Eucharist the offered bread and wine do not change substance to become the 'real' body and blood of Christ. They remain bread and wine, (arguments two to seven against transubstantiation. pp. 64—118; XI. x.—xv., especially xii. 19—32.), but they become the true body and blood of Christ. (p. 36; XI. xx.12).

5) In the Eucharist, the bread and wine become body and blood of Christ in death (p. 131; XI. xix. 8). What is received is not the whole Christ, but his body and blood (see 2. above).

6) Jesus Christ is not 'present in' the Eucharist because he is superior to locality. He in his risen and ascended body is at the right hand of the Father where remains until his return. He is transcendentally present in his Church by the Holy Spirit (pp. 99—105; XI. xii. 19.—32.; pp.175—176, XI. xxi. 14).

One can see from the points brought forth, that both John Forbes of Corse and Bishop William Forbes are men whose eucharistic teaching is rooted in a comprehensive understanding of the teaching of the Fathers. They see the Eucharist as commemorative and representative of Christ's unique, all-sufficient, sacrificial death the Cross. They both see that the offering of bread and wine, and the thanksgiving prayer over them as an improper sacrifice, that is that the bread and wine so offered are commemorative of, or the memorial of Christ's death, having no merit in itself, but impetrating or supplicating both the merits of Christ's passion, and obtaining from him the good things he has promised to us.

Both William Forbes and John Forbes say that in the Eucharist Christ's body as slain is offered in bread and wine to God by way of commemoration and representation. William Forbes says, '...in the Eucharist Christ's Body itself is offered and sacrificed, but so that not all the properties of a sacrifice are properly and really preserved; but by way of commemoration and representation of that which was performed once for all, in that one only Sacrifice of the Cross, and by pious prayer; by which the ministers of the Church most humbly beseech God the Father, on account of the Perpetual Victim of the one only Sacrifice, Who is seated in heaven on the right hand of the Father, and

is, in an ineffable manner, present on the holy table'²¹⁴. John Forbes of Corse says, that the Eucharist can be called a sacrifice, 'Improperly and by metonymy...from the thought of the true and proper sacrifice which Christ offered... for us, of which the remembrance and commemoration is celebrated in the Eucharist; And in this sense it can be called propitiatory'. And 'thus setting forth to God the Passion of his Son...we can be said in a manner to God the Christ immolated in his Passion. And this we offer to God...commemorating that unique immolation...made one in his Passion. ...praying that God looking on it...will be propitious to us sinners, not on account of our commemoration, but on account of that properly sacrificial and propitiatory oblation, which we to God by an offering supplicatory and eucharistic'.²¹⁵

Both Willaim Forbes and John Forbes see the Eucharist as the representative and commemorative sacrifice in bread and wine of the death of Christ, by which benefits and merits of the Christ's Death and Passion are pleaded for the Church. This view became characteristic of all subsequent episcopalian writers down to George Hay Forbes, another relation, in the mid nineteenth century.

Part II James Sibbald

James Sibbald was a son of the laird of Keir in the Mearns of Angus,²¹⁶ born about 1590. The exact date of his birth is not known, but is 'inferred from his being on ordination trials with the Presbytery of Deer, 28, Oct. 1613'.²¹⁷ He was educated at Marischal College, graduating in 1619, when he was made a regent and praelector in Philosophy, a post he held until he was admitted to his first charge as minister of St. Nicholas' Church in Aberdeen in 1626. He received the degree of B.D. from Marischal College in 1630, and the degree of D.D. from both King's and Marischal Colleges by 1637. Sibbald remained at St. Nicholas until his deposition in 1640 for Arminianism; he was accused by Samuel Rutherford.²¹⁸ He journeyed to Dublin,

²¹⁴ Forbes, Willaim, op. cit., pp. 557—559.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 150.

²¹⁶ Gordon, James, *History of Scots Affairs 1637-1641*, vol. III, Aberdeen: The Spalding Club, 1851, p. 230.

²¹⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Sibbald, James', p. 178.

²¹⁸ Spalding, John, *Memorialls of the Trubles in England and Scotland, AD 1641—AD 1645*, vol. I, Aberdeen: the Spalding Club, 1850, pp. 311, 312.

where he held a post in the Church of Ireland until his death in about 1650 from the plague, as a result of ministering to stricken parishioners. His widow and children received a pension from the Scottish Parliament at the Restoration.²¹⁹

James Gordon, the Parson of Rothiemay, in his *History of Scot's Affairs, 1637-1641*, a contemporary account of those turbulent times, makes a sympathetic comment on Sibbald's character, 'It will not be affirmed by his very enemyes, but that Dr. James Sibbald was ane eloquent and painefull preacher, a man godly, and grave, and modest, not tainted with any vice unbecoming a minister, to whom nothing could in reason be objected, if you call his antecovenanting a cryme'.²²⁰

Donald Allchin observes that, '[Sibbald] seems to have been particularly closely linked with William Forbes. It was one of the charges against him at the time of his ejection from office in 1639'.²²¹ William Forbes, was made Principal of Marischal College in 1618,²²² hence the two men worked together from 1619 to 1621, when William Forbes departed to be a minister in Edinburgh, and they ministered together at St. Nicholas' from 1626, when both men were appointed to serve there, until 1633, when William Forbes was appointed to be the first Bishop of Edinburgh. Eight years of working together is substantial ground for their alleged theological closeness. At the time of the trials of the surviving Aberdeen Doctors, a search was made for copies of William Forbes' writings; James Gordon says that manuscripts of Bishop Forbes' works were in the possession of James Sibbald, both the *Considerationes* and other writings, now lost.²²³

That Sibbald deeply admired William Forbes is evinced by the little eulogy which he gives Bishop William Forbes as an aside, in the context of the unstinting praise he gives to Bishop Patrick Forbes in his funeral sermon upon the death of the latter. The conclusion of the lengthy funeral sermon is the enumeration of ten virtues possessed by Patrick Forbes; at number eight, which considers the bishop's ability to put good and learned pastors into the churches of his diocese, Sibbald says, '...The lyke care

²¹⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Sibbald, James', p. 178.

²²⁰ Gordon, James, op. cit., p. 230.

²²¹ Allchin, A. M., *The Dynamic of Tradition*, Darton, London: Longman and Todd, 1981, p. 66.

²²² Spalding, John, op. cit., vol. I, appendix III, pp. 417—418.

²²³ Gordon, James, op. cit., p. 230, footnote 2.

had hee to plant good and worthie pastors for the present tyme, and such was the successe of his care that never anie of the worthie Prelates that went before him had such a learned clergie. Yea, whyle this Diocesse enjoyed him, and that other worthie Prelate of blessed memorie, for singular piety and excellent and incomparable (I mean the late Bishop of Edinburgh, not long since your worthie pastor), it needed not to have envied anie part of this kingdom'.²²⁴

Sibbald's surviving works are few: his doctoral dissertation, a slim volume of sermons published posthumously in 1658, by those who heard them preached in Aberdeen in the 1620s and 30s, and his funeral sermon for Bishop Patrick Forbes (one of a number that was preached in Aberdeen in the days succeeding the Bishops' death) preached at St. Nicholas' Church on the 16th of April, 1635, collected in the volume of funeral sermons, orations, and verses that was published in memory of the bishop. It is from these works that any of Sibbald's thoughts on eucharistic doctrine are to be gleaned. Sibbald must have been an impressive and memorable preacher, indeed 'eloquent and painefull' as James Gordon described him, to have had what sermons could be gathered, published eight years after his death, in fond memory by those who had sat as his hearers so many years before. John Forbes of Corse writes warmly of Sibbald's preaching in his spiritual dairy, 'Upon the 26th day of Aprile, 1640, Dr. Ja. Sibbald preached in New Aberdeen upon Esa 55, 1, 2.—Ho everyone that thirsteth, etc.—upon which text he discoursed very comfortably concerning the Holy Communion...'.²²⁵

The passages in the three of Sibbald's sermons which will be examined are those which refer to the Eucharist in order to expose what can be determined of his eucharistic theology. These are not doctrinal treatises but parochial sermons, and they alone give what is recoverable from his extant works, but it will be seen that they situate his theology in the context of the Eucharist as the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice as held by his fellows William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse.

²²⁴ Sibbald, James, *The Funeral Sermons, Orations, Epitaphs, and other pieces on the death of the Right Reverend Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. From the original edition of 1635*, Charles Farquhar Shand, Advocate, ed., Edinburgh: The Spottiswoode Society, 1845, p. 165.

²²⁵ Low, W. L., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Sermon I. 'Holinesse to the Lord'.

Holinesse to the Lord, or A Sermon (Upon the 36th Verse of the 28th Chapter of Exodus) in Commemoration of the most worthie and Reverend Praelate of Blessed Memorie, Patrick, Bishop of Aberdene. Preached by James Sibbald, Doctor of Divinitie, and Minister of Saint Nicola's Church of Aberdene, April, 16, 1635.)

The eucharistic references appear toward the end of this sermon. Sibbald, after an exhaustive exegesis of the text, enumerates ten virtues that characterised the bishop's life and ministry in his diocese. The final point of his exegesis of Exodus 28: 36, of the nature of holiness, immediately before he begins his ten virtues of the bishop, is the holiness of Pastors. Sibbald writes, 'Though all God's people should "worship him in the beauty of holiness" yet more especially, they who serve him at the Lord's Altar'.²²⁶ Writing in such a manner implies much about the attitudes of the author toward the Eucharist and the to the ministry of the celebrant at the Eucharist, 'Their office requyreth a particular sanctification inward, by the grace of God's Spirit, working an ardent and fervent desire for the hallowing of the NAME of God; giving power and skill to dispense the means of Holinesse, and moving them to goe before others in a life exemplarilie holie: outward by the authoritie of the Church, separating and consecrating them with prayers, supplications, and imposition of handes, to the sacred office, to be fellow workers with God, and His instrumentes, in sanctifying and saving men'.²²⁷ The holy nature of the Eucharist, as an approach to God, requires a greater holiness in the person of the officiant than would be expected of the ordinary Christian.

Sibbald then turns to Chrysostom, to find authority for his comments on the exalted state of the ordained ministry, for both Presbyter and Bishop, 'Exceeding great Holinesse is requyred of the High Priest, whether we consider him in reference to God or Man'.²²⁸ "Priesthood, is performed on earth; but yet it is to be counted in the ranke of heavenlie thinges. And therefore a priest must bee so pure, as if in heaven itself hee were walking amongst heavenlie powers....Terrible were those thinges which praeceded the time of grace, as bells, pomegranates...&c. Yet, if we compare them with the things that are under the time of grace, we will finde them to be very light;

²²⁶Sibbald, James, op. cit., p.158.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 159.

and that true which Saynct Paul sayeth, 2 Cor. iii.²²⁹ For whyle thou beholdest the Lord sacrificed, the priest performing that sacrifice and the powring out of prayers, and the people dyed, as it were, and made red with that precious blood, thinkest thou that thou art yet among mortall men, and on the earth?...”. Sibbald continues, ‘And Lib. 6, [4.], “I demand, where shall wee ranke him? What integritie shall we require of him? What religion? How innocent shall those hands be that serve? How pure the tongue that uttereth those words? What thing should be so pure and cleane as the soul that receiveth so wothie a Spirit? At that tyme, the angels stand beside, and the whole order of heavenlie powers doo shout”²³⁰.

Sibbald continues the theme of the holiness required by pastors with a quotation from Nazianzen, Oration 1,²³¹ similar to the latter quotation from Chrysostom, ‘that is to stand with the angels and to praise with the archangels, and send sacrifice to the altar that is above, and to discharge Priesthood with Christ, and to restore the frame of mankynde, and to renew his image, and to be an architect for that superior worlde; and to say more, *Θεον εσόμενον και Θεοποιήσοντα*, who becommeth himselfe God and maketh others such?...A man sould greatly purge his mynde, and approach beyond others to God before hee take care of souls, and to mediate betwixt God and man, which is the duetie of a priest before hee presume to offer that great sacrifice’.²³² If this passage quoted by Sibbald reflects his views, he would seem to have the not only an exalted view for the ordained ministry, but of the nature of the Eucharist as the action of the Church where the things of heaven and earth meet, and the things of earth are transformed. To participate in the Lord’s Supper is to be raised to the heavenly places, and that receiving Holy Communion is a true participation in Christ by the Holy Spirit, who is at work transforming the faithful communicant into the likeness of Christ.

Focusing on the necessity of personal holiness in the ordained ministry, and to demonstrate the holiness of the character of the late bishop, Sibbald says, ‘Exceeding

²²⁹ Here in Sibbald’s text he uses the citation of Chrysostom’s reference to 2 Cor. 3:10, rather than quoting the passage in the text, as is seen in Chrysostom’s *On the Priesthood*, Book III., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. X, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, / Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1989, p. 46.

²³⁰ Sibbald, op. cit., p. 159.

²³¹ The footnote to the citation in the text of Sibbald’s sermon reads, ‘Nazianz. Orat. 1’. The quotation of Nazianzen in Sibbald’s text is not in Nazianzen’s Oration 1 in vol. VII of the *Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers*.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 159—160.

great Holinesse is required of the High Priest... “Priesthood,” sayeth Chrysostome..., “is performed on earth; but yet it to be counted in the rank of heavenlie things.”

However Sibbald quotes Chrysostom not only with respect to the personal holiness required of presbyters and bishops, but also regarding the officiant at the Eucharist, ‘thou beholdest the Lord sacrificed, the priest performing that sacrifice’. Sibbald mentions the term ‘sacrifice’ in relationship to the Eucharist with out any modification. A comment on Chrysostom by William Forbes was that he frequently mentioned the eucharistic sacrifice, then always corrected himself, saying that it is the memorial of that sacrifice. Chrysostom, speaking of the Eucharist says, ‘This is the commemoration of that, and the very self of it. That we also now offer which was then offered, which is not be consumed. This is done in commemoration of that which was done then. For he said, “Do this in remembrance of Me.” Not another sacrifice after the manner of the High Priest of old, but the same we make always. Or rather we celebrate the commemoration of the sacrifice’.²³³ Sibbald seems to have been sufficiently well aware of this, and it seems to have been understood. It is also very telling of the theological atmosphere in Aberdeen, that Sibbald, preaching on one of a number of public occasions following Bishop Patrick Forbes’ death, felt no need to modify Chrysostom’s statement. As the passage stands it is reasonable to conclude that Chrysostom’s view reflects Sibbald’s own, that the Eucharist is the offering of bread and wine as the memorial in which Christ’s death is offered to the Father.

Sibbald quotes two passages which speak of angelic presence at the Eucharist, the first from Chrysostom, ‘At that tyme, the angels stand beside, and the whole order of heavenlie powers doo shout’, and the second from Nazianzen, ‘that is to stand with the angels and to praise with the arch-angels, and send sacrifice to the altar that is above, and to discharge Priesthood with Christ...’ Sibbald uses these quotations not only to underscore the necessity for personal holiness in the ordained ministry, but also to state the idea that the Eucharist is an event that is not earth-bound, but has heavenly significance. These passages suggest an interchange between heaven and earth at the Eucharist. The angels and archangels attend our earthly celebration, and the priest ‘send[s] sacrifice’ that is our memorial of the death of Christ, ‘to the altar that is above’, indicate that there is a correspondence between the earthly altar and the

²³³ Chrysostom, John, *On the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Sermon XVII, 6., *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. XIV, p. 449.

heavenly altar, and the ministry of the presbyter who offers the memorial, and Christ who pleads his one propitiatory sacrifice for his people. It is the very dynamic of the Eucharist suggested by both John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes. The presbyter, on behalf of the Church makes the commemoration and representation of the cross in the offering of bread and wine; the offering is united with Christ's perpetual intercession for his Church that she receive the benefits of the Cross.

Sibbald's quotation of Nazianzen on the ministry of the ordained continues, '...to restore the frame of mankynde, and to renew his image, and to be an architect for that superior worlde; and to say more...who becommeth himselfe God and maketh others such?' This quotation suggests directly the theology of *theosis*, the change in redeemed humanity by which a true likeness to God is, by divine grace, attained; the means is the Eucharist. Both Presbyter and communicant are having their 'frame restored'; the presbyter 'becommeth himselfe God and maketh others such?' Donald Allchin also sees the doctrine of *theosis* in this sermon. In a passage that occurs earlier he quotes 'This knowledge and love unite [men] onto Him by a vitall band; thereby "they are made partakers of His divine nature," 2 Pet. I. 4. Yea thereby they are changed in Him whome they know and love, and become "one spirit with him" 1 Cor. vi. 17'.²³⁴ Allchin comments, 'Here is a cosmic view of God's purposes in the creation of man... The tendency to focus on the doctrine of redemption almost to the exclusion of the doctrine of creation is notably absent. We notice...the doctrine of *theosis* of man's becoming god by grace, which is thought to have quietly disappeared in the West, is quietly affirmed, and that the New Testament texts traditionally used to defend it are cited'.²³⁵ This doctrine is also explicitly stated by John Forbes of Corse, also citing 2 Peter 1: 4, 'Another union which we have with Christ according to the flesh, is necessarily added that through Christ we may be come partakers of the divine nature...it was necessary that we should have Christ incarnate abiding in us, and being joined to his flesh we should become partakers of the divine life dwelling in it, or of the Divine nature'.²³⁶

²³⁴ Ibid., pp. 153—154 . Quoted by Allchin, op. cit., pp. 70—71.

²³⁵ Allchin, Donald, op. cit., p. 71.

²³⁶ Low, W. L., op. cit., p. 105. (*Instructiones*, X, iii.)

Sermon II. Sermon upon Psalm 65, ‘Praise and Thanksgiving’

This sermon on Psalm 65, on ‘Praise and Thanksgiving’, was preached at St. Nicholas’ on the 5th of November, 1637. Sibbald considers (after a substantial introduction) the Old Testament obligations to praise and thank God for his saving acts: 1) the faithful observance of the Sabbath as a thanksgiving for Creation; 2) the observance of the new moon sacrifice as a thankful remembrance for the conservation of the world; 3) the Passover sacrifice for the deliverance from Egypt; 4) the observance of Pentecost as a thanksgiving for the giving of the Law; 5) and the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles for the preservation in the wilderness; and the giving of the First Fruits as a harvest thanksgiving. Sibbald then turns to the Gospel dispensation, ‘Under the Gospel now, I may say, it is more necessary. The proper sacrifice of Christians is the sacrifice of Praise and thanksgiving, everywhere vehemently urged in the New Testament. Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God, as for all his benefits, so especially for that of our Redemption. By the right performance of this duty, we begin our heaven on earth for the proper exercise of heaven is praise, *blessed are they that dwell in thy house, for they are still praising thee*. The blessed spirits are still singing, *blessing, and glory, and honour and power, and wisdom &c*. Beside *thanksgiving* for former benefits is a secret and real prayer drawing down new benefits, it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them, whereas *Unthankfulness* depriveth us both of that which we have, and of that which we ought to have looked for. Justly therefore, saith Chrysostom, “that thanksgiving is great wealth and treasure, an unexhausted good which while a man hath, he hath abundance, although he hath lost all other thing”. [no cit.] Hast thou lost thy means? And yet doest thou praise God, thou hast gained thy soul and God’s favour in greater measure than before’.²³⁷

Sibbald terms the sacrifice of ‘Praise and Thanksgiving’, as the Christian sacrifice, both in continuity with and in contrast to the sacrifices of the Old Testament; he is at pains to link the sacrifices of the Old Testament which were, in their context, also sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving to God under the Old Covenant, as precursors of ‘the proper sacrifice of Christians...the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,

²³⁷ Sibbald, James, *Diverse Select Sermons*, Aberdeen, 1658, p. 43.

everywhere vehemently urged in the New Testament'. The connection between the sacrifices of the Old Testament and the Christian Sacrifice is that the sacrifices of the Old Covenant looked forward to the Sacrifice of the Cross, and the Christian sacrifice, the "blessed sacrament" is the thanksgiving in bread and wine, as Christ instituted and commanded, and as foreshadowed in the Peace Offering of flour mixed with oil and incense and the libation of wine, for the salvation we have received by his Cross and Resurrection. As the Jews of the Old Covenant were bound to offer the sacrifices by the Law, so Christians are bound by the command of Christ to offer to the Father the commemoration and representation of his death as we offer thanks and praise for the benefits received'.

Sibbald continues, 'Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God, as for all his benefits, so especially for that of our Redemption. By the right performance of this duty, we begin our heaven on earth for the proper exercise of heaven is praise....

Beside *thanksgiving* for former benefits is a secret and real prayer drawing down new benefits, it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them'. This passage defines the Eucharist as: 1) the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, 2) as an act of impetration or petition in 'drawing down new benefits', preserving 'the benefits we have received', and procuring 'the increase of them' and, 3) as the union of heaven and earth because, 'By the right performance of this duty, we begin our heaven on earth for the proper exercise of heaven is praise'. Hence we are in union with 'Angels and archangels and all the company of heaven' when the Eucharist is celebrated.

The fourteenth century Byzantine commentator on the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Nicholas Cabasilis, says of the exhortation, 'Lift up your hearts', '...let us be heavenly-minded not earthly-minded. (Col. 3: 2) The faithful give their consent, and say that their hearts are...where Christ is, who sits at the right hand of the Father. "We have lifted them to the Lord"'.²³⁸ Alexander Schmemmann the late contemporary Orthodox theologian, says, "The divine liturgy—the continual ascent, the lifting up of the Church to heaven, to the throne of glory, to the unfading light and joy of the

²³⁸ Cabasilis, Nicholas, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, Hussey, J. M. and McNulty, P. A., trans., London: S. P. C. K., 1960, p. 69.

kingdom of God—is...simultaneously gift and fulfilment. ...the very purpose of both the Church and her worship [is] above all precisely a liturgy, an action (ἔργον), in which the essence of what is taking place is simultaneously revealed and fulfilled'.²³⁹

Sibbald's statement that 'By the right performance of this duty we begin our heaven on earth, for the proper exercise of heaven is praise', suggests a double dynamic: we are lifted to the heavenly places, and Heaven descends to us. In the quote from Gregory Nazianzen, '... to stand with the angels and to praise with the arch-angels, and send sacrifice to the altar that is above, and to discharge Priesthood with Christ', The presbyter and those present at the Eucharist are no less participants in the praise of heaven that the angels and archangels themselves; Sibbald suggests the interchange. The angelic hosts attend our celebration on earth, and carry the offering of thanksgiving and praise for the benefits of the Cross to the presence of the Father where Christ 'ever maketh intercession for us', but also the communicants are in heaven because: 1) they are engaged in the business of heaven, praise; as John Forbes of Corse observed, the eucharistic offering is the true *latría* or worship due to God alone,²⁴⁰ and 2) the Body and Blood of Christ, offered to the communicant, '...restore the frame of mankynde, and to renew his [Christ's] image [in us]....' In other words, the communicant, by receiving the body and blood of Christ, is partaking of the New Creation and is in the process of being transformed onto the likeness of Christ and prepared for eternal life.

Finally, in the passage quoted above is Sibbald's statement that the Eucharist is a '...secret and real prayer drawing down new benefits, it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them...' The Eucharist is not only the memorial sacrifice of Christ's death, but, 'by the right performance' that is offered with true praise, it is also the place of supplication, of 'secret and real prayer drawing down new benefits, it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them...'

²³⁹ Schmemmann, Alexander, op. cit, p. 165.

²⁴⁰ Forbes of Corse, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, xx. 22. (Low, W. L., p.149.)

Sermon III. Second Sermon upon the VI Chapter of St. John, v 44, 45.

The third reference to the Eucharist is in Sibbald's *Second Sermon upon the VI Chapter of St. John, v.44, 45*. This sermon was preached at a celebration of the Lord's Supper as the last two paragraphs suggest. There Sibbald sets out the means set forward in the New Testament to be 'taught of God'. He says, 'God hath ordained *meanes*, whereinto although he hath not tyed himself, yet he hath tyed us to these *meanes*, to wit, his *Word*, his *Sacraments*, *Prayer and Meditation*... If thou neglect the *meanes*, thou temptest God, & deceivest thine own soul'.²⁴¹ Reading the Bible, receiving Holy Communion, and personal prayer are the appointed means by which the Christian can draw close to God. Sibbald then uses the five physical senses, seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting to suggest spiritual counterparts²⁴²; 'But why do I insist so much upon this [the spiritual counterparts to the physical senses]? to shew ... [the] many ways to communicate himself to us, and make us so many ways able to receive him... [to see] his beauty, to heare his voice, smell the sweet savour of his precious oyntments, taste his sweetness, or embrace him in that armes of our love...'²⁴³ It is in discussing the spiritual counterparts to the senses of sight and hearing that Sibbald mentions the Eucharist.

'I have insisted upon this at this time to move you, to stirre up all the *powers* and *faculties* of your souls, to receive him who offereth himself at this time most abundantly to bee participated by us in these sacred *mysteriess* both as God and man. [Spiritual sight:] Here we may see him by the eye of faith as God, not simply as God, but as God made man, and as made a man of *sorrowes* for us, and as made the bread of life unto us. What a wonderfull *sight* is this! How can the Angels of heaven but admire to *see* the only begotten Son of God, who is in the bosome of the Father, *The brightnes of his glory and the express image of his person, eternal and omnipotent as the Father is, Infinite in Majesty, Wisdome, Goodnesse, &c.*, How can they, I say, but admire to see him demitt himself so farre for us and to us? As man also he offereth himself to *be seen* by us spiritually. Here we may *see* him and should look upon him as he *suffered* and was *crucified* for us. Here thou mayest see his Head crowned with thorns, as should have been, and now is crowned with *Glory*. His *Face spitted on and*

²⁴¹ Sibbald, James, op. cit., p. 167.

²⁴² Ibid., pp. 170—171.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 171.

buffeted, which should have *shined* and doth *shine* with the beams of heavenly *Light*: *His Hands and Feet pierced* and in a word *all wounded for our iniquities*, and now giving his *Body* that was broken, and his *Blood* that was shed as the food of our souls unto eternal life. O what a wonderful and sweet sight this is! What reverence and humility, what love and thanksgiving, should it raise up in us. Dost thou see what thou receivest in these sacred mysteries, and from whom? And wilt thou who art but dust and ashes refuse to humble thy self in body and soul? Or can thou consider his infinite love to thee, which made him to give himself for thee when thou was his enemy & to exchange, as it were, the *Throne* of his *Glory* with the ignominy of the *cross*, canst thou, I say, consider this and not be inflamed with love and break out in thanksgiving?’ Although one can but see bread and wine by physical sight, by spiritual sight one can behold Christ crucified in the Sacrament, as being the offering of his death.

[Spiritual hearing:] ‘...he speaketh to us in these sacred mysteries most sweet and comfortable words, which we should hear and answer unto. He sayeth, *I am the bread of life* &c. that we may answer, *LORD, evermore give us this bread*. He sayeth *I am the water of life*, that we may answer, *LORD, give us this water that we may never thirst again*. He sayeth, *This is my Body which is broken for you. This is my Blood which is shed for you, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him*, that we may answer, *Whence is it that our Lord cometh unto us. O LORD we are unworthy that thou should enter under the roof of our unclean souls, let it be unto thy servants according to thy word*.²⁴⁴ In the Words of Institution, Christ speaks to the communicant of the Eucharist as the memorial of his death, and as the offering of his body and blood to the faithful that there may be the mutual indwelling in Christ.

Sibbald says that by the spiritual sense of sight ‘Christ offereth himself to us to be seen by us in these sacred mysteries at this time most abundantly to be participated by us in these sacred *mysteries* both as God and man. Here we may see him by the eye if faith as God, not as God alone, but as God made man’, Sibbald describes the Eucharist, ‘these sacred mysteries’, as revealing Christ in his passion and death, who ‘offereth himself to be seen by us spiritually’, by way of enabling the communicant to

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171—172.

recognise that there is a true participation in Christ by receiving his body and blood. Sibbald describes the spiritual sight to be seen. ‘...a man of sorrows for us, and as made the bread of life to us....As man also he offereth himself to be seen by us spiritually. Here we may see him as he suffered and was crucified. Here thou may see his head crowned with thorns... His face spitted on and buffeted...His hands and feet pierced...and now giving his Body that was broken, and his Blood that was shed as the food for our souls unto eternal life. O what a sweet sight this is!’ Sibbald is preaching to his congregation ‘to stirre up all the powers and faculties’ of his hearers. The gloss in the margin beside this paragraph, states its content, ‘16. Sight of Christ in the holy mysteries’.

Sibbald urges his hearers in graphic visual terms to see in the bread and wine as proclaiming the Lord’s death before the congregation in such a way that the worshippers beholding the bread and wine set forth, behold the very sight of our Saviour’s self-oblation, his death, his wounds, his bleeding: the display of the propitious death of Christ, suffering in his humanity, saving in his Godhead. ‘Dost thou see what thou receivest in these sacred mysteries...’ The physical eye sees bread and wine, but Jesus Christ, his body broken in death and his blood shed, upon the Cross is seen by the faithful spiritual eye. The physical is the type of the spiritual. Also, what Sibbald does not say explicitly, but is implied, is that the offering of Christ in his death is not only to the people; considering the ideas about the Eucharist already encountered in Sibbald’s sermons, he sees the Eucharist as the offering of the death of Christ to the Father. This idea is stated explicitly in the writings of both John Forbes of Corse and of William Forbes, both of whose theological ideas Sibbald would have known intimately.

Sibbald’s words ‘...*wounded for our iniquities*, and now giving his *Body* that was broken, and his *Blood* that was shed as the food of our souls unto eternal life’,²⁴⁵ suggest the connection between the sacrifices of the Old Testament and the ‘sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, everywhere vehemently urged in the New Testament’, in his sermon on Psalm 65. The suggested image is that as the animal victims of the sacrifices of the Old Testament were slain and consumed, so Christ in his death, God and man, the one only propitious victim, is offered in type and symbol, in the bread

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 172.

and wine by thanksgiving, and consumed by the faithful communicant as his body and blood, ‘as the food of souls unto eternal life’. The sacrifice is the offering of bread and wine which the Holy Spirit discloses to the faithful eye as Christ crucified.

The final paragraph of the sermon, Sibbald turns from spiritually seeing Jesus crucified in the Holy Mysteries, to ‘the hearing of him therein’,²⁴⁶ he conceives a dialogue between the Lord, who speaks in verses of Scripture, and the communicant who responds similarly. ‘He speaketh to us in these sacred mysteries, most sweet and comfortable words, which we should hear and answer unto. He sayeth, *I am the bread of life &c.* that we may answer, *LORD, evermore give us this bread.* He sayeth, *This is my Body which is broken for you, this is my Blood which is shed for you, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me and I in him,* that we may answer, *Whence is it that our Lord cometh unto us; O LORD, we are unworthy that thou should enter under the rooffe of our unclean souls, but let it be unto thy servants according to thy word*’.²⁴⁷

While ‘spiritual sight’ has a somewhat static quality, in describing the Eucharist as auditory and as a dialogue, Sibbald ascribes to the Eucharist a dynamic quality. Christ is dynamically present and engaged with the faithful communicant. By participating in the Eucharist, and receiving Holy Communion, eating his body and drinking his blood is a true participation in Christ ‘...who offereth himself at this time most abundantly to be participated by us in these sacred *mysteries* both as God and man’, that is by participation.

William Forbes, Sibbald’s friend and mentor, describes the Eucharist as a true participation in the living Christ, ‘the Body and Blood of Christ is truly, really, and substantially present and taken in the Eucharist, but in a way, which is incomprehensible to the human understanding, and much more, beyond the power of man to express; which is known to God alone, and not revealed to us in Scripture, a way indeed, not corporeal or by oral reception, but not by the mere understanding and simple faith either, but by another way, known (as has been said) to God alone and left to His omnipotence’.²⁴⁸ And again, ‘In the Supper, moreover, by the wonderful

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 172, gloss in margin of page.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 172.

²⁴⁸ Forbes, William, op. cit., p. 389.

power of the Holy Ghost we invisibly communicate with the substance of the Body [and Blood] of Christ, of which we are made partakers, no otherwise than if we visibly ate and drank His Flesh and Blood...'.²⁴⁹

Both Sibbald's tableau of Christ crucified and his dialogue with Christ suggest Christ's presence, not locatable or definable, but transcendently present by the operation of the Holy Spirit, who makes the bread and wine upon the holy Table the true body and blood of Christ, as John Forbes of Corse discussed extensively in his fourth argument against transubstantiation, especially in his exposition of Cyril of Alexandria.²⁵⁰

Conclusion.

Sermons are by their nature an entirely aural medium, and cannot be precise and extensive doctrinal statements, none the less one must ask, does Sibbald's doctrine of the Eucharist in these sermons coincide with the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice, and as it can be determined in the work of John Forbes of Corse and of William Forbes?

1) The Eucharist is the offering of bread and wine as the memorial of Christ's unique sacrifice: the sermon on Psalm 65 discusses the Eucharist as A) in continuity with the sacrifices of the Old Testament, and B) as the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, 'The proper sacrifice of Christians is the sacrifice of Praise and thanksgiving, everywhere vehemently urged in the New Testament. Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God, as for all his benefits, so especially for that of our Redemption'.

2) The Eucharist is exhibiting the Lord's death, not only before those present at the Eucharist, but also before God as a supplicatory commemorative sacrifice. In the sermon on Psalm 65, Sibbald says, 'Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God, as for all his benefits... Beside *thanksgiving* for former benefits [it] is

²⁴⁹ Ibid., op. cit., pp. 421—423.

²⁵⁰ Low, W. L., op. cit., pp. 85—110.

a secret and real prayer drawing down new benefits, it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them’.

3) The Eucharist is propitiatory, in that it is applicative of the Christ’s propitiation on the Cross to the communicants. In the funeral sermon for Bishop Patrick Forbes, Sibbald quotes Chrysostom: ‘For whyle thou beholdest the Lord sacrificed, the priest performing that sacrifice... and the people dyed, as it were, and made red with that precious blood’ is an clear statement of the Eucharist bringing the propitiation of the Cross to the communicant. Also quoting Nazianzen in the same sermon, ‘[the ministry of the priest is to] send sacrifice to the altar that is above, and to discharge Priesthood with Christ... and to renew his image...’. In the Eucharist the image of Christ is renewed in the communicants by the forgiveness of their sins, and by their participation in his death and resurrection.

4) In the Eucharist the offered bread and wine do not change substance to become the ‘real’ body and blood of Christ. Sibbald does not explicitly mention transubstantiation or argue against it. However particularly from the sermon of John 6: 44, 45, the discussion of the relationship between the communicant and Christ is clear evidence that while the bread wine become the body and blood of Christ, but do not change substance because A) Sibbald specifically suggests that receiving the body and blood of Christ is one of three ‘meanes’: ‘his *Word*, his *Sacraments*, *Prayer and Meditation*; these are, as it were the conduits of his *grace* & as it were, the *veins* by which we must search after the heavenly *Wisdom*’, and B) in the same sermon Sibbald suggests the presence and communication of Christ is real and efficacious, but is also transcendent.

5) In the Eucharist, the bread and wine become body and blood of Christ in death. What is received is not the whole Christ, but his body and blood. That the Eucharist is the commemoration and representation of Jesus Christ in his death Sibbald makes explicit in the sermon on John 6: 44, 45. ‘Here we may see him by the eye of faith as God, not simply as God, but as God made man, and as made a man of *sorrowes* for us, and as made the bread of life unto us...’. Not only is Christ represented in death in the Eucharist, but he is also ‘made the bread of life unto us’. A little further on in the same sermon he says, ‘...and now giving his *Body* that was broken, and his *Blood* that was shed as the food of our souls unto eternal life...’. What is given in the Eucharist is the body of Christ broken, his blood shed to be the ‘food of our souls unto eternal life’.

6) Jesus Christ is not 'present in' the Eucharist because he is superior to locality. He in his risen and ascended body is at the right hand of the Father where remains until his return. He is transcendently present in his Church by the Holy Spirit. The quotation from Nazianzen in the Funeral Sermon, is certainly a statement of the Eucharist being the memorial of the Cross, Christ the High Priest pleading his all-sufficient sacrifice at the right hand of the Father in heaven, 'and sending sacrifice to the altar that is above, and to discharge Priesthood with Christ', The memorial made on earth, at Christ's command is a supplication to the Father, that the efficacy and benefits of the Cross may be heard on high, and as Christ pleads his sacrifice before the Father in heaven, so the priest leads the people on pleading Christ's sacrifice, by means of the offering of the bread and wine. Sibbald also comments, 'The proper sacrifice of Christians is the sacrifice of Praise and thanksgiving...Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God...for all his benefits...especially for that of our Redemption. By the right performance of this duty, we begin our heaven on earth for the proper exercise of heaven is praise'. This is a statement that those present at the eucharistic celebration is are in union with Christ in glory, by virtue of the memorial of his death, for which is thanksgiving and praise for Redemption.

The academic community at Aberdeen, as the evidence shows, was close knit and warmly affected. It was not a community of competing or conflicting ideas, but of like-mindedness, co-operation, mutual encouragement, and support. The eucharistic ideas of William Forbes, John Forbes of Corse, and James Sibbald are the same theology expressed through the minds of these three men.

Part III James Wedderburn and the 1637 Liturgy

James Wedderburn, who bequeathed one of the more lasting memorials of the first Reformed Scottish Episcopate, 1610 –1638, in his work on the eucharistic liturgy of the disastrous Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, had a significantly different background from his fellow Doctors of the Scottish Church who remained loyal to Scottish Episcopacy: he was not born into a landed family; he was not educated in Aberdeen, and he was ordained into and served in the Church of England. James Wedderburn,

the second son of a Dundee mariner and ship-owner, was born in 1585; his great-grandfather was James Wedderburn, the Scottish poet (1495?-1553). He studied at St. Andrews, where he gained his MA in 1604, and then possibly at Cambridge. He obtained the position of tutor in the household the classical scholar and Patristic theologian Isaac Casaubon, where Casaubon's son, Meric was Wedderburn's special pupil. Wedderburn took Holy Orders in the Church of England in 1615, and was appointed to the living of Harstone, but in 1617, he became professor of Divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews where he remained for nine years, until 1626. He gained his doctorate prior to 1623.

From 1626 to 1635, Wedderburn held several livings in the Church of England; in 1635 he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and in 1636, Bishop of Dunblane. He was deposed and excommunicated by the Glasgow assembly on 13 December, 1638. He died in Canterbury on 23, September, 1639, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. The appendix of Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, Spalding's *Memorialls of the Troubles*, and Scott's *Fasti*, ii, p. 840, attest to a *Treatise of Reconciliation*, but by all evidences it has not survived.²⁵¹ D. G. Mullan says that there is a notebook now in the British Library which gives 'some hints' of his 'ecclesiological thought', parts of which were quoted in Robert Baillie's *A Large Supplement of the Canterburian Self Conviction* (1641).²⁵²

James Wedderburn's relationship to the text.

The basis for including Wedderburn as one of the period's Scottish theologians, when no sermon, or treatise of his survives, is the attribution to Wedderburn of the text of the *Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion* by the late Professor Gordon Donaldson in his definitive work, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*; his conclusions are unchallenged to this day. Both W. J. Grisbrooke²⁵³ and D. G. Mullan²⁵⁴ accept Donaldson's claim. Donaldson demonstrates that the content of the eucharistic rite in particular, not only was not the work of William Laud, but was almost certainly the work of James Wedderburn.

²⁵¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Wedderburn, James', pp. 1048—1049.

²⁵² Mullan, D. G., op. cit, p. 170.

²⁵³ Grisbrooke, W. J. *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London: SPCK, 1958, pp. 1—7.

²⁵⁴ Mullan, D. G., op. cit. p. 176.

Donaldson writes, ‘The initiative in the matter of those fresh proposals [to the text of the Prayer Book as proposed in 1634] certainly came from Scotland, but it may be suspected, mainly from a less conservative element among the bishops. More specifically, they may be related to the growing prominence of James Wedderburn, who was appointed to the deanery of the chapel royal on 14 October 1635 and was provided to the see of Dunblane on 11 February 1636’.²⁵⁵ A little farther on Donaldson says, ‘It can at least be stated with some confidence that very little which appeared for the first time in 1636 can have been of immediate English origin. It is unlikely that the king who had carefully stated his views in 1634, and since he had opportunity to revise a MS. Liturgy, could not have had much to add. Moreover, Laud gives no hint that there was any initiative on his part, except for his suggestion for the expansion of the rubrics to include descriptive phrases’. (Donaldson adds in a footnote, ‘It may be that Laud should not have credit even for originating even this change, but that Wedderburn had proposed it and had asked for Laud’s views’.) His [Laud’s] words to Wedderburn, with reference to the latter’s notes, were, “So many of them as his majesty approved, I have written into a service book of ours”. There is no indication here that the insertions in the book include productions of his own, and in view of his careful references to the Scottish suggestions which were rejected it would seem unlikely that he would have made additions without saying so. The facts as we know them show that the unhappy phrase in the royal warrant—“I gave the Archb. of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a liturgy for the Church of Scotland”—is seriously misleading if it suggested that the alterations emanated from the king or from Laud’.²⁵⁶

Donaldson relates that Wedderburn proposed nine changes to the then agreed text, five of which concerned the Order for Holy Communion: 1) a new selection of offertory sentences [omitting the two sentences from *Tobit* in the English Book], 2) radical alterations to the order of prayers in the Communion Office, 3) a rubric to be inserted directing the manual acts at the consecration, 4) the omission of the second sentence from the words of administration, and 5) a rubric directing the position of the priest at the beginning of the consecration prayer.²⁵⁷ Donaldson says, ‘...The contrast

²⁵⁵ Donaldson, Gordon, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 51—52.

between the book of 1634 (“My Lord Ross’s”, or Maxwell’s)²⁵⁸ and that of 1637 (which might very well be called “My Lord Dunblane’s” or Wedderburn’s) is very marked. The emphasis had now shifted to the Communion Office, which had been virtually untouched at the earlier stage: and not only did interest centre on this part of the liturgy, but the changes made there were concerned not with trivialities of ornament or posture or phraseology, but with points of fundamental eucharistic doctrine. Moreover, in Donaldson’s thought it is beyond doubt that the initiative in suggesting all the significant changes in the Communion Office had come from Scotland and that the substance of the Scottish demands had been approved. It must be to that part of the book, and to that stage in the revision that Laud referred when he wrote: ‘I laboured to have the English Liturgy sent to them without any omission or addition at all.... But some of the Scottish bishops prevailed herein against me: and some alterations they would have from the Book of Englandas I have to show under the then Bishop of Dunblane’s hand, Dr. Wedderburn, whose notes I have yet by me’,²⁵⁹

A little farther on Donaldson concludes, ‘It remains a question how far Wedderburn alone, and not the Scottish bishops jointly, should bear the responsibility for the changes which were to bound to prove so repugnant to their fellow-countrymen....It is quite certain that initially in 1633 the older bishops had grave misgivings about the king’s liturgical policy; but it seems clear that in 1634 and in 1635, although the moving spirit was Maxwell’s many of his seniors entered fully into the revision. If, however, they were satisfied with the book as approved in 1635, they may have been dissatisfied with the features in the final version which were due to the later intervention of Wedderburn and the king’.²⁶⁰ Donaldson is not specific as to exactly what the texts of the earlier proposals for the Communion rite were, but the Bishop’s resistance to the King’s policy of desiring the universal use of the English rite²⁶¹ suggests that they were revisions to the Communion rite in the Book of Common Order.

²⁵⁸ John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, was the other principal personality in the creation of the 1637 Prayer Book.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53—53.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The other point to be made about Wedderburn and the 1637 Order for Holy Communion is that it was not based on the 1552 English book as all subsequent revisions of the English liturgy were, but rather on that in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, of 1549. This fact alone suggests that Wedderburn was on a different theological tack, and that neither the current eucharistic use of Scotland nor the current Prayer Book of England were seen as articulating the theology he wished to express. Donaldson says, ‘Finally, what may be called a “Scottish Canterburyan” element emerges in some of the proposals of Bishop Wedderburn, who was certainly influenced partly by Scottish tradition, but also affected by the English High Church movement and had clearly fallen under the spell of the first Prayer book of Edward VI. A number of Wedderburn’s changes in the Communion Office bear clear signs of the influence of that liturgy; and in one case where his “notes” have been preserved they make explicit reference to it. Moreover, it would seem that Wedderburn’s proposals for change in the order of the prayers of the Communion, which proved only partially acceptable to the king and his English advisers, amounted in their full form to a reversion to Edward’s first book’.²⁶²

It is necessary to examine the text of the Wedderburn’s 1637 *Order of the Administration of the Lord’s Supper, or Holy Communion*, to discern the theology underlying the rite, and to place it in the context of eucharistic doctrine of the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice. Professor Donaldson states, in the previous quotation, that James Wedderburn ‘...was certainly influenced partly by Scottish tradition, but was also affected by the English High Church movement...’ The ‘English High Church movement’ to which Donaldson refers is the ‘school’ of Bishop Andrewes. Richard Sharpe says of English High Church eucharistic thought: ‘Two principal schools of eucharistic thought are commonly held to have developed. The first and more moderate school, derived from Cranmer, Laud, Taylor, Cudworth, and Waterland, found no ‘proper or material sacrifice in the Eucharist... The second derived from Andrewes, Mead, Overall, Heylin, Thorndike...[is] summed up in *The Unbloody Scarifice* of John Johnson of Cranbrooke. “this second tradition emphasized the continuity of the Eucharist with the material sacrifices of the Old Testament as described in the Lev. 24 and Malachi 1: 1—10, and contended that Christ was offered

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 81—82.

in every Eucharist...representatively, and really, 'in mystery and effect'".²⁶³ Whether Wedderburn reached his views on eucharistic doctrine in England or in Scotland is beside the point, and is in fact undiscoverable. The significant issues are 1) that the eucharistic doctrine that he sets forth in the 1637 Liturgy is the same as the native doctrine in his other Scottish contemporaries, the Aberdonians William Forbes, John Forbes of Corse, and James Sibbald, and 2) that the 'English High Church movement', which Donaldson identifies, and the eucharistic doctrine of native Scottish Aberdeen school are virtually the same tradition, not derived from English writers, but drawn from the same patristic sources, and drawing the same theological conclusions from both the Fathers and the Scriptures.

In a different and particular way the 'English element' in the Communion Office of 1637 can be identified with the adherence to certain outward ceremonies, such as the location and vesture of the holy Table, the position and gestures of the Presbyter, and the posture of the congregation at the time of celebrating the Eucharist. It is a commonplace that the retention or use of some outward ceremonies was as much a feature of the English Reformation after Elizabeth as the abolition of similar outward ceremonies was of the Scottish Reformation, the Articles of Perth notwithstanding.

The idea of a Prayer Book, a published and printed document which contains, not directions for what might or should take place in public worship as did Knox's *Book of Common Order* of 1567 (in spite of the fact that the *Book of Common Order* was sometimes used as a Liturgy),²⁶⁴ but a text to be followed word for word, with specific rubrics directing both congregation and presbyter, has theological implications of itself. The spirit of worship in post-Reformation Scotland was moving steadily towards a-liturgical worship. Professor Donaldson makes clear that in early post Reformation Scotland, worship often was at least partly liturgical.²⁶⁵ By the time of the late 1630s the idea of any sort of liturgical text was anathema. James Gordon, the minister of Rothiemay in Aberdeenshire observed in a contemporary account, 'About the tyme of this assembly lykwayes, sett formes of prayers in publicke beganne to be

²⁶³ Doll, Peter, *After the Primitive Christians, the Eighteenth-Century Anglican Eucharist in its Architectural Setting*, Cambridge: The Alcuin Club and GROW, Grove Books, 1997, p. 15. [Doll quotes Richard Sharpe, in *New Perspectives on the High Church Tradition*, Geoffrey Rowell, ed. London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1986, pp. 11—12.]

²⁶⁴ Donaldson, Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 13—14.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3—26.

dish haunted by all; and such as used them were looked upon as not spiritwall enuech, or as not weall affected to the work of the reformatione. The Lordes Prayer lyckwayes beganne to grow out of fashion, as being a sett forme; and *Gloria Patry*, which had been constantly used in the churche, since the reformatione, to be sung at the closure of the psalms, beganne to fall into a desuetude; and not long after this the saying of the Creede at baptisme was cancelled by many, celebrating baptisme refoosed, except upon Lord's day at sermon, or at weeke dayes conventions. Two or three was not looked upon as a congregatione publick aneuch for baptisme, though Chryst sayed that he was in the midst of such a number. Finally all were urged to family worshipping, but ther prayers behoved to be *extempore*, nott set formes; and churches so farr decryed (lest people should imagine any inherent holinesse with papists to be in them), that from pulpitts by many were the people taught that they wer to have them in no mor reverend esteeme then other houses, (sometymes they wer worse used). Finally, what ever the bishops had established, it was their work to demolish'.²⁶⁶

It appears that the whole enterprise of the Book of 1637 was in trouble on two fronts: one, because its liturgical nature was against the growing inclination toward spontaneous worship, and two, because, as W. J. Grisbrooke suggests in his essay on the 1637 Liturgy, the Liturgy of 1637 'was doomed not account of *what* it was, but on account of *whose* it was',²⁶⁷ that is, the product of the Bishops. D G. Mullan suggests precisely the same thing, 'Samuel Rutherford...was thoroughly prejudiced against the work of bishops, "the Lord take the keys of his house from these bastard porters"'.²⁶⁸

The Text of The Order of the Administration of the LORD'S SUPPER OR HOLY COMMUNION.

Rubric concerning the position and furnishing of the holy table

The last of the four initial rubrics in the *Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion* in the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, 'The holy Table, having at the Communion time a carpet and a fair linen cloth upon it with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church, where the Presbyter, standing at the north

²⁶⁶ Gordon, James, op. cit., vol III, p. 250.

²⁶⁷ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 8.

²⁶⁸ Mullan, D. G., op. cit., p. 169.

side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer with this collect following for due preparation', was at the time unique, and is worth consideration with regard to Wedderburn's attitude toward the Eucharist. The 1549 Book of Edward VI specified no vesture for the holy Table, but did specify vesture for the priest. The Book of 1552 eliminated the vesture for the priest, and directed that the holy Table be covered with a 'fair white linen cloth', and that it be placed in the body of the church or in the chancel; the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, in use in England until the Commonwealth, required the same.

The Scottish rubric of 1637 goes well beyond the English rubrics of either 1549 or 1559 to stipulate 'a carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated...'. The English Canons of 1603 refer to 'a carpet of silk or other decent stuff', and a 'fair linen cloth at the time of ministration'²⁶⁹ as the covering for the holy Table. Such an item would in modern ecclesiastical terms be called a 'Jacobean Frontal', and would have been like a tablecloth reaching to the floor on all sides, often of a rich pattern and colour. This 'carpet' was used in England among clergy of the High Church party. George Herbert, (1593—1633) the English poet and priest, used such a carpet in his parish church at Bemerton, near Salisbury, as he relates in *A Priest to the Temple*: 'Fourthly, ...that there be a fitting, and sightly Communion Cloth of fine linnen, with an handsome, and seemly Carpet of good and costly Stuffe, or Cloth...'.²⁷⁰ The 'decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated', in Scotland would have been a silver or pewter cup, or frequently a pair of cups, and a 'bason'—a large silver or pewter bread-dish, possibly a flagon or two, and perhaps a cushion for the Prayer Book to rest upon.

The rubric at the Offertory specifically states that at that time, the Offertory, and not earlier, the Presbyter shall place upon the holy Table the already prepared bread and wine. This suggests the possibility of another table or surface upon which the bason containing the bread and the cup(s) containing the wine, should sit until required at the Offertory. Such tables are known to have been used in seventeenth century

²⁶⁹ Dearmer, Percy, *The Parson's Handbook*, eighth ed., London: Humphrey Milford, 1913, p. 87.

²⁷⁰ Herbert, George, *The Works of George Herbert*, London: Frederick Warne, and Co., (undated), 'A Priest to the Temple', chapter XIII. pp. 293—294.

England. Percy Dearmer states ‘Credence Tables may not have been in general use in 1548...but they were used in the seventeenth century by Andrewes, Laud and their school...for the reception of the elements until the time of the Offertory’.²⁷¹ It is highly possible that Wedderburn, with his experience of the English Church had one of these side tables in mind. The bread bason of the ‘Trinity Silver’, commissioned by Thomas Sydserf for Trinity College, the ‘North-East Parish of Edinburgh, in 1633’²⁷² contains an engraved boss at its centre (see illustration). The two flagons are set on the plinth of the Table, serving as an additional surface. However if the engraving on the boss of the bread bason is anything close to depicting contemporary custom, it looks very doubtful that the cups and bason prepared for the Lord’s Supper would have sat anywhere else other than on the Table itself.

The rubric which directs that the holy Table (the ‘Trinity Silver’ engraving depicts a four legged Table, perhaps four feet square, of about neck height to the kneeling man, the Table’s four legs are standing on a plinth) ‘...shall stand in the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church...’ also goes beyond the contemporary English rubric which only required that the Table be placed in body of the church or the chancel. The ‘uppermost part’ is the Eastwards end, where in pre-Reformation times the Altar would have stood. This is an expression of ecclesiastical aspiration, and presents a scene easily imagined: at the East end of a church, the holy Table covered with a rich ‘carpet’ falling to the floor all round, and a white ‘fair linen’ cloth perhaps like a white linen tablecloth, (falling on all sides but not to the floor) over the ‘carpet’, and lying on the Table a cushion, supporting a quarto or folio copy of the Prayer Book.

The term ‘mysteries’ was not unknown as a term of preference to Scottish theologians. Robert Bruce employed the term descriptively for the Lord’s Supper, but also expressed his preference for the term over the term ‘sacrament’.²⁷³ Donald Allchin observes that James Sibbald, ‘In places ...prefers the Greek term ‘mysteries’ to the Latin ‘sacraments’.²⁷⁴ But the term ‘high mysteries’ together with the physical arrangement of the appurtenances of worship as directed by the rubric suggests a stark contrast to the reality ‘on the ground’ of Scottish worship.

²⁷¹ Dearmer, Percy, op. cit., p. 109.

²⁷² Burns, Thomas, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1892, p. 224.

²⁷³ Bruce, Robert, op. cit., p. 40.

²⁷⁴ Allchin, Donald, op. cit., p. 67.



FIG. 24.—TRINITY COLLEGE. Engraving on plate.¹

The re-arrangement of the Prayers in the Eucharistic Part of the service

Donaldson states that the re-arrangement of the prayers, that is from the order of the prayers in what was the Jacobean English Prayer Book of 1604, (which was with minor change the Elizabethan Book of 1559, in which the Holy Communion service was itself very little changed from the second Book of Edward VI of 1552) was the most significant change in 1637 Liturgy. The difference between the two Edwardine Books with reference to the order of the prayers is radical. The changes Wedderburn made in the order of prayers, with the exception of the place of the *Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church* (placed after the Offertory, but before the Prayer of Consecration), recreating the Prayer of Consecration of the 1549 Book, were: 1) to return to the use of a specific *Epiclesis*, or invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, eliminated in the English Books subsequent to the 1549 Book; 2) to return the Prayer of Oblation, 'Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father...' to follow the Words of Institution. The English Books from 1552 onwards place the Prayer of Oblation to be said by all after communion; 3) to place the Lord's Prayer after the Prayer of Oblation, which in the English Books was also said after communion, but before the Prayer of Oblation; 4) the returning of the prayer, 'We do not presume to come to this thy table', from being said after the 'Holy, holy, holy, to be said by the Presbyter kneeling 'at God's board' immediately before the administration of communion, its original place in the 1549 Book.²⁷⁵

Grisbrooke makes the observation 'there is very little evidence of the precise teaching of Wedderburn'.²⁷⁶ He takes the lead in his suppositions about Wedderburn's eucharistic doctrine from that of William Laud, presenting a brief examination of Laud's views,²⁷⁷ and ascribing similar views to Wedderburn. This may or may not be precisely true,²⁷⁸ as the principal point Grisbrooke wishes to make is that a doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice lies at the heart of Wedderburn's text. It is the intention of this examination of Wedderburn's order of the prayers, together with the relevant rubrics, to show that he arranges them with the perspective of 'the material sacrifice', that is

²⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 199—200.

²⁷⁶ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 9.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 9—18.

²⁷⁸ See Richard Sharp's distinction between two English schools, Andrewes, etc. on the one hand, and Laud to Waterland on the other as quoted above.

with the eucharistic offering of the bread and wine in mind. This eucharistic doctrine can also be described as the commemorative and representative sacrifice, as will be seen below.

The significance of the rearrangement of the ‘prayers’ of the prayer of Consecration and the prayers following, from the 1559 back to the arrangement of 1549 in the 1637 Liturgy, is the line of thought that they make, and impact that they have on one another. In the 1549 Liturgy a clear case for a eucharistic doctrine in line with ‘the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice’ could be made. In the 1552 and subsequent English liturgies, that line of thought was broken up, so that they could not comment or refer to one another.

Rubric concerning the Offering of the bread and wine

That the bread and wine are actively offered in this Liturgy is explicitly stated both in the rubric at the Offertory when the money offering is received in the bason and the already prepared bread and wine are placed upon the holy Table, ‘And when all have offered, he [the Deacon or one of the Churchwardens] shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament of the Lord’s Table...’.²⁷⁹ There is a clear distinction made between the money offering, which, ‘the Presbyter shall humbly present before the Lord’ and the bread and wine which ‘the presbyter shall then offer up and place...upon the Lord’s Table’. The bread and wine only are ‘offered’. This constitutes ‘a material offering’ in the distinction drawn by Richard Sharpe, as noted above.

Rubrics concerning the position of the Presbyter and his ‘Manual Acts’ during the Prayer of Consecration

There are two rubrics that directly impinge upon the actual event of a celebration of the Eucharist according to the 1637 rite. The first is the rubric at the beginning of the consecration Prayer, which requires the Presbyter to ‘...stand at such a part of the

²⁷⁹ Donaldson, G., op cit., p. 189.

holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands'. Donaldson comments about this rubric, 'The rubric as thus ultimately inserted by the Scots was less offensive than the form inserted by Laud, but there was still no doubt that the eastward position was contemplated, and the unhappy reference to "both his hands" ...enabled critics to hint that an elevation was intended'.²⁸⁰ It cannot be suggested that an elevation, in the style of the Roman Mass was intended, but as Donaldson points out, it does suggest an eastward position. In any case, the 'Manual Acts' directs that the presbyter handle the cups and bason set out. Donaldson describes the situation that obtained; 'the Communion Table, in England and Scotland alike, was set lengthwise in the chancel or nave, with the celebrant and people round it. There was no possibility of mistaking such a service for the mass'.²⁸¹ It is clear that the celebration Wedderburn envisions is something entirely different. The second rubric is 'the manual acts', directions inserted into the text of the Words of Institution, instructing the celebrant, at the words, *took bread*, to take the paten in his hand, and at the words *took the cup*, to take the chalice in his hand, and to lay his hand upon as many vessels containing the wine to be consecrated. The manual acts, are imitative of the Lord's actions at the Last Supper, and have no doctrinal implications, but is further evidence of reversion to the 1549 English Liturgy which does have the 'manual acts'; the English rites of 1552, and 1559 do not contain them.

The place of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church

In the Prayer Book of 1549, The Prayer for the 'whole state of Christes church' formed the first section of the Prayer of Consecration, coming immediately after the Proper Preface (if there was to be one) and 'Holy, holy , holy.' This organisation clearly indicates that the Eucharist is to be understood as an impetratory sacrifice. In all of the English Prayer Books succeeding the Book of 1549, the Prayer for the Whole state of Christ's Church militant here in Earth was moved to follow the Offertory, preceding the Exhortations and the General Confession, which in turn precede the Prayer of Consecration. This latter order was kept in the Scottish Book of 1637. The significant difference, as far as the Eucharist's not being able to be seen as an impetratory sacrifice in the English Communion rites, was not the repositioning of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church; placing it after the Offertory gives it a

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 17.

structural connection with the Prayer of Consecration. It is rather the re-ordering of the constituent parts of the the Prayer of Consecration in the Communion offices of 1552 and afterward which undercut that understanding. Wedderburn restores the structure of the Prayer of Consecration, but by not re-integrating the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church into the Consecration, it is its direct proximity to the Consecration as part of the *anaphora*, that allows for the idea of the Eucharist as an impetratory sacrifice to be expressed in the 1637 Liturgy.

The Prayer of Consecration as a whole

Taken as a whole the consecration prayer had much more of the look of the eucharistic prayers of the ancient church than the English Prayer Book did, but it also 'had the effect of making that prayer represent some of the thought of the eucharistic prayer of the Book of Common Order'.²⁸² Donaldson continues, 'The substance of the prayer of oblation itself (placed in the English Book after the distribution) does not seem to have occasioned any puritan criticism'. There is, however, a significant theological shift that takes place depending upon when the prayer is said. If it is said *after* the distribution of the Sacrament, the prayer can readily be interpreted as the communicants offering themselves to the Father having received the Body and Blood of Christ (as in the terms of the 1552 English Liturgy), and the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is, or can be easily be interpreted as, the fruit of thankful hearts and lips which have received the remission of sins, and the benefits of Christ's passion.

However, if the Prayer of Oblation is said *before* the distribution of the Sacrament, as part of the Eucharistic Prayer, then both the bread and wine, as consecrated to be the Body and Blood of Christ, and the lives of the worshippers present as the living Body of Christ are offered to the Father; the former as the memorial of the death of Christ and as the commemorative and representative sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and the latter as Church's offering of herself as the Body of Christ to the Father, as a constituent element of the memorial commanded by the Lord. As the prayer in the 1637 Liturgy says, "...according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we...celebrate and make....with these holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension....And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodness to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving....And we offer and

²⁸² Ibid., p. 69.

present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves our souls and bodies to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice unto thee....And although we are not able to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service...”²⁸³

The *Epiclesis*

The question of the *Epiclesis* is somewhat complicated. That there was a definite Scottish preference for an invocation of the Holy Spirit on the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper is indisputable. Sprott says, ‘Then comes the Invocation of the Holy Ghost...in which, to follow the words of the Directory, we should “earnestly pray to God the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe His gracious presence and the effectual working of His Holy Spirit in us: and so to sanctify the elements of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance that we may receive by faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.”...in Knox’s Liturgy, a note is appended disclaiming the idea that the repetition of the words of Institution makes the Sacrament, but that form....wants a distinctive Invocation of the Holy Spirit...George Gillespie strongly defended the primitive and Eastern view’.²⁸⁴ Donaldson states, ‘the lack of an invocation in the Knoxian Communion Office had been criticised by such a Presbyterian as Row, while Calderwood, Henderson, and Gillespie make it clear that the prescribed order was commonly supplemented in this respect’.²⁸⁵ The later Scottish Calvinist tradition saw the attractiveness of the *Epiclesis* because of the fact that the structure of the ancient Eastern Liturgies, which employed the *Epiclesis*, suggested an altogether different theological conception of the Eucharist from that of the Roman rite. One might assume that the use of the *Epiclesis* made explicitly clear that the efficacy of receiving Holy Communion was the work of the Holy Spirit, and not by any other means.

The theology put forward by the Roman church was that the bread and wine of the Eucharist were transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ by virtue of the ordination of the priest celebrating the Mass speaking the Words of Institution over the bread and wine. The texts of the ancient Eastern liturgies clearly did not put forward either this doctrine of the priesthood or the theology of transubstantiation as

²⁸³ Ibid., pp. 199—200.

²⁸⁴ Sprott, George W., *Worship and Offices in the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1881, pp. 119—120.

²⁸⁵ Donaldson, Gordon, op. cit., pp. 67—68.

held by the Roman Church. The *Epiclesis* makes whatever change there is to the eucharistic elements, a change that takes place by the prayer of the Church, not by the Priest's recitation of the Words of Institution only. This is especially so as the *Epiclesis*, in the ancient liturgies, always followed the Words of Institution. Not only that, but the *Epiclesis* calls directly upon God the Holy Spirit to effect the eucharistic elements; they are not effected by a power in the possession of, or inherent in the priest himself (by virtue of his ordination). The theology suggested by the *Epiclesis* stood in opposition the theology of Roman Mass, and as Sprott asserts above, has continued in the Reformed Scottish tradition (perhaps peculiarly so), as it continued to do in the tradition of Scottish Episcopacy; indeed it was to become one of the distinguishing features of Scottish Episcopalian liturgy.

In the 1637 rite, Wedderburn followed the 1549 Book which innovatively introduced a specific *Epiclesis*; Its use was adopted from the ancient Eastern rites. In the both 1549 and 1637 rites, the *Epiclesis* precedes the Words of Institution, and does not follow the Oblation, as it did in the ancient liturgies. The significance of the *Epiclesis* following the Oblation is that what is offered is the type, antitype, symbol, of the body of Christ in death; the *Epiclesis* make the symbols the body and blood of Christ for the Faithful communicants to receive, hence in the ancient liturgies the *Epiclesis* always includes prayer upon the 'people' as well as the Gifts. The 1549 Liturgy, one suspects, 'dislocates' the *Epiclesis* from its traditional Eastern place, because its author had not totally broken free from the idea that connects the Words of Institution as in some way directly effecting the consecration. On the other hand there are two factors that may explain Wedderburn's willingness following the 1549 Liturgy in this instance. One is that he used the text as he received it; the other is that he could see that the use of the *Epiclesis* at this point negates the Tridentine conception of the consecration being effected by the priest's uttering the Words of Institution over the elements; they are consecrated by the Holy Spirit. The Scottish Episcopalian liturgies of the eighteenth century and nineteenth and twentieth century revisions of the 1764 rite both follow and argue for the Eastern pattern, as will be seen.

The Memorial or The Prayer of Oblation

In the Prayer of Oblation, the bread and wine, now made to 'be unto us the body and blood of the most dearly beloved Son' the presbyter prays on behalf of the assembled

worshippers that the Father will ‘accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving’, which is distinctly ‘these thy holy gifts, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make’, that ‘...thy whole Church may obtain the remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion’. In other words, the offering of the bread and wine according to the command of Christ (the Words of Institution), by the power of the Holy Spirit (the *Epiclesis*) in remembrance of Christ death and passion are offered to the Father as the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

The Lord’s Prayer

The Lord’s Prayer following immediately after the consecration prayer is another return to the order of the 1549 English Liturgy. This position not only recapitulates the place of the Lord’s Prayer in the ancient Greek liturgies, but also, the placing of the Lord’s Prayer in this position could be construed to suggest the old Mass, because it also falls in the same place in the Roman rite. It seems an obvious reason for its removal to after communion in the 1552 Prayer Book.

The Collect of humble access

The final prayer to be re-arranged in the order of the 1549 English Liturgy, is the ‘Collect of humble access’. In the position it occupied in the Jacobean English Liturgy, it assumes a more abstract quality. It follows the ‘lift up your hears’ and the *preface*, and precedes the substance of the consecration prayer. In the English Liturgies (1552 and subsequent) it is not directly connected to the act of receiving communion; in the 1637 Liturgy, as in the 1549 English Liturgy, it is. The prayer says, ‘Grant us...so to eat the flesh of the dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood...’.²⁸⁶ A direct connection between the body and blood of Christ, as mentioned in the Collect, and the act of receiving Communion is the obvious intention of the conjunction of the two.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 200.

The Sentences of Administration

The sentences of Administration of the Communion follow the use of the 1549 English Liturgy, 'The body [or blood] of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given [or shed] for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.', and rejects the second sentence which said, 'Take eat [Drink this] in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving'. The second sentence of administration in the English use could possibly have a receptionist interpretation. The single first sentence of the administration alone goes some distance towards the elimination of receptionism as a possible interpretation. Receiving the Body and Blood of Christ is to receive the bread and wine which have undergone a change: neither a physical nor a metaphysical change, but a spiritual change, the bread and wine truly become the Body and Blood of Christ, yet the Body and Blood of Christ are conveyed to the communicant in transcendent manner, not in a physical manner. The single Sentences of Administration standing alone make it plain that the bread and wine consecrated to be the Body of Christ and Blood of Christ are the physical means by which the spiritual benefits of Christ's passion are conveyed to the communicant. They shut the door on possible receptionist interpretations.

The Amen.

A significant change mentioned by Donaldson, but not commented upon, is the addition of the *Amen*. to be said by the communicant at the end of the Presbyter's sentence of administration. There was no *Amen*. in any of the English Books, nor was there to be one in the 1662 Book. The *Amen*. appears to be a characteristic of Scottish liturgical practice, as it has appeared in all subsequent Scottish liturgies, Bishop Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* of 1744, the *Scottish Liturgy of 1764*, its revisions of 1888 and 1929, and the new *Scottish Liturgy of 1982*. The theological significance of the *Amen*. is that it is the communicant's own verbal assent to the statement of the *Words of Administration*, that is, the *Amen*. enjoins the communicant's assent to the theology expressed in the Liturgy, rather than a silent reception which enjoins no assent, and invites the communicant silently to dissent, if he is so disposed.

The absence of a Fraction

Why there is an absence of any Fraction, or formal breaking of the bread anywhere in this eucharistic rite is unexplained. It appears in the 1549 liturgy in the ancient place, after the Lord's Prayer. The Fraction was removed from the English Prayer Book eucharistic rite in 1552, not to re-appear until the 'Manual Acts' of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Sprott mentions the significance in the Scottish Reformed practice of the period, of the breaking the bread after the eucharistic prayer, as in the Eastern liturgies. This absence may possibly be attributed to the insistence of the King's and Archbishop Laud's attempt to bring the Scottish Liturgy a little closer into line with the English Liturgy, but this is perhaps unlikely as Donaldson does not mention any proposed breaking of the bread as part of Wedderburn's scheme for the Scottish Book. There is another possible explanation. William Forbes, in his *Instructiones Modestae*, suggests that a breaking of the bread was incidental to the celebration of the Eucharist, 'for they [leavened or unleavened bread, the mixing of water with the wine, the breaking of the bread] are of little importance; nor is the peace of the Churches to be disturbed, or the Church divided by schism for strifes of this kind that are of less moment'.²⁸⁷ John Forbes of Corse does not mention it at all, except in passing in his *Irenicum*.²⁸⁸ For the practical purposes of distribution at Communion, the bread had to be broken, but in the 1637 Liturgy it is not a formal ceremony, whose significance can be commented upon.

Analysis of the text in relation to the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice.

The question at issue is whether whatever eucharistic doctrine as can be determined from the text of the 1637 Liturgy can be interpreted as containing the doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice as defined in this thesis. The phrases, clauses and sentences that can be so interpreted as to articulate the doctrine are scattered through out the that part of the 1637 Liturgy that follows the Offertory, more especially in the Prayer of Consecration, but not entirely. The numbered sections below correspond to the numbered sections in the introduction under the heading of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice.

²⁸⁷ Forbes, William, op. cit., pp. 543—545.

²⁸⁸ Selwyn, E. G., op. cit., pp. 86—89.

1 A) The Eucharist is an offering of bread and wine.

The rubric at ‘the Offertory’ specifically orders that ‘...the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord’s Table, ready for that service’.²⁸⁹ At the *Epiclesis*, the petition asks the Father ‘...to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts of bread and wine...’ the ‘gifts’ being the bread and wine ‘offered up’ at the Offertory. In the Prayer of Oblation as constituted in the 1637 Liturgy, the offering to the consecrated (by the *Epiclesis*) elements to God are the symbols of the body and blood of Christ ‘...and we...make...with these thy holy gifts...the memorial...’.

B) The Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but it is an ‘improper’ sacrifice. It is a memorial offering and commemoration in bread and wine of Christ’s sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the Last Supper. In all of the prayers of the 1637 Liturgy, Christ’s death in relation to the Eucharist is always spoken of as a memorial or commemoration. The ‘Prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church militant here in earth’ says, ‘...we commend...the congregation...here assembled...to celebrate the commemoration of the...death and sacrifice of ...Jesus Christ’. The Preface of the Prayer of Consecration says, ‘[Jesus Christ] did institute...and command us to continue a perpetual memory of his precious death...until his coming again...’. And the Prayer of Oblation says ‘...according to the institution of...Jesus Christ, we...make... with these holy gifts...the memorial...thy son hath willed us to make... And we...desire [thee] to accept this...sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving’.

2 A) The Eucharist is a representation of Christ’s death both to us, to ‘proclaim the Lord’s death’, and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ’s once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice. In the Words of Institution the bread and wine on the holy Table become the instituted symbols of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in death, proclaiming his saving death to the assembly ‘[Jesus Christ] took bread, and when he had given thanks, brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, “Take eat this is my body which is given for you”...he took the cup, and when he given thanks, he gave it to them saying, “Drink ye all...for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: do this in remembrance of me”’. The *Epiclesis* prays that offered gifts may be made the body and blood of

²⁸⁹ Donaldson, G., op. cit., p. 189.

Christ in his death. Receiving them offers to the faithful recipient the benefits of his death. 'We... beseech thee...to bless and sanctify...these...gifts...of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy...son; ...that we, receiving them according to...Jesus Christ's institution...may be partakers of...his...body and blood...'.

B) The Eucharist one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice. Prayer for the 'whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth', is a comprehensive prayer for the Church in all of her aspects: for the universal church, for the state, for the ordained ministry, for the congregation present for those '...in trouble, sorrow need sickness or any other adversity', giving thanks for 'thy servants who have finished their course', and the saints 'who have been the 'choice vessels of thy grace', praying for a favourable judgement on the Last Day. Placing the 'Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth' after the offertory connects it directly to the eucharistic offering. The Prayer of Oblation petitions the Father that as '...we...make...the memorial...having in remembrance his blessed passion...[desiring thee] to accept...our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant...we and all thy whole Church may remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion'.

3 A) In the Eucharist, by the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive i) all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the Forgiveness of Sins, Eternal Life, ii) and the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice. The Prayer of Oblation asks acceptance of '...our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving...that...we...may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion', and '...that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the...body and blood of...Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him'. The 'Collect of humble access' asks the Father to 'Grant us...so to eat the flesh...of Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his most sacred body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us'. And the

communicant is told by Sentences of Administration that by faithfully receiving the ‘The body.../ The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ...[will] preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life’.

B) By the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit. The Prayer of Oblation asks that all who worthily receive may ‘be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, that...he may dwell in them and they in him’. The ‘Collect of thanksgiving’ states, ‘...thou...dost assure us...that we be...members incorporate in thy mystical body...and also be heirs...of thy everlasting kingdom...’ and asks ‘we beseech thee...that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in...’.

4 A) The bread and wine of the Eucharist do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine. The *Epiclesis* asks the Father to ‘...bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy...Son’; the phrase ‘unto us’ clearly indicates that no change of substance is suggested. The Prayer of Oblation says ‘we...celebrate and make...with these thy holy gifts...the memorial...’. The phrase ‘holy Gifts’ in the Prayer of Oblation make a specific reference back to the phrase ‘gifts and creatures of bread and wine’, in the *Epiclesis*, suggesting that the ‘holy gifts’ are still bread and wine. The phrase ‘...accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving...’ indicates that it is not thought that the offering is other than the memorial in bread and wine of Christ’s death; it also suggests the Old Testament offering of flour mixed with oil and incense and the libation of wine offered with the burnt sacrifice. The offering of bread and wine is both the Church’s thank offering for the saving death of Christ, and by type and symbol they are the ‘sin offering’ of Christ’s saving and propitiatory death.

B) The bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ, not the whole Christ. By the use of the *Epiclesis*, asking the Holy Spirit ‘to bless and sanctify’, the offered bread and wine, indicates the expectation that some kind of unspecified, that is unknown and unknowable change takes place, by his action that enables those who eat and drink of that blessed and sanctified bread and wine to partake of the body and blood of Christ. Frequent mention is made of

receiving the body and blood of Christ, no mention is made of receiving 'Christ' or the 'whole Christ'.

5 A) The consecrated bread and wine become Christ's Body and Blood in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine are denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood. Frequent mention is made through out the Liturgy of 1637 to the Eucharist being the memorial of Christ's death. The Prayer for the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth says, '...we commend...the congregation...here assembled...to celebrate the commemoration of the...death and sacrifice of ...Jesus Christ'. The Preface of the Prayer of Consecration says, '...who...did institute...and command us continue, a perpetual memorial of that his...death...until his coming again'; the *Epiclesis* says, '...we receiving [the body and blood of Christ]...in remembrance of his death and passion;' the Words of Institution say_ '...this is my body given for you...', '...this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you...'. The primary denotation of Christ in death in the Eucharist is that the bread and wine are presented, offered and consecrated separately, as the memorial and commemoration of both Christ's loss of blood in the crucifixion, and the loss of 'blood and water' at being pierced by the spear. The Prayer of Oblation specifically states that the offering of bread and wine is 'in remembrance [of] his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering...hearty thanks...for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same'.

B) The breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ.

There is no specific direction to the break the bread at either the 'Manual Acts' or otherwise in the 1637 Liturgy, as there is in the Fraction in the 1549 Liturgy. If it were common for the bread to be small loaves, as in the illustration, breaking would occur at some point, it is not unreasonable to assume that that would be at the Words of Institution, following the Lord's own action, or perhaps at the time of Communion, which is nearer the traditional point. But in the 1637 Liturgy it is not specifically connected to 'proclaiming the Lord's death'.

C) The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol. The Liturgy does not make any such assertion itself, yet there are several things to be observed. On the one hand there is no

word or phrase that would suggest a change of substance in the bread and wine, and the words of the *Epiciclesis*, ‘...bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy...Son...that we...may be partakers of ...his most precious body and blood’, suggest by the phrase, ‘may be unto us’ that no change of substance is understood. They must therefore be, if not in reality (i.e. physically,) the type, antitype, or symbol of the real. Throughout the liturgy the consecrated bread and wine are spoken of as the body and blood of Christ without any demur or modification. And in the clause ‘that we...may be partakers of ...his most precious body and blood’, the consecrated bread and wine are seen to be the body and blood of Christ. One further thing may be said concerning the consecrated bread and wine being the true body and blood of Christ. St. John 15: 26 and 16: 13 speaks of the Holy Spirit as the ‘Spirit of truth’ and as leading the Church in to all truth. The Holy Spirit acting upon the ‘gifts’ of bread and wine, can but make them the Body and Blood of Christ in truth.

6) Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second and glorious Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit.

The ‘Preface’ states that Christ ‘...did institute...and command us continue, a perpetual memorial of that his...death...until his coming again...’. In other words the Eucharist is the memorial of his sacrificial death, offering to his church participation in him until he returns for the Judgement and fulfilment of all things. The Prayer of Oblation asks ‘...that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may...be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him’, and the doxology at the end of the Prayer prays ‘...through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be to thee, O Father Almighty’. It acknowledges the union of the Godhead in which the risen and ascended Christ in glory participates. Both the Prayer of Oblation and the Collect of humble access pray for the indwelling of Christ in the faithful communicant ‘...that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us’. The ‘Collect of thanksgiving’ also acknowledges the unity that the Church has with Christ ‘...we thank thee...that thou dost...assure us...that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body...the blessed company of all faithful people...’.

Conclusion

The very nature of a liturgical text as a vehicle of the worship of Almighty God means that it is necessarily less explicit than a doctrinal essay or treatise. However, without forcing the meaning, but by a careful and straight-forward analysis one can see that Wedderburn's text held a eucharistic doctrine in common with the other writers of his period included in this thesis.

Part IV Henry Scougal

Henry Scougal is the last in time of the seventeenth century, and the only post-Restoration voice to speak in this thesis. Henry Scougal was most probably born in 1650 in Saltoun, East Lothian,²⁹⁰ while his father was Minister, and was the second son of Patrick Scougal, the Bishop of Aberdeen, 1664—1682. He began his studies at King's College, Aberdeen, the year of his father's election and consecration. He graduated in 1668, was then made a regent of the University, and in 1669 he was appointed a professor, a post he held for four years. In 1673 he accepted the parish of Auchterless in Aberdeenshire, which incumbency he held for only a year. In 1674 he was appointed to the Professorship and chair of Divinity at King's College, once held by John Forbes of Corse. He died at the early age of 28, four years later. His lasting fame is his *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, published in 1677, the year before his death, and which is still in print. This little volume, together with the nine sermons sometimes printed with it (of which one, the subject immediate interest, is concerned with the Eucharist); a thesis written for the occasion of his appointment to the chair of Divinity, *De Objecto cultus Religiosi*; a fragment, *On Pastoral Cure*; and a liturgical text, *The Morning and Evening Service*, for use in the Cathedral in Aberdeen, form the whole corpus of his known work.²⁹¹

The Sermon. 'A Preparation for the Holy Sacrament'. *Joshua 3: 5, Sanctify yourselves, for tomorrow the Lord will do wonders among you.*

²⁹⁰ Bruce, James, *Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, L. Smith etc., 1841, p. 271.

²⁹¹ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, N. M. de S. Cameron, ed., T&T Clark, 1993, 'Scougal, Henry', D. B. Calhoun, pp. 762—763.

This sermon of preparation was preached, quite possibly in the Parish Church at Auchterless, on a Saturday in 1673, before the celebration of the Eucharist and the receiving of Holy Communion on the following day. The elements of the sermon which do suggest Auchterless, and which do not suggest a University congregation are 1) the significance that he lays upon the celebration of the Eucharist; 2) the clarity and simplicity of the explanation of eucharistic doctrine; 3) the caution with which Scougal introduces the quotation from Chrysostom; 4) the care with which he handles what could be controversial points, such as eucharistic sacrifice, and the nature of the change which the consecrated bread and wine undergo in the Eucharist, without compromising his doctrinal position. Dr. George Garden says that Scougal thought that sermons should be of ‘...seasonable and useful subjects, such as to instruct the people’s minds...not in airy and fanciful words, nor words too big with sense...’.²⁹² The whole sermon suggests a learned man preaching to unlearned people for whom he cares, and whom wishes to instruct, without patronising them.

In it Scougal is preparing his congregation not only to receive Holy Communion by a personal inner preparation, but also as a Christian congregation, that is in a corporate as well as personal dimension, for what is to happen in the Eucharist. In other words, the Eucharist is an action of the Church toward God, and the responding action of grace is to the communicants as the Church, not as a collection of individual believers. The incidents that Scougal cites are the acts of God to his People Israel as a whole. He begins, ‘When God is to make any signal discovery and manifestation of himself to his people, he calleth them to a solemn preparation, that they may be in a fit posture to attend and receive it’.²⁹³ And then he cites three instances of the Exodus: 1) the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai; 2) the sending of the quails ‘to satisfy and punish the inordinate appetites of that people who loathed manna, and lusted after flesh’, (Numbers 11: 18); and 3) the people at the borders of Canaan under Joshua.

Scougal says that first, the Lord will come, ‘down into this house not, [as at Sinai] “with fire and blackness, and darkness and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words, which they that heard, entreated that the word should not be

²⁹² Bruce, James, op. cit., p. 275.

²⁹³ Scougal, Henry, ‘A Preparation for the Holy Sacrament’, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man with Nine Discourses on Important Subjects*, London: 1735, p. 230.

spoken to them any more, because they could not endure what was commanded,” (Heb. 8: 9, 10, 14), but with ...love, ...divine light, ...his holy Spirit’, and he will give them ‘another law of liberty and love’.²⁹⁴ Second, tomorrow He will give flesh to eat, ‘...the flesh and blood of the son of man... which is meat in deed’.²⁹⁵ And third, ‘the Lord will open a passage for his people towards the *heavenly Canaan*, ...in the confines of the *promised land* in the suburbs of happiness and glory’.²⁹⁶

Next Scougal asks, ‘What are those wonders we expect to see?’ He answers, ‘A little bread broken and divided among us, a little wine poured fourth and drunk: Is there anything to surprise and amaze us here?’²⁹⁷ Scougal contrasts what is to be seen with the outward eye, ‘For the outside of this ordinance is very poor and mean’, with that which can be seen those whose eyes are, ‘opened to ...spiritual and divine things,...can easily see...and discern astonishing wonders ...of power and wisdom and love’.²⁹⁸

‘If we consider what is represented to us in this sacrament, we have therein occasion to behold, the most wonderful and astonishing spectacle that ever was seen in this lower world, the only begotten Son of God suffering for the sins of the world; the Lord of glory hanging betwixt two thieves; for in this ordinance *Jesus Christ is evidently set forth as crucified before our eyes*’.²⁹⁹ He goes on, ‘We may read and hear of it at other times, but this is a more clear and solemn representation of it, our dying Lord commanded us to *do it in remembrance of him*’.³⁰⁰ Scougal is speaking in the terms of Aberdeen tradition of Patristic teaching, of the eucharistic offering of bread and wine commemorating and representing the death of Christ. Scougal’s description of the Eucharist in the quotation above is very much in the vein of the similar passage in James Sibbald’s sermon on John 6: 44, 45. (Scougal may very well have known Sibbald’s sermons as they were published in Aberdeen only ten years before he was made a Regent at the University.) Certainly, Scougal is not suggesting an understanding of the Eucharist in which the bread and wine excite the regenerate

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 231.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 233.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 233.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 233.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 233.

mind to the mental remembrance of the saving events of old, and contemplate their efficacy to the believer now. Scougal asserts four things that are external to the believer: 1) That God is coming to ‘this house’; 2) that he will demonstrate salvation before them; 3) that he will feed them on the flesh of the Son of Man; and 4) that what they eat will ‘place them in the suburbs of happiness and glory’.³⁰¹ Indeed, Scougal goes so far as to say that they will see and handle the Lord. ‘Here our thoughts are more fixed, and our meditations raised, we get a nearer and more advantageous prospect, and our faith comes not only by the ear, our other senses contribute unto it, that we may say, in some sense, with the beloved disciple, that we have not only heard, but have *seen with our eyes, we have looked upon it, and our hands have handled the word of life.* (I John. 1: 1)’³⁰² It may also be said that there is a fifth element that is beyond the inner contemplation of the believer, and that is the elapse of time. Scougal promises that ‘tomorrow’ in the Eucharist they will see and handle the Lord, ‘tomorrow’ the Lord will act to bring grace in a specific way not present today.

Scougal uses the promise of ‘tomorrow’ in the text from Johsua as the text implies, that there will be grace available and Divine power demonstrated, not available or demonstrated now, but at the time (and place) appointed by God, in this instance, the Eucharist. The Eucharist, specifically, is an event in which the Divine action and Divine grace, not available at other times is manifested.

Scougal draws upon the idea of the senses, exactly as Sibbald did and in exactly the same way. He is using the application of the faculties of physical sense, enabled by the Holy Spirit, allow true spiritual perception. He suggests that we both see and touch the Lord in the Sacrament. He next considers the senses in a worldly sense, that is the purely physical application of the faculties of sense, and judges that if we saw ‘a more sensible resemblance and tragical representation of the death of Christ’, we might weep, ‘but it is a mean and low devotion that is seated in the inferior faculties of the soul’.³⁰³ ‘Faith takes the hint that sense doth give it, and in the sacramental bread and wine can behold the blood and wounds of our blessed Saviour. And thus that holy ordinance we are to celebrate, presents to our view the wonderful

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁰² Ibid., p. 234.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 234.

redemption of mankind; so if there were not more, on this account we might [still] say in some sense, *Tomorrow the Lord will do wonders among you*'.³⁰⁴

The next paragraph of the sermon is of particular significance. 'But that is not all', Scougal continues, 'this Sacrament doth not only represent a wonder that is already past, but exhibits one anew: the bread and wine that we receive, are not bare and empty signs, to put us in mind of the death and sufferings of Christ: Our Saviour calls them his *body and blood*, and such without question they are to all spiritual purposes and advantages'.³⁰⁵ First, Scougal rejects the idea the bread and wine are 'bare and empty signs' that convey nothing in themselves, but are only reminders of the benefits already received. Receiving Holy Communion not only represents a wonder, 'that is already past', that is the Cross, 'but exhibits one anew, the *body and blood*' of Christ. Scougal then rejects the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, in a non-polemical comment, 'We are not obliged to believe that after the consecration the bread and wine do vanish, and the body and blood succeed in their room', and calls upon the witness of reason, scripture, and the ancient church to affirm it, 'Our sense and reason do assure us of the contrary, the scripture doth nowhere affirm it, nor did ever the ancient church believe it'.³⁰⁶ Scougal then quotes St. John 6: 63, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth the flesh profiteth nothing;" these words of our Saviour "are spirit and life".³⁰⁷ The bread and wine do not change nature, 'yet they undergo a mighty change as to their efficacy and use'.³⁰⁸ This phrase, 'change as to efficacy and use' is very close to John Forbes of Corse who in his Seventh Argument against transubstantiation says, 'According, therefore to the mind of [Gregory of Nyssa] no other than their previous nature remains in the consecrated bread and wine...the whole change is *accidental*, that is relating to use and office, fruit and dignity. Besides, when he says that the bread is made the Body of Christ, he overthrows Transubstantiation'.³⁰⁹

Also, Scougal is making precisely the same point that John Forbes does in the following quotation from Athanasius' sermon on Matthew 12: 32, where he uses John 6: 62, in his interpretation of the text, 'He [Jesus] discriminates between the Spirit and

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 234.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 113.

the flesh, in order that believing not only what appeared to the eyes, but also in the invisible signification, we should discriminate the things that were spoken, that they were not carnal but spiritual. For to how many men would his body have sufficed that it could become the sustenance of the whole world? But for this reason he made mention of the Ascension of the Son of Man into heaven that he might draw them away a corporal understanding, and thence they should understand the flesh of which He had spoken was celestial food from above, and spiritual sustenance which was given by Himself, “For the things I speak unto you are Spirit and Life”.³¹⁰ The bread and wine now consecrated are the body and blood of Christ and can convey to the person of the faithful communicant the benefits of Christ’s death which ordinary bread cannot. Its use is for the fulfilment of the Divine purpose in the Church, that by receiving the body and blood of Christ as he commanded, the establishment of the New Covenant in his blood, the forgiveness of sins, and the appointment to eternal life, at work in the faithful communicant by his baptism (Rom. 6:3), can be continually renewed.

In a comment very similar to one of John Forbes of Corse (in his *Irenicum*, ‘...the bodily refreshment is slight...’³¹¹) Scougal observes, ‘That food which could yield but little refreshment to the body, is now become a means to strengthen and nourish the soul, an instrument to convey to us all of those blessings that the body and blood of our Saviour can afford us’.³¹² The bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ, not by change of substance, but by the Holy Spirit, ‘it is the Spirit that quickeneth’ and they ‘under go a mighty change as to their efficacy and use’, and become the means by which the Holy Spirit unknowably operates to give the benefits of Christ’s Passion to the believers.

Scougal next turns to the idea of sacrifice in the Old Testament, and considers it in connection with the Cross and the Eucharist. This idea is also similar to that in Sibbald’s sermon of Psalm 65, in which he also connects the sacrifices of the Old Testament to the Cross, and the Cross to the Eucharist. In a succinct sentence he says, ‘As under the law a part of some sacrifices was burnt on the *altar*, and a part was eaten by those for whom they were offered, so our blessed Saviour having offered

³¹⁰ Low, W. L., op. cit., p. 60. (*Instructiones* XI, viii, 7)

³¹¹ Selwyn, E. G., op. cit., p. 114.

³¹² Scougal, Henry, op. cit., p. 235.

himself on the *altar* of the *cross*, as propitiation for the sins of men, did substitute these holy symbols in place of his body and blood, that we by feasting on them, might get an interest in that sacrifice, and be partakers of the atonement that was made, and the pardon that was purchased by him'. This simple statement makes clear the doctrine of the Eucharist as the Church's memorial sacrifice: the offering of bread and wine at Christ's command as commemorating and representing his death to us and before the Father. That Scougal has a concept of the Eucharist as propitiatory in the sense already defined by John Forbes of Corse and by William Forbes is explicit in his saying, 'that we by feasting on them, might get an interest in that sacrifice, and be partakers of the atonement that was made, and the pardon that purchased by him'.³¹³ Then he says that, 'it was a signal miracle he wrought... when he turned the water into wine, but sure it is a greater, and more important one, to turn bread and wine into his body and blood, in the sense that we have been explaining'.³¹⁴ In other words the communicants are to witness an unseen but powerful change in the bread and wine upon the holy Table of their church, not metaphorical, but spiritual and real. Eating the bread that has been consecrated to be the Body of Christ and drinking the wine that has been consecrated to be the Blood of Christ offer the possibility of change to the eater and drinker.

Scougal says, 'In this sacrament Christ doth convey himself unto the souls of men, and take stronger possession of them'.³¹⁵ He then speaks of the instance of Satan entering into *Judas* after the 'sop', where the sop was the sign of Satan's bringing *Judas* under his nearer control, (The idea of 'Judas' sop' drawing him closer to the devil is used by Knox in *The Ministration of the Sacraments used in the English Congregation at Geneva, 1556*.³¹⁶) so by receiving Holy Communion, Christ enters the hearts and lives of his people. '...as after the *sop*, Satan entered into *Judas*, so with these holy elements Christ entereth in to the hearts of his people, becomes the food and nourishment of their souls, he diffuseth himself through all their faculties, and animates them with his life and spirit. In a word, that it may not be any more they, *but Christ that liveth in them* (Gal. ii. 20). Thus we are fed and nourished by the body and blood of Christ, while the power of the Godhead doth diffuse its virtue and operation

³¹³ Ibid., p. 236.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 236.

³¹⁵ Ibid., p. 236.

³¹⁶ Knox, John, *Works*, David Laing, ed., Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1856, vol., IV, p. 192.

into the human nature, to the enlivening of the hearts who do rightly receive these sacramental pledges'.³¹⁷ Scougal, along with John Forbes of Corse³¹⁸ and James Sibbald³¹⁹ describes receiving the body and the blood of Christ as being the means by which the Christian person is transformed into the likeness of Jesus Christ. Robert Bruce describes the Lord's Supper and the means by which one can '...get a better grip of Christ... so where I had a little grip [by the Word] ...between my finger and my thumb, now [by the Sacrament I] get him with my whole hand...'.³²⁰ What Scougal is describing is qualitatively different; it is not 'more of Christ', but a change of the faithful communicant into the likeness of Christ.

Scougal, remembering 'the signal miracle' at the wedding feast at Cana and that 'it was a great matter to feed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes',³²¹ indirectly suggests St. John 14:12, 'But greater it is', he says, 'to make a little bread and wine become the means of nourishment of so many souls: and were our eyes opened to the discerning of spiritual things, we should see greater wonders wrought, and more gracious miracles performed by the body and blood of our Saviour, than those which were done by the touch of his sacred body, while he lives here among men'. While the rhetoric has a distinct flavour of the baroque, Scougal's meaning is crystal clear. The change that takes place in the consecration of the bread and wine at the Eucharist are demonstrations of the Divine grace of the ultimate order that we will see 'in this lower world'.

The text ends with a long quotation from St. John Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood*, Book III, 4., and a paraphrase of a small section of Book VI, 4. Sadly, the rest of the sermon is missing. Scougal was obviously concerned that his hearers would be able to grasp what Chrysostom is saying, and to take Chrysostom's rhetoric without prejudice. Hence he asks them to understand according to, 'what hath already been said, making some allowance for the rhetorical and hyperbolic style'.³²² This statement suggests knowledge of John Forbes' *Instructiones*; Chapter XVII is Forbes' discussion of 'the emphatic expressions and rhetorical exaggerations of the

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 236.

³¹⁸ Low, W. L., op. cit., p. 105.

³¹⁹ Sibbald, James, op. cit., pp. 153—154.

³²⁰ Bruce, Robert, op. cit., p. 85.

³²¹ Scougal, Henry, op. cit., p. 236.

³²² Ibid., p. 237

Fathers’.³²³ The length of the quotation and the elevated doctrine of the Eucharist that it presents, certainly suggests, in the light of all that Scougal has claimed in this sermon, that Scougal’s own doctrine of the Eucharist is expressed by Chrysostom’s. This is also the same passage from Chrysostom quoted by Sibbald in his funeral sermon. The quotation begins about half way through 4., paragraph 1, ‘When thou dost behold the Lord of glory offered up, and the priest performing the sacrifice, and the people round about, dyed and made red with the precious blood, where, I pray thee dost thou conceive thy self to be? Canst thou think thou art yet upon earth, and conversing among mortal creatures, or art thou not rather on a sudden transported into heaven? Dost thou not lose all thoughts of the body, and with a pure mind and naked soul behold the things that are done above? O the wonderful mercy and goodness of God! He who sitteth with the Father above is at the same time present here below, and gives himself to all who will receive and embrace him. [Scougal omits the last two sentences of the paragraph.]

‘Compare this if you will with another miracle; imagine you see the great Elias with an infinite number of people about him, the sacrifice laid upon stones, and all the rest quiet and silent, while the prophet poureth forth his prayers, and then the fire coming down on a sudden from heaven, and consuming the sacrifice. Truly these things are strange and full of wonder, but yet are far inferior to our sacred and tremendous mysteries; for here the priest doth not bring fire but the Holy Ghost; he prayeth not that a flame may descend from heaven to consume the holy things before him, but that the divine grace influencing the sacrifice, may thereby inflame the hearts and souls of the people, and render them more pure than silver tried in the fire’.³²⁴

Here Scougal elides the following paraphrase of the central section of paragraph 2, Book VI, 4., *On the Priesthood*, with the quotation above, ‘Doubtless when these sacred and venerable mysteries are performing, the holy angels do stand by, and the place is full of glorious spirits, who delight to look and pry into them; and all the orders of the heavenly host do shout and raise their voice together....’.³²⁵ Here the text abruptly stops; the rest of the sermon is lost. The direct quotation from Chrysostom reads, ‘At such a time, angels stand by the priest, and the whole sanctuary and the

³²³ Low, W. L., op. cit., pp. 119—123.

³²⁴ Scougal, Henry, op. cit., pp. 237—238.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 238.

space round about the altar is filled with the powers of heaven in honour of him who lieth thereon. For this indeed is capable of being proved from the very rites which are then being celebrated'.³²⁶

One can again compare Sibbald's choice of quotations from Chrysostom, 'At that tyme, the angels stand beside, and the whole order of heavenlie powers doo shout', and from Nazianzen, 'that is to stand with the angels and to praise with the arch-angels...'³²⁷ in his funeral sermon with Scougal's. This is not to suggest that Scougal was directly influenced by Sibbald, possibly, but quite possibly not. One of the characteristics of the Aberdeen tradition was a wide direct knowledge of the Fathers, these passages, particularly the ones from Chrysostom were perhaps obvious choices, yet the point is that they do reflect similarity of thought.

There are four points that can be derived from his quotation from Chrysostom, that correspond to what Scougal has already said. 1) The whole sermon is premised on the miraculous nature of the Eucharist: A) 'Tomorrow the Lord will do wonders',³²⁸ B) In the bread and wine is 'represented to us the most wonderful...spectacle...ever...seen in this lower world...the Lord of Glory hanging betwixt two thieves',³²⁹ C) The Eucharist is greater miracle than Jesus' changing the water into wine at the Wedding at Cana, or of the few loaves and small fishes.³³⁰ 2) It is the work of the Holy Spirit: A) Scougal commenting on the change in the bread and wine quotes John 6: 63, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth the flesh profiteth nothing;" these words of our Saviour "are spirit and life".³³¹ B) The bread and wine do not change nature, 'yet they undergo a mighty change as to their efficacy and use', by the operation of the Holy Spirit.³³² 3) By receiving the body and blood of Christ the people are changed and transformed and fitted for eternal life: A) 'Tomorrow the Lord will give us flesh to eat ...which giveth life and everlasting happiness to the soul, and consigneth these mortal bodies to a blessed resurrection'.³³³; B) '...that it may nor any more they, *but Christ that liveth in them* (Gal. 2: 20) Thus we are fed and nourished by the body and blood of Christ,

³²⁶ Chrysostom, St. John, *On the Priesthood, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. IX, p. 76.

³²⁷ Sibbald, James, *op. cit.*, pp. 159—160.

³²⁸ Scougal, Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 232—234.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

while the power of the Godhead doth diffuse its virtue and operation into the human nature, to the enlivening of the hearts who do rightly receive these sacramental pledges'.³³⁴ 4) The Eucharist is the meeting of heaven and earth: A) The phrase 'the Lord of Glory is used in the quotation by Chrysostom above to describe Christ sacrificed in the Sacrament, is also used by Scougal to describe the representation of the Cross in the Sacrament;³³⁵ both strongly suggest God the Son demitting his glory to suffer for the redemption of mankind. B) Scougal's statement, 'Tomorrow the Lord will open a passage for his people towards the heavenly Canaan, and place them in the Promised Land',³³⁶ compares with Chrysostom's question above, 'Canst thou think thou art yet upon earth, and conversing among mortal creatures, or art thou not rather on a sudden transported into heaven?' C) By the use of the quotation, Scougal suggests, as did Sibbald in his use of the same quotation, the angelic presence at the Eucharist. Scougal does hint at that earlier when he says, '[The] holy ordinance we are to celebrate presents to our view the redemption of mankind which shall be the admiration of men and angels to all eternity'.³³⁷ As one can see the quotation from Chrysostom to reasonable degree recapitulates much of Scougal's sermon.

Conclusion.

1) The Eucharist is the memorial offering of bread and wine as the memorial of Christ's unique sacrifice: Scougal does not directly call the Eucharist a sacrifice, but he directly implies that it is by connecting it in continuity with the sacrifices of the Old Testament, '...our blessed Saviour having offered up himself on the altar of the cross, as a propitiation for the sins of men, did substitute these symbols in place of his body and blood, that we feasting on them might get an interest in that sacrifice...'³³⁸ and '[Faith]...placeth us at the foot of the cross...and presents to our view the wonderful redemption of mankind'.³³⁹ Scougal says, 'A little bread broken...a little wine poured fourth...what is represented to us in this Sacrament [is] Jesus Christ...set fourth as crucified before our eyes'.³⁴⁰

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 232.

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 233.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 232.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 234.

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 236.

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 234.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 233.

2) The Eucharist exhibits the Lord's death, not only before those present at the Eucharist, but also before God as a supplicatory commemorative sacrifice. Scougal, most arrestingly describes the eucharistic elements as the representation of Christ's death, 'If we consider what is represented to us in this sacrament...the only begotten son of God suffering for the sins of the world; the Lord of Glory hanging between two thieves...in this ordinance Jesus Christ is evidently set forth as crucified before our eyes...' ³⁴¹ He expands on the impact of the 'sight' of Christ upon the Cross upon the expectant communicant. ³⁴² However, he does not himself explicitly mention that the representation of Christ crucified is offered to the Father, but he does suggest it three places: A) '...in the sacramental bread and wine we can behold the blood and wounds of the blessed Saviour, [faith] places it at the foot of his cross...and thus the ...ordinance...presents to our view...the redemption of mankind'. ³⁴³ Scougal closely connects the local and temporal offering of bread wine with Christ's offering of himself to the Father. B) Scougal compares the eating of the Old Testament sacrifices, which were offered to God, with receiving the body and blood of Christ, and directly connect the offering of Christ to the Father with the 'holy symbols', implicitly offered. '...a part of some sacrifices was burnt on the altar, and apart was eaten by those for whom they were offered, so our blessed Saviour did substitute these holy symbols in place of his body and blood, that we by feasting on them, might get an interest in that sacrifice...' ³⁴⁴ C) Scougal's quotation of Chrysostom begins with a direct mention the offering of Christ's sacrifice to the Father, "'When thou dost behold the Lord of Glory offered up, and the priest performing the sacrifice...' ³⁴⁵ It is important to note that the phrase 'the Lord of Glory' is the one Scougal uses himself to describe Christ represented in his death in the Eucharist which suggests the connection in his own mind. Finally the eucharistic sacrifice being the church's prayer pleading the death of Christ for the benefit of the Church is directly stated when Scougal says, '[Christ] did substitute these holy symbols in place of his body and blood, the we...feasting on them might get an interest in that sacrifice'. ³⁴⁶

3) The Eucharist is propitiatory, in that it is applicative of the Christ's propitiation on the Cross to the communicants. Scougal says indirectly that the Eucharist is a

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 233.

³⁴² Ibid., p. 324.

³⁴³ Ibid., p. 234.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 235—236.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 237.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 235—236.

propitiatory sacrifice, ‘...that we by feasting on [the body and blood of Christ] might get an interest in the sacrifice, and be partakers of the atonement that was made and the pardon that was purchased...’.³⁴⁷

4) In the Eucharist the offered bread and wine do not change substance to become the ‘real’ body and blood of Christ. Scougal is explicitly clear about both the change that takes place in the bread and wine, to become the body and blood of Christ, and the nature of the change, ‘...the bread and wine are not bare and empty signs...Our Saviour calls them his body and blood, and such without question they are to all spiritual purposes and advantages’.³⁴⁸ Scougal also makes the striking statement earlier concerning the bread and wine becoming the body and blood of Christ, ‘...we may in some sense say with the beloved disciple, that...our hand have handles the word of life...’.³⁴⁹ The nature of the change is not by transubstantiation; Scougal does not mention the word, he says, ‘We are not obliged to believe that the bread and wine do vanish, and the body and blood of Christ succeed in their room...’.³⁵⁰ Sense and reason are contrary to it, Scripture does not affirm it, nor did the ancient church believe it.³⁵¹ It is the Holy Spirit who makes the change in the bread and wine, “‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing’...tho’ these elements be not changed in their nature and substance, they under go a mighty change and to their efficacy and use...’.³⁵²

5) In the Eucharist, the bread and wine become body and blood of Christ in death. What is received is not the whole Christ, but his body and blood. This point has been answered in the points above.

6. Jesus Christ is not ‘present in’ the Eucharist because he is superior to locality. He in his risen and ascended body is at the right hand of the Father where remains until his return. He is transcendentally present in his Church by the Holy Spirit. Scougal does not mention Christ ascended, the closest he comes is when he says, ‘...the wonderful redemption of mankind [presented to our view in the Eucharist] shall be the admiration of men and angels to all eternity’.³⁵³

³⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 235—236.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 233—234.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 235.

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 234.

This single sermon contains an astonishing amount eucharistic doctrine, and it clearly places Henry Scougal in the same tradition of Aberdeen eucharistic doctrine as William Forbes, John Forbes of Corse and James Sibbald.

Chapter III The Eighteenth Century: Thomas Rattray, Robert Forbes and the Scottish Liturgy of 1764

Part I Thomas Rattray A) *Some Particular Instructions Concerning the Christian Covenant*, and B) *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*.

Thomas Rattray, born in 1684, was the only son of James Rattray of Rattray, and Laird of Craighall, and Elizabeth Hay of Megginch. He succeeded his father in infancy to the chiefship of the Clan and the lairdship of the estate. At the age of eighteen he married the Hon. Margaret Galloway, second daughter of Thomas, 2nd Lord Dunkeld, on 31st July, 1701.³⁵⁴ Although not a matter of either private or public record, he is alleged by his descendants to have studied at the University of Leyden in Holland. He certainly became an outstanding classicist as it was he who with the learned Non-Juring Bishop Nathaniel Spinkes, translated the letters of the Non-Jurors to the Orthodox Patriarchs into the requisite patristic-style formal Greek necessary. His date of ordination to the Presbyterate is not known. In 1727 he was elected by the Episcopalian presbyters of Angus and the Mearns to be their bishop. In 1739, He was elected Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus. His election was contested by the vestige of the remaining ‘College Bishops’, and he did not move to Edinburgh until a few months before his death on Ascension Day, May, 12th, 1743, at the age of 59.³⁵⁵ His lasting legacy to Scottish Episcopalianism was the eventual establishment of elected diocesan bishops, as opposed the non-diocesan ‘College’. (The College of Bishops began in 1704 when the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the last Primate from the days of Establishment died, and the remaining bishops decided to consecrate a few new bishops without diocesan designations in order to keep the Scottish succession alive. The College was self-perpetuating, and in the 1720s came into conflict with the growing demand by some presbyters for elected Diocesan bishops. Bishop Rattray was a leader of the ‘Diocesan’ party.)

Bishop Rattray’s Library

Thomas Rattray’s private library of 328 volumes was sold by his grandson Thomas in the 1770’s for the sum of £25/1/9.³⁵⁶ Although the volumes owned by Rattray were

³⁵⁴ Thomas Rattray’s marriage certificate is among family papers held at Craighall.

³⁵⁵ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ‘Rattray, Thomas’, p. 692.

³⁵⁶ Notebook at Craighall in which the list of books sold and their prices are recorded.

scattered, a catalogue of the sale was preserved; it is thus possible to know what books he owned and read. This catalogue has been made available by Bishop Rattray's descendant, the current owner of Craighall, Lachlan Clerk-Rattray, Esq. The books listed as sold show that Rattray was a man of considerable scholarship and wide interests, and aware of Scottish culture. Two works of particular interest to this study, are 1.) volumes 13 and 37 (Folio), the two volumes of John Forbes' of Corse *Omnia Opera* [the whole of vol. II is Forbes' *Historico-Theologicae Instructiones*], published in 1702 by Dr. George Garden, and 2.) volume 204 (octavo), Bishop Patrick Forbes' *On Justification*. These two works directly connect Thomas Rattray with the Aberdeen school of the 1620s and 30s.

Rattray's Works

Virtually all of Rattray's works were published posthumously, with the exception of a pair of sermons entitled 'Liturgy and Loyalty', published in 1711. In 1845, George Hay Forbes published Rattray's principal works from The Pitsligo Press, located in the basement of his Parsonage in Burntisland. It is characteristic of George Hay Forbes' publishing that one important item listed in the 'Table of Contents,' Rattray's essay, written in the form of a letter, *On the Intermediate State*, does not actually appear in the volume. This writer has located the manuscript copy of *On the Intermediate State* amongst papers in the George Hay Forbes Collection in the St. Andrews University Library. The manuscript is not the original by Rattray, but is a copy by Bishop Alexander Jolly in his very distinctive handwriting, from Bishop John Alexander's copy.³⁵⁷ The 'letter' considers the state of the Christian soul between the death of the body and its resurrection on the Last Day.

This study will focus on two works of Rattray's, *The Christian Covenant* (published in London in 1748), and *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* published posthumously in London by subscription in 1744 by Rattray's friend, Robert Lyon, an Episcopalian priest in Fife.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷ Rattray, Thomas, *On the Intermediate State*, George Hay Forbes Collection, St. Andrews University Library, MS. Dep. 19/ 14/1.

³⁵⁸ Jolly, Alexander, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, second edition, Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co, 1847, pp. 191—192.

The Christian Covenant.

This small work, published posthumously, pastoral in nature, is a catechism in discursive format, containing Christian teaching on the nature of Man and the Fall, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist, and preparation for receiving Holy Communion. Rattray's intended reader is a Scottish Episcopalian. This is easily discernable because Scottish Episcopalians had no liturgy of their own, and Rattray's descriptions of liturgical practice are drawn from his own research into the Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, rather than the Prayer Book of 1662, the only service book widely in use. Rattray's eucharistic theology is elucidated in this work, and finds concrete expression in the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*.

The Christian Covenant is prefaced by an extensive essay in which Rattray discusses the creation of Man and the Fall as these relate to the Christian Sacraments. Rattray directs his readers to Bishop Bull's [George Bull, 1634—1710, Bishop of St. David's] Discourse V., 'Concerning the First Covenant and the State of Man before the Fall'.³⁵⁹

Rattray possessed a theological mind that was completely directed by the authority of the ancient Fathers of the Church; this is well attested to by the frequent notes he gives in his texts. He writes concerning the authority of the Fathers in a passage about the question of the validity of schismatical baptism, 'Now the authority of the Fathers chiefly depending on their being competent witnesses of apostolical tradition, as we may safely conclude that those things wherein the Catholick Church have been agreed from the beginning, and are attested by the early Fathers of the second and third centuries, are undoubtedly derived from the apostles and ought to be firmly adhered to as such'.³⁶⁰ This sentence rather neatly sums up Rattray's theological perspective. One must also comment on Rattray's use of the adjective 'Catholick;' by this word he certainly does not mean Roman Catholicism. Rattray's use of the term refers 1) to the body of teaching from the Fathers of the Church for the first six centuries; 2) to the ministry of Bishops, Priests or Presbyters, and Deacons in Apostolic Succession from the Apostles, (of which the Episcopalians were in possession by virtue of the continuance of the Episcopal ministry from the Disestablished Bishops, whose own

³⁵⁹ Bull, George, *Bp. Bull's Works*, E. Burton, ed., London: Robert Nelson, 1827, vol. X, pp. 52—136.

³⁶⁰ Rattray, Thomas, *The Christian Covenant, Bishop Rattray's Works*, George Hay Forbes, ed., Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1845, p. 42.

Apostolic ministry was dependent upon the consecration of the four Scottish Presbyters to the Episcopate in London in 1661 by the newly Restored English Bishops); 3) to the proper administration of the Christian Sacraments, principally, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist. Rattray covers his teaching on the Eucharist in five concise points, expanded in some instances by lengthy footnotes.

1) Rattray's first considers the relationship of the Last Supper to the Crucifixion. Jesus at the Supper offers bread and wine, 'as our High Priest after the order of Melchizedek,' (distinguishing the offering of Melchizedek from that of the bloody offerings of Aaron and his sons). He then 'eucharistized or blessed them...not only [giving] thanks to God over them ...as the Creator...of the world;...for His providence towards the Jewish nation is particular,...but ...offered them up to God as the symbols of his Body and Blood, and invoked a blessing, even the Divine power of the Holy Spirit to descend upon them,...He gave them to His disciples as His Body broken, and His Blood shed for them...and as many as should believe and obey Him, for remission of sins'.³⁶¹ Rattray emphasises that this offering is totally without restraint, 'in the same night in which He was betrayed [He] did (while at His own liberty, and before He was in the hands of His enemies) offer up Himself a free and voluntary sacrifice to his Father to make satisfaction for the sins of the world, under the symbols of bread and wine representing His Body and Blood'.³⁶²

2) The second point is 'That the sacrifice of Himself, thus offered up by Himself as High Priest, was immediately after [the Last Supper] (that is, ...[the Last Supper] was directly introductory to His Crucifixion) slain on the cross'.³⁶³ This is the crucial point that connects the Last Supper with the Cross. Jesus offers Himself to the Father in the Supper as the sacrifice by means of the symbols of bread and wine. Rattray's footnote observes, 'thus the sacrifices on the day of expiation were first offered to God by the High Priest while alive, and then slain, and then he entered into the Holy of Holies with the blood of them (see Lev. xvi)'.³⁶⁴ After he was slain on the cross, '...and after He had, by the power of the Spirit raised Himself from the dead, He entered into Heaven, the true Holy of Holies, there to present this His sacrifice to God the Father,

³⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 15—16.

³⁶² Ibid., p. 15.

³⁶³ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

and in virtue of it to make continual intercession for His Church, where he continueth a Priest forever'.³⁶⁵

3) The third point Rattray makes is concerning the Church's sacrifice. 'That He commanded the Apostles and their successors, as Priests of the Christian Church to do (i.e. to offer) this (bread and cup)...'.³⁶⁶ These words from I Corinthians 11: 24, *τούτο ποιείτε εις την εμην ανάμνησιν*, 'do this in remembrance of me' or as 'my memorial' and v. 25, *τούτο ποιείτε, οσάκις εανπίνητε, εις την εμην ανάμνησιν*, 'do this, as often as you drink it in remembrance of me', are the focal point of the idea of the Church offering of the memorial sacrifice. The word *ποιείτε* is the clue. Rattray's footnote says, 'The word *ποιειν*, here used in the original Greek, frequently signifies to offer sacrifice in the LXX', He then offers both the Septuagint texts, 'See Ex. xxix. 36, 38, 39, and x. 25; Lev. iv. 22; ix. 7, 16; xiv. 19, 30, xvii. 8,9; xxiii. 12; 1 Kings viii. 64'; and evidence from Clement of Rome, and Justin Martyr, in both the Greek and the English. 'So Clem. Rom. Ep. i. c. 40...'.who offer [*ποιουντες*] their oblations. And Just. Mart. Dial. p. 215. '...concerning that bread which our Lord commanded us to do [*ποιειν*], i.e. to offer in commemoration...and concerning that cup which he commanded us to do [*ποιειν*], i.e. again, to offer; for it is not here capable of any other sense'.³⁶⁷ This offering is 'done in commemoration of Him or as the memorial of his one sacrifice of Himself once offered for the sins of the world and thereby plead the merits of it before His Father, here on earth as he doth continually in heaven; and appointed it to be the only sacrifice of prayer and praise in the Christian Church, instead of the manifold sacrifices, whether bloody or unbloody, under the Law'.³⁶⁸ Rattary is not the first Scottish writer in the tradition of Episcopacy to emphasise the verb, 'do' as described above. Henry Scougal, in his Preparation Sermon says, '...in this ordinance Jesus Christ is evidently set forth as crucified before our eyes. We may read and hear of it at other times, but this [Eucharist] is a more clear and solemn representation of it, our dying Lord commanded us *to do it in remembrance of Him*'.³⁶⁹ Scougal here also makes the connection between the Last Supper and the Cross. He summons his hearers to see in the 'outside of this ordinance [which] is very

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., footnote q., p. 16.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶⁹ Scougal, Henry, op. cit., p. 233.

poor and mean... a little bread and wine' the Lord of glory hanging between two thieves; for in this ordinance Jesus Christ is evidently set forth as crucified before our eyes'. Scougal is doing more than encouraging his hearers to the use of their imaginations. He is telling them that in the Eucharist in the 'very poor and mean' offering of the bread and wine, as in the Last Supper, the death of Christ is representatively and commemoratively offered to the Father. This is one of the critical points of the eucharistic doctrine of Scottish Episcopacy. From Rattray onwards it receives specific emphasis.

In another note on the phrase 'in commemoration of Him', Rattray says, 'εις την εμην ανάμνησιν. See LXX. Lev. xxiv. 7 (compared with ii. 2, 9, 16.) It is from this text that the Fathers and the ancient Liturgies take the word *προκειμενα*, "set or lying in open view before the Lord,"³⁷⁰ so frequently used by them concerning the *δωρα*, or gifts, even the eucharistical bread and cup'.³⁷¹ This idea is specifically mentioned by John Forbes of Corse. 'and thus setting forth the Passion of his Son [in the eucharistic bread and cup]... can be said in a manner to offer to God Christ immolated in his Passion, or his very obedience and his bloody immolation. And this we offer to God, not sacrificing Christ, or immolating him anew, but commemorating that unique immolation of Christ made once in his Passion suppliantly praying God, that looking on it, he will be propitious to us sinners: not on account of this our commemoration, but on account of that ...'.³⁷² In the Eucharist, by presenting and offering to God the bread and cup as the memorials of the body and blood of Christ in death by the recitation of the Words of Institution, the death of Christ is offered to the Father in representation, that is the cup and bread are the instituted representatives of his death; and in thanksgiving to the Father for the benefits accrued to mankind by his death, that the Father 'looking on it will be propitious to us sinners', not on account of our commemoration, but on account of what it represents and commemorates.

The picture Rattray portrays is that the Church, by her Presbyter or Priest, offers to God the Father, in obedience to the command of his Son, 'do this in remembrance of me' [i.e. in commemoration of Jesus Christ's death on the cross], 'bread and wine on

³⁷⁰ Liddle and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, abridged, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 5. Definition III, is 'To lie exposed or to lie dead'.

³⁷¹ Rattray, Thomas, *op. cit.*, footnote r., p. 16.

³⁷² Low, W. L., *op. cit.*, p. 150.

the Holy Table. As the priest prays over the offered bread and wine, he blesses or ‘eucharistizes’³⁷³ them. As the sacrifice commemorative of the Cross, the bread and wine become the designated symbols and types of the broken body and the shed blood of Christ for us now, just as Jesus then ‘offered to God the bread and cup, as His Body and Blood, i.e., He must by these symbols have given or offered to God His Body and Blood as a sacrifice to be slain on the cross for the sins of the world’.³⁷⁴ The eucharistic bread and wine are by type and symbol, his crucified person in his Body broken and Blood shed, lying in open view before the Lord, and before the communicants.

In his commentary on Thomas Rattray and the *Ancient Liturgy*, Grisbrooke quotes at length from a sermon of Rattray’s, entitled *A Sermon for the Lord’s Day and The Holy Eucharist*, preserved in a collection of ‘Bishop Robert Forbes’.³⁷⁵ In the passage above in which Rattray discusses sacrifice, he does not mention one of the crucial passages from the Old Testament, Malachi 1:1—11; in the sermon he deals with that passage alone, and its implications. First, that ‘Sacrifices in general are not abolished...but the Kind of them only is changed; ...Our Lord...instituted the the Holy Eucharist and taught the new oblation of the New Testament’. The prophecy from Malachi shows that ‘the Jews shall cease from offering, and in every place shall be offered to him...a pure sacrifice & his name shall be glorified among the Gentiles. Therefore...the Oblation of the Church...is esteemed by God a pure Sacrifice & is accepted by him’. The Sermon continues, ‘And as it [our Christian Sacrifice] is a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, so it is also Expiatory & Propitiatory...it is the instituted Commemoration, appointed by him as the proper and efficacious means of applying to God for the Pardon of our Sins & for procuring all those Graces & Favours that he hath purchased for his Church by his original Sacrifice of himself’.³⁷⁶ The main point Rattray makes, not mentioned in 3) above, is that the principle of sacrifice as the ordained mode of the true worship of God, has not been abandoned by him, but continues transformed by Christ’s self-offering on the Cross, from the animal sacrifices of the Old Testament to the offering of bread and wine, the ‘pure offering’ of the Gentiles, now offered everywhere, prophesied by Malachi. This offering, or

³⁷³ Rattary, Thomas, op. cit., footnote h., p. 15.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., footnote m., p. 15—16.

³⁷⁵ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., pp. 144—145.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 135—137.

sacrifice under the New Covenant is the appointed mode of thanksgiving for Christ's death, the commemoration of it, and the means of applying the benefits of Christ's death to his Church.

4) The fourth point is a description of the eucharistic action in the church beginning with the presentation of the bread and wine by the people. 'Therefore in celebrating this Christian Sacrifice, the people are to bring their oblations of bread and wine, which the priest receiving, presenteth in their name to God on His Altar, thereby offering to Him part of His own out of which He hath given them, as a tribute to Him and an acknowledgement of His right over them and all they enjoy'.³⁷⁷ Rattray understands that placing the bread and cup on the altar is not just an act of setting them apart, or even of offering them to God, but an acknowledgement of God as the Creator and Lord by the worshippers: that they and the things they present are both created and sustained by his sovereign will, and the act of offering is also an act of thanksgiving for all that they have, and ultimately for their salvation through Jesus Christ. Rattray's footnote accommodates the then (and current) practice of the bread and wine being purchased by someone on behalf of the congregation, and therefore money plays a part in the offering. 'This [wine from someone's vineyard, bread from someone's home presented at the altar by them] was the practice in the primitive times; but now the free-will offerings of the people are given in money at the Offertory, which being solemnly devoted to God, the charge of the bread and wine is to be defrayed out of it by the priest... And thus it comes to the same thing, whether we offer the elements or the money wherewith the charge of them is to be defrayed'.³⁷⁸

The rest of this section is the description of an unidentified or perhaps supposedly generalised eucharistic prayer. It is in fact a description of the eucharistic prayer in the Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem. After the 'Lift up your hearts' dialogue, the priest gives thanks for the creation of the world and all things visible and invisible, his providence towards mankind, and his preparing him for the coming of Christ by the Law and the Prophets, and in the fullness of time his taking our nature upon himself, and redeeming us by his death. For some reason that is not obvious, Rattray places the

³⁷⁷ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 17.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., Footnote s., p. 17.

‘seraphic hymn’, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.’ at this juncture. In the Liturgy of St. James, and indeed other ancient liturgies such as the liturgies of St John Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Mark, as well as the description of the Jerusalem Liturgy in the Mystagogical Catecheses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, the ‘seraphic hymn’ comes earlier. All of the material relating to creation, including the angelic hosts fall before the ‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’ and all of the material relating to God’s saving acts fall afterwards.

‘Then,’ says Rattray, ‘the priest rehearseth the history of the institution, not only to shew the authority by which he acteth, contained in the words “Do this” (i.e. offer the bread and the cup), “in commemoration of Me”; but also, that by pronouncing over them these words, “This is my Body”, “This is my Blood”, he may consecrate the bread and the cup to be the symbols or the antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ’. By the priest’s recitation of the Words Institution the bread and wine become the instituted types and symbols of Christ’s body broken in death and his blood shed on the Cross. The issue of the authority of the priest is an emphasis on the importance of the Apostolic Succession, which concern began with the Second or Restoration succession of Scottish bishops, for instance, over the succession with the death of Archbishop Rose in 1704.

Rattray continues, ‘Then as Christ offered up His Body and Blood to God the Father, under the symbols of the bread and wine, as a sacrifice to be slain on the cross for our redemption; so here the Priest offereth up this bread and this cup as symbols of this sacrifice of His body and Blood thus once offered up by Him; and therefore commemorateth it before God with thanksgiving’.³⁷⁹ When the Priest offers prayer in commemoration of Christ’s death on the Cross, the Church, by the action of the Priest, offers to God the Father the slain Body and shed Blood of Christ in symbol and type. ‘After which, he prays that God would favourably accept this commemorative Sacrifice by sending down upon it His Holy Spirit, that by his descent upon them He may make this bread and this cup (already consecrated as to be the symbols or antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ,³⁸⁰ and offered up as such) to be verily and

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁸⁰ These words, ‘by sending down upon it His Holy Spirit, that by his descent upon them He may make this bread and this cup...’ is a direct quotation from the ‘Epiclesis’ in the Liturgy of S. James.

indeed His Body and Blood; the same Divine Spirit by Which the Body of Christ was formed in the womb of the blessed Virgin, and which is still united to It in heaven, descending on , and being united to these elements, and invigorating them with the virtue, power, and efficacy thereof, and making them one with it',³⁸¹ The terms 'virtue, power and efficacy' are key words. By Rattray's time those words, either separately or together, to describe the effect of the Eucharist will be used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries almost as a formula,³⁸² to mean that by receiving Holy Communion, that there is a true and real communication in Christ, and that by the Holy Spirit Jesus Christ's indwelling in them as Redeemer and Saviour, begun in Baptism, is renewed.

Rattray continues, 'Then the priest maketh intercession, in virtue of this Sacrifice thus offered up in commemoration of, and in union with the one great personal Sacrifice of Christ, for the whole Catholick Church, and pleadeth the merits of this one Sacrifice in behalf of all estates and conditions of men in it, offering this memorial thereof, not for the living only, but for the dead also, in commemoration of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and of all the saints who have pleased God in their several generations from the beginning of the world;³⁸³ and for rest light and peace, and a blessed resurrection, and a merciful trial in the day of Lord to all of the faithful departed'.³⁸⁴ The point Rattray is making here about the Intercessory nature of the Eucharist will become central to subsequent Episcopalian thought on the Eucharist, and will shape the structure of the Liturgy until the 'Grey Book' Liturgy of 1970. All of the writers examined above see the Eucharist a having an intrinsically intercessory character, and from Rattray onward that character will dictate the position of the intercessory prayer, that is following the Prayer of Consecration as evidenced in Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy*, the *1764 Liturgy* and its subsequent revisions up to 1929.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 18—19.

³⁸² Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 11, 12, 22, 25, 47, etc; Skinner, John, *Preliminary Discussion*, pp. 53, 122.

³⁸³ The words, 'Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and of all the saints who have pleased God in their several generations from the beginning of the world', are a further quotation from the Liturgy of St. James, in this instance from commemoration of the departed the end of the intercession in the Eucharistic Prayer.

³⁸⁴ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁸⁵ See Lempriere, Philip A., *The Scottish Communion Offices of 1637, 1735, 1755, 1764 and 1889*, Edinburgh: Grant & Son, 1909.

Also there is an emphasis on prayer for the departed. Rattray's extensive footnote explains his thought in great detail.³⁸⁶

The reading of II Timothy 1: 18 is the pivot of this argument. John Forbes of Corse's reading of this verse in the *de Purgatorio* of his *Instructiones*, is of particular interest as it is in disagreement not only with Rattray, but with the whole of the tradition of Scottish Episcopacy, with the possible exception of Henry Scougal, whose view is unknown. John Forbes of Corse acknowledged that the early Church prayed for the faithful departed, but believed it to be dangerous, and should be avoided.³⁸⁷ The question at issue in the verse is whether or not Onesiphorus is dead; St. Paul writes, 'May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, because he often refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chains; when we arrived in Rome he eagerly searched for me and found me—may the Lord grant that he will find mercy from the Lord on that Day!' (II Tim. 1: 16—18a). John Forbes of Corse asserts that Onesiphorus is alive, and that St. Paul is not praying for him to receive mercy unaccorded in this life at the Judgement, 'They [Christian people] prayed for themselves a similar departure from this life and rest... Perhaps they wished to imitate the Apostle praying for Onesiphorous who is not yet dead. "May the Lord give him to find mercy before the Lord on that Day", II Tim. 1: 18. It was even added in the Liturgies for their repose... Be it as it may, the human good-will among the ancients towards the departed, and their pious intention of testifying to their own faith and hope, and of stimulating or arousing the survivors to honourable imitation of the best men may excuse these things. Never the less as far as concerns prayer for their rest and remission it is not safe for us to imitate the ancients, since in this respect we lack the word of God with out which the prayer of faith cannot be had; it requires certain knowledge from the word of God as to who should pray what and for whom'.³⁸⁸ Rattray reads the verse in exactly the opposite way, that St. Paul is praying for his departed friend to find continued mercy on the Day of Judgement. On the face if the verse does seem to admit the more readily to the latter reading. It is certainly true that Rattray considers this doctrine to be not only Apostolic but intrinsically scriptural.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., footnote u., p. 19.

³⁸⁷ Forbes of Corse, op. cit, Lib. XIII, Cap. x, 6.—7., p. 648.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 1.—7., p. 648. (Translation by Mr. Patrick Watson.)

5) Rattray's final point is instruction concerning the act and consequence of receiving Holy Communion. '...this bread and cup, being offered up to God as symbols and antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ, and returned back by Him invigorated with the life-giving power thereof, by the descent and operation of the Holy Spirit upon them whereby they are made that very Body and Blood in virtue and effect, are as such first received by the Priest himself, and then by him, or the Deacons as ministering to [*sic.*, for] him, distributed in the Name of God to the people'.³⁸⁹ The people by receiving Holy Communion renew their covenant with God and with one another, '[The people] being entertained by God on what had been offered up to Him, and feasting together at His table do (according to the manner of transacting covenants used from the beginning) renew their covenant with Him and with one another'.

This idea in the last quotation, that partaking of the Eucharist as a renewal of the covenant established in the blood of Christ is discussed at length by Joseph Mead [1586—1638, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge from 1613 until his death,] in his substantial essay, *The Christian Sacrifice*.³⁹⁰ In chapter VII of this essay, Mead describes the intrinsic relationship between eating and drinking together and establishing a covenant. It was the pattern established by God in the sacrifices of the Old Testament, and is the sign of the New Covenant in the Eucharist. He writes, that a sacrifice is 'an offering whereby the offerer is made to partake of God's Table in token of Covenant and friendship with him, or more explicitly thus, An offering unto the Divine Majesty of that which is given for the food of man, that the offerer partaking thereby might, as by way of a pledge be certified of his acceptance into Covenant and fellowship with his God, by eating and drinking at his table... In a word, a Sacrifice is an *Oblatio Foederalis*'.³⁹¹ One must say of Mead who was writing at the same time as John Forbes of Corse and William Forbes, the he, at much greater length, defined the term 'sacrifice' in precisely the same way that both William Forbes and John Forbes of Corse, as an 'improper sacrifice, according to the strict and proper sense of the word'.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁹⁰ Mead, Joseph, *Works*, J. Worthington, ed., London, 1664, *The Christian Sacrifice*, pp. 369—372; Mead's *Works* is volume 20 (Folio) in the catalogue of Rattray's Library.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

The idea that the Eucharist is the memorial or commemoration of the one Sacrifice offered by the Church in union with the intercession of Christ to the Father; Christ who in His natural body born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified, raised, ascended, glorified, now is sitting at the right hand of the Father, by the Holy Spirit. It is a renewal of the Father's commitment to his redeemed creation, the Church, through the Son by the Holy Spirit. (The Father vindicated Christ by his resurrection, ascension and glorification, and sustains the Church by the work of the Holy Spirit). It is also a participation in the divine life by receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the Church's commitment to the Father in the Son, Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit in the obedience to Christ's command to 'do this in remembrance me'.

Rattray continues, '...and by these pledges [the Body and Blood of Christ] [the Church is] assured of His being reconciled to them, and of their being in a state of favour with Him, and of peace and friendship with one another; and by partaking of the Sacrifice of Christ, have a title to all the benefits purchased by it, which are the conditions of God's part of the New Covenant of which He is the Mediator, and by eating and drinking His Body and Blood are made one body and one spirit with Him (it being the Spirit of Christ descending upon, and united to the bread and wine, Which makes them his Body and Blood) and thereby our bodies, as united to and nourished by His Body, we have a title to a glorious resurrection, being quickened by His Spirit which dwelleth in us'.³⁹³ In a footnote on the physical consequence of receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, Rattray quotes Irenaeus, 'Our bodies being nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ, and laid in the earth and dissolved therein, shall rise in their own time, the Logos of God granting them a resurrection of the Father. (Adv. Haer. L. v. c. 2. #3)', and Ignatius of Antioch, '[For this] bread is the medicine of immortality, our antidote that we should not die but live forever in Christ Jesus. Ep. to Ephes., # 20)'.³⁹⁴ Rattray's mention of the Holy Spirit's action upon the communicant is very important. In Rattray's liturgy, he follows the Greek practice of invoking the Holy Spirit upon both the communicants and upon the Bread and Wine. The significance is that the Holy Spirit comes not upon individuals, but upon the Church, the Body of Christ by Baptism to enable the communicants to

³⁹³ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., footnote v., p. 20.

receive the Body and Blood of Christ to the effects that the renewal of the New Covenant in the Blood of Christ brings—forgiveness of sins, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life in Jesus Christ. Rattray grasps that receiving Holy Communion is not receiving ‘a goodie’ from God, but is rather a dynamic transaction between God and his People by the Covenant established by the death of Christ.

Rattray concludes his fifth point emphasising communion with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, ‘And thus we have communion with the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit (as the Bond of this mystical unity) and with one another also even as our fellow members of Christ’s mystical body, the holy Catholick Church’.³⁹⁵

There is a final long footnote in which Rattray considers the significance of union with Christ. Union with Christ through Baptism not only puts the Church into a dynamic relationship to God the Father through Christ, but also puts the Church into that relationship being reckoned as Christ himself, ‘His sufferings are imputed to them [the Church], as if they had suffered in Him, having offered up this His mystical body in Himself, their Head’. And Rattray also realises that Christ’s suffering not only does not prevent the Christian from suffering, but rather, the Church, ‘in conformity to what he did in their name...’ is called ‘to offer up themselves...in union with Him, which is...offering up our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God...our reasonable service’. Rattray understands the practical implication for every Christian. ‘[We must] undertake to mortify the flesh with the lusts and affections...and to devote ourselves to the service of God in the righteousness and holiness of the truth (Eph. 4: 24); but also to be ready willingly and cheerfully to suffer with Him for the sake of His truth and the benefit of His Church...’. This passage underscores Rattray’s perception of the Eucharist as a dynamic Covenantal transaction between God and the Church.

The footnote continues, ‘This offering up of the Church (August., *City of God*, 1, 10, 6.) and ourselves as members of it in union with the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, is one design of mixing water with the wine in the Eucharistical cup (Cyprian, *Ep.* 63, cf. *Clem. Alex. Praed.* 1, 11, 2; *Iraen.* 1. v. 2; *Tert. De Res. Carn.* 26)

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

the water signifying the people, and the mixture of it with the wine the union of the people with the blood of Christ'.³⁹⁶ Rattray continues to advocate the mixed cup, not only by the testimony of the earliest Fathers and the early liturgies, but indeed by what he deduces to have been the Dominical practice. 'That it [the mixed cup] was the practice of the Catholick Church from the days of the Apostles ...and was always believed to have been instituted by Christ Himself...indeed...the fruit of the vine was a term peculiarly signifying the paschal cup, which was a mixed cup and it was accordingly used by our Lord (Matt. 26: 29.) in this peculiar sense...'.³⁹⁷ The mixed cup, abandoned by most reformed churches, did not, it appears, cease at Aberdeen or in Scottish Episcopacy. Bishop Rattray testifies to its continued use in the North East of Scotland from before the reformation.³⁹⁸

The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem.

It must first be said that the circumstances in which Bishop Rattray produced his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* are ones in which no fixed or authorised liturgical text for the Eucharist (or any other service) had existed in Scotland since the abolition of the Latin Rite in 1560. In one of a pair of sermons entitled, *Liturgy and Loyalty*, published in 1711, on the text 'Fear God; honour the King', I St. Peter, 2: 17, Rattray decried the current practice, particularly in the Church of Scotland, where the voice of the Minister was the only voice to be heard in a Sunday church service, preaching and praying; the custom of saying the Lord's Prayer having fallen into abeyance at the time of the Covenant because it was a set form.³⁹⁹ The Minister was regarded as being endowed with the gift of inspired prayer. Rattray testifies that such an assumption manifestly was not the reality. In his sermon he appeals to 'liturgic' worship as the key to liberation from such limitations, with the ability, personality, and opinions of one person dominating local worship.⁴⁰⁰

Access to Greek liturgical material was limited until the publication of J. Goar's, *Euchologion, sive Rituale Graecorum* in 1647. The Greek text of the Liturgy of St. James was first published in Rome in 1526 by Demetrius Ducas; and reprinted at

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁹⁸ Dowden, op. cit., p. 43.

³⁹⁹ Rattray, Thomas, *Liturgy and Loyalty*, NLS shelfmark, 2. 39 (13), pp. 9—12.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 13 ff.

Paris, together with the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom, and Liturgical extracts from several ecclesiastical writers, by William Morrell in 1560. It was included in J. A. Fabricius' [1668—1736] *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* of 1703.⁴⁰¹ Scottish interest in the Greek liturgical tradition has already been established in this thesis particularly in William Forbes, and John Forbes of Corse, and more obliquely, in James Sibbald, and Henry Scougal. The Non-Jurors generally, and particularly in Bishop Thomas Brett, senior [1667—1744] were widely knowledgeable of, and profoundly interested in, the Greek liturgies. In 1720 Brett published his *Dissertation on the Ancient Liturgies*.⁴⁰² Rattray refers to Bishop Brett's work in the footnote on page vii of the 'Preface' to *The Ancient Liturgy*. A letter to Bishop Robert Keith, dated 20 October, 1736, shows that Bishop Rattray is already very interested in the Liturgy of St. James, and closes by asking Keith to 'Please send me back that Translation of the Lit of St. Ja. for it may be of use to me'.⁴⁰³ In another letter of Rattray's published in *The Ancient Liturgy*, he acknowledges his use of Fabricius, Goar and Renaudot.⁴⁰⁴

Bishop John Dowden, in *The Scottish Communion Office of 1764*, quotes from a manuscript of Bishop Rattray's, (until Bishop Dowden's study unpublished) in which Rattray describes in detail the deplorable quality of both Presbyterian and Episcopalian church services from the points of view of both their content, and the behaviour of the attending congregation.⁴⁰⁵ These conditions prevailed from before Disestablishment to about 1720. Dowden also gives other similar accounts from the same period.⁴⁰⁶ Therefore it is of the utmost importance to see Bishop Rattray's liturgical text ultimately as pastoral and enabling, and not an exercise in obscurantism, or 'Ivory Tower' scholarship divorced from the 'realities of life'. Rattray was for his part offering a text for worship that freed the worshipper, on the one hand, from the tyranny of ecclesiastical chaos and the vagaries of 'personality', and on the other hand, offered a service with dignity and order, which embodied the eucharistic teaching and practice of the ancient Church, and which perhaps contained strands reaching back to the Apostles themselves.

⁴⁰¹ Trollope, the Rev. W., *The Greek Liturgy of St. James*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1848, p. viii.

⁴⁰² *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 'Brett, Thomas', p. 199.

⁴⁰³ Grisbrooke, W. J. op. cit., p. 148, Episcopal Chest, No. 1678.

⁴⁰⁴ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. xvi.

⁴⁰⁵ Dowden, John, op. cit., pp. 39—41.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41—42.

This liturgy is not a re-working of any of the English Prayer books, 1549 or 1662, nor of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. Rattray is striking out into new territory. Only one reference is made in the *Ancient Liturgy* to the Scottish Book, and clearly Rattray is straining toward Apostolic provenance and practice as directly as possible. One reference is made to the 1662 Book: a rubric directing the use of the Manual Acts in the Consecration of the 1662 Liturgy, but it must be observed that the text of the Liturgy of St. James contains directions in the Prayer of Consecration that are ‘Manual Acts’ which vary only slightly in purpose from those of the 1662 Book.⁴⁰⁷ The English text that Rattray produces for use at the end of his analysis of the Anaphora of the Liturgy of St. James is, with the exception of the Offertory Sentences, word for word from the Greek text of the Liturgy. This exercise was unique in both method and intention, and stands even in this day as such.

On the other hand Rattray was not working in a total liturgical vacuum. In various places the 1637 Liturgy was used, but the scarcity of the old Book was a seriously inhibiting factor. After the Act of Toleration in 1712 many thousands of copies of the 1662 English Book were made available in Scotland.⁴⁰⁸ But, Rattray writes, ‘Some people among us could have wished that instead of the English Prayer-Book, that which was formerly composed for the use of our own Church in King Charles the first’s time had been now introduced; but that could not have been so easily done...through want of books... Besides the differences betwixt them [the 1637 Scottish Book and the 1662 English book] are not very material, save only the Communion Office’.⁴⁰⁹ Bishop Rattray then goes on to describe the Scottish eucharistic tradition as he understood it.

He writes, ‘Here indeed, ours [the 1637 Liturgy] is allowed to have the preference, even by the judgement of the learnedest writers of the Church of England themselves; and accordingly it was used by several of the most intelligent with the Bishop of Edinburgh’s knowledge and allowance. And even some who did not use it, did yet interject a Prayer of Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the Elements, to make them the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, and read

⁴⁰⁷ *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. VII, pp. 544—545.

⁴⁰⁸ Dowden, John, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

thereafter the first prayer in the Post-Communion immediately after the words of Institution for a Prayer of Oblation, as it was originally designed. It may not be improper also to remark, that even before we had the common prayers, it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine—not indeed at the Altar, but in preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation, and after this time we are now speaking of, came to spread still somewhat more: several of our younger clergy especially, beginning to acquaint themselves with the principles and practices of the Primitive Church, and to pay great regard to them'.⁴¹⁰

Alexander Jolly, Bishop of Moray from 1798 to 1837, in the appendix to his *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist* of 1832, gives an account of how Bishop Rattray came to undertake his work on the Liturgy of St. James, 'He had read and studied the ancient ecclesiastical fathers and liturgies with great care: And being requested by a worthy Clergyman who enjoyed his friendship, the Rev. Robert Lyon in Fifeshire, to publish the Clementine, and some of the other liturgies, in a small volume, which might be very useful to the Clergy, he applied himself to collate them altogether, and with the Clementine, as their test; and at last made choice of St. James as the first and fountain of them all: "as being," according to his own word copied from his own handwriting, "what I think we have no ground to doubt was the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem in the time of St. Cyril, and is generally owned to be of greatest authority and antiquity of any Liturgy, which we know to have been used in any Church. And this has produced what I now send you"'.⁴¹¹

'The work, thus prepared, for the press was put into the hands of Mr. Lyon who procured its being printed in London in the year 1744...'. After the work was given to Robert Lyon, Bishop Rattray unexpectedly, '...died in Edinburgh, upon Ascension-day, 1743 [May 12th]'.⁴¹¹ Apart from Bishop Jolly's comments and his re-printing the text of the Bishop Rattray's *Order* in the appendix of his *The Christian Sacrifice in the Liturgy*, The only comment and interest in Rattray's text appeared in W. J. Grisbrooke's *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 43—44.

⁴¹¹ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 192—193.

Grisbrook's assessment of Rattray is that, '...it is...as a liturgist of the first order that he deserves the grateful remembrance of posterity. The scholarship of his work...is such that even the passage of two hundred years has not completely outmoded it'.⁴¹²

Rattray's Preface to *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*

Bishop Rattray's rather lengthy preface sets out his rationale and method. He begins, 'The Liturgy of *St. James* is unquestionably one of the most ancient and valuable now anywhere in extant in Christian Church. That it was used in the Church of Jerusalem about the Time of the first Council of Nice, will appear to any who will candidly compare it with St. Cyril's Vth Mystagogical Catechism; and we have no reason to doubt that it was so much earlier. It is indeed, as we now have it, very much corrupted by the additions that were introduced into the worship of the Church in After-times...

'But then upon examining it more attentively, it appeared to me that all these Additions and Interpolations of whatever kind might easily be distinguished and separated from it, and this excellent liturgy of Jerusalem thereby be restored to its original Purity. And this induced me to bestow some Pains in attempting it; presuming that it would not be unacceptable to such as have a just Regard for Antiquity; and might prove useful'.⁴¹³

Rattray next set out his idea that his interest lies mainly with the text of the Anaphora, and not with 'that Part which precedes the Anaphora'. It appears he says from many early sources that the *Synaxis* (Rattray does not use that term) is a 'latter addition to the service of the Church', and that the primitive order '...began with the reading of the Scriptures, intermixed with Psalmody, after which followed the Sermon. Then the *Hearers* and *Unbelievers* being dismissed, there followed, in Order, the Bidding-Prayer of the Deacon, and the Collect of the Bishop first for the Catechumens: Then after they are dismissed, for the Energumens: and after they were dismissed, for the Competentes, or Candidates for Baptism: And lastly after they are dismissing them likewise, for the Penitents. Then after all of these have been dismissed, the *Missa Fidelium* or *Service of the Faithful* began...with the Bidding-Prayer for the Faithful... Then after the Priests washing their Hands, and the Kiss of Peace, and the *Let none*

⁴¹² Grisbrooke, W. Jardine, op. cit., p. 136.

⁴¹³ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. iii.

have ought against anyone; the Deacons brought the Gifts to the Altar; and he having prayed secretly by himself, and likewise the Priests, and making the sign of the Cross with his Hand upon his forehead, says the Apostolical Constitutions, began the Anaphora, as p. 1, 2 [p. 113.]'.⁴¹⁴ In other words Rattray saw the Synaxis as more an order or sequence of the items, one following upon the other, than as having a liturgical structure; the importance lay both in the item and in its position in the sequence, as he enumerates above, rather than that there was a set text in which the items appeared. Rattray did pay attention to certain items in the sequence of things in the Synaxis, for he itemises several at this point in his *Preface* which are included in several appendices at the end of his analysis of the Anaphora of the Liturgy of S. James.⁴¹⁵

Rattray says in his *Preface*, 'But what I am concerned with at present is only the proper Anaphora, or Eucharistical Service, *viz.* from the *Sursum Corda, Lift up your Hearts,* to the *Ita in Pace, Depart in Peace.* And the method I have taken to free it from all latter Interpolations of what kind so ever, and so to restore it to its primitive Purity, is by comparing it with the Clementine Liturgy...I have also compared it with that account of the Liturgy of Jerusalem, which St. Cyril gives in his *Catech. Myst. Vth.* And that you may see all in one View, I have placed in so many different columns, 1st the Liturgy of St. James as we have it at present, the latter Additions being only put in a smaller Character. 2ndly, the same Liturgy without these Additions, and so restored to its ancient purity. 3rdly, St. Cyril's account of it. 4thly, The Clementine Liturgy. And 5th So much for the corresponding Parts of the Liturgies of St. *Mark*, St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Basil*, as I thought might serve for illustrating and confirming it. And since the *Syriac* Liturgy of St. James', published by *Renodotius*, has plainly been taken from the Greek one [Renodot's text and comment is in Latin, Rattray did not read Syriac.],⁴¹⁶ and from the *Sursum Corda* to the Beginning of the Prayer of Intercession [following the Eucharistic Prayer] keeps pretty close to it; I have likewise compared them together, and set down the Differences betwixt them in this Part, so far at least as I reckon'd it could be of any Use to my Design, in the Notes below the first Column. As for what I have left out or altered in the second Col. I have

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. iii—iv.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102—109.

⁴¹⁶ Renodot, Eusèbe, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 1847 ed., England: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1970, vol. II, pp. 1—134.

either given my Reasons for so doing in the Notes, or reckoned that they would appear plain enough from the third or fourth columns...'.⁴¹⁷

Rattray's *Preface* continues with a number of textual considerations from several of the liturgies particularly the Clementine, and Roman Missal, also considering passages from the early Fathers, Rattray concludes, 'How I have succeeded in this Attempt on the Liturgy of St. James must be left to the Judgement of the Reader. I have taken all the care I could, as in the one hand to not to leave out or alter anything, but what appeared to me I had reasonable ground for; so on the other not to retain anything that could be justly liable to suspicion...'.⁴¹⁸ On the page previous, Rattray says, '...From the *Sursum Corda*, *Lift up your Hearts*, to the end of the Prayer of Intercession, all that can be suspected in it as later additions were easily removed, without any the least breach of the coherence or so much as alteration of the grammatical construction; on the contrary, they rather interrupt the connexion, which is much more plain and natural without them'.⁴¹⁹

The study, laid out on two folio pages across the book to accommodate the five columns, alternates between Greek and English, that is the five columns across two pages are in the original Greek, and then the five columns across the next two pages, are in English. The Notes are in English, with Greek and Latin quotations and references. The organisation seems utterly remarkable, as it undertakes a double analysis simultaneously: an internal grammatical analysis, and an analysis comparing the text with other liturgical texts. It must be added that his method was not only original, but also farsighted in foreshadowing similar methods in liturgical study perhaps by a century. Grisbrook states, 'of all the rites considered in this book, Rattray's is probably the most satisfactory, even as it is certainly the most scholarly...'.⁴²⁰ Rattray's method may be considered unscientific by today's standards, but for his day it was a remarkable and original study.

Over the one hundred pages of analysis, fifty in Greek and fifty in English, interleaved, with detailed notation and very carefully mapped out in the five columns

⁴¹⁷ Rattray, op. cit., pp. v—vi.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. xiii.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. x.

⁴²⁰ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 139.

across the two pages, one can see exactly how Rattray's mind was working. The left-hand page has two columns, the left-hand one for the text as presented by Fabricius or as Bishop Rattray called it, 'The present Liturgy of St. James', and the right-hand column for his edited text which he called 'The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem'. It is beneath this column that he notes what he has either omitted from or altered in the original text to produce his version. One must make clear that Rattray was not seeking to work to produce an idea. He was working to 'liberate' a liturgy encumbered with layers of liturgical accretions over centuries. However in doing so he must inevitably make judgements. None the less, the careful reader will see that the judgements are never capricious or born of some pre-existing aim. Everything that he alters, either by way of inclusion or exclusion, is minutely detailed and cross-referenced with the liturgies in the three columns on the right-hand page.

On the right-hand page the left-hand column are the parts of St. Cyril's fifth Mystagogical Catechesis, corresponding to the sections of the Liturgy of St. James laid out in the two versions on the right-hand page. In the middle column is the so-called *Clementine Liturgy*, as taken for the Apostolic Constitutions, and in the right-hand column are the corresponding parts from the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom.

In Bishop Rattray's day the *Clementine Liturgy* was held by many to be the yardstick by which liturgies might be measured. Rattray himself holds it in high regard, but he is certainly not blind to the Arian influence that the liturgy exhibits. Four pages (vi—x) of the preface to *The Ancient Liturgy* are taken up with a discussion of aspects of the text. Noting that, '...it is so plain and simple, and withal so very decent, in its frame and order, and so exactly agrees with the best and earliest accounts of the holy Eucharist, and of the manner in which it was celebrated (as has been shewn by the learned Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bingham and others) that we may well say of it with the excellent Dr. Grabe, *Apostolica omnino videtur certe Antiquissima est, It seems to be really Apostolical, to be sure it is of very great antiquity.* Yet not withstanding...men have observed how great freedoms the compiler of these Constitutions have taken in other instances,* with these more ancient Materials out of which he hath collected them; so I must acknowledge that there is just ground to suspect that he hath used this

freedom with the Liturgy also, and hath foisted in some words and phrases and altered others in it'.⁴²¹

In the footnote marked by the asterisk*, Rattray remarks upon the instance of the 'Morning Hymn', (Glory be to God in the Highest),⁴²² it as it is in the Alexandrian MS comparing it to the text in the Clementine Liturgy. Rattray says, 'that the first is genuine and runs smoothly and naturally, and the second industriously altered, and strained to serve an Hypothesis I mean to make it consistent with the *Arian* Scheme'.⁴²³ On this point Grisbrook observes, '...Rattray had his reservations about the Clementine Liturgy, in this clearly demonstrating the superiority of his scholarship to that of its apologists such as Whiston;⁴²⁴ indeed he [Rattray] regarded it, or at least certain features of it with decided suspicion'.⁴²⁵ These comments give an understanding of Bishop Rattray's intellectual capacity for discrimination, discernment, and insight, which, one might suggest were comparable with the best minds of his day.

The Text of Rattray's *The ORDER for Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist*.

'*The ORDER for Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist*', the text of Bishop Rattray's English language liturgy with rubrics and notes is the translation of his Greek text edited down from the Greek text of the Liturgy of St. James. It is only in a letter from Rattray [to Robert Lyon, one assumes] included by Lyon, after the *Preface*, that Rattray gives a sort of bibliography. The text of the Liturgy of St. James that he is working from is 'that published by Fabricius in his *Apocriphals of the New Testament*'.⁴²⁶

Bishop Rattray intended the *ORDER for Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist* for actual use. It is known that Bishop Rattray had a chapel at Craighall,

⁴²¹ Rattray, op.cit., pp. vi—vii.

⁴²² Ibid., Appendix vi, pp. 108—109.

⁴²³ Ibid., footnote*, p. v.

⁴²⁴ A brilliant but eccentric English academic and cleric condemned for Ariansim. See Grisbrooke, p. 56 ff.

⁴²⁵ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p.137.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., p. xvi.

and one would assume that he used it there.⁴²⁷ One might also assume the same of his successor as Primus, Bishop Robert Keith; there is a manuscript copy⁴²⁸ of the *Order for Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist* in Bishop Keith's own hand in the Episcopal Church archives held in the Scottish Archives, Princes Street, Edinburgh. After Rattray's death, his memory was revered in the Episcopal Church as attested by Bishop Jolly himself, and also by the passage from Bishop Keith's sermon for Bishop Rattray,⁴²⁹ recorded by Bishop Jolly. So also was reverence for his *The Ancient Liturgy*. However Dowden attests that while there was respect and affection for the *Ancient Liturgy*, there was a realistic appraisal of the difficulty of introducing so alien a liturgical text, 'Bishop Dunbar...wrote to his brethren... 'I know not if it will be convenient at this time to enjoin the use of the Scots Communion Office, though it ought to be recommended. One more primitive and excellent, which cost Dr. Rattray, much labour, and which he has left in a fair manuscript, may one day be published and received with universal admiration'. Twenty years later, in 1762, later Bishop John Alexander, also a bishop of Aberdeen, says, 'It would be rash, if not ruinous, to furnish our enemies with so specious a handle, as they would not fail to make of our offering to bring in St. James Liturgy at present. A proper time may come, which God grant may be soon'.⁴³⁰

It is extremely doubtful that Bishop Rattray's *ORDER* was ever used by more than a few probable individuals, in private circumstances; there is no record of its ever having been used in public worship. Certainly after the introduction of the Penal Laws of 1746, which drastically limited the ability of Episcopalians to gather, public worship became virtually impossible. However in 1994, the *ORDER* was publicly celebrated, in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, by the kind permission of the Provost, the Very Rev'd Graham Forbes, on Whitsunday, May 22, by the Rev'd Canon A. M. Allchin, celebrant, and the Rev'd Canon Ian Paton, as the Deacon. Canon Allchin observed at the time his surprise at discovering the usability of Bishop Rattray's *ORDER*.

⁴²⁷ The house was rebuilt twice in the nineteenth century. Attempting to guess its probable location is difficult, if not impossible.

⁴²⁸ Keith, Robert, Letter to Thomas Rattray with Suggestions on Rattray's English *ORDER*, National Archives of Scotland, CH 12/12/1046.

⁴²⁹ Jolly, Alexander, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, second ed., A. Brown & Co, Aberdeen, 1847, pp. 192—193.

⁴³⁰ Dowden, John, op. cit., pp. 68, 74.

A brief description of the text of the *ORDER for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist* follows.

The *ORDER* begins with four preparatory rubrics. The first two are concerned with Church discipline, the first governing those eligible to be present at the Eucharist and the second governing those from the Faithful who for some reason are to be prohibited from receiving Holy Communion. The first rubric states that, 'None but the Faithful are to be present at this office'. A footnote defines the term 'Faithful' in opposition not only to 'Hearers and Unbelievers...Hereticks and Schismatics', but also to 'Catechumens and Penitents'.⁴³¹ The next rubric prohibits anyone 'who has fallen into any Crime for which he ought to do penance', the priest...shall prohibit him from approaching the holy altar, until he have performed the same'.⁴³² And the priest who 'perceives an enmity or hatred betwixt any of them, he shall not suffer any of them to be partakers of the Holy Eucharist until he know them to be reconciled'.⁴³³

Then follow two rubrics which are concerned with the performance of the liturgy: first, the disposition of the holy Table, which Rattray consistently terms the 'Altar', 'The Altar shall stand at the East end of the Church or Chapel: and at the time of celebrating the holy Eucharist shall have a fair white linen cloth upon it', and second, the disposition of the necessary eucharistic vessels, the cup and paten, and the elements, the bread, wine and water, 'Before the service begin, the Deacon [or Priest] shall prepare so much Bread, Wine and Water as he judgeth convenient, laying the Bread on the Paten ...and putting the Wine in to the Chalice, or into flagons...and the Water in to some other proper vessel, and shall place them upon the Prothesis, and cover the with a fair white linen cloth'.⁴³⁴ The *Prothesis* is a side-table where the items requisite for the Eucharist, the Paten with the bread, the empty Chalice, two flagons, one with wine and one with water, and a bowl and towel for the Priest to wash his hands, are placed beforehand. The Offertory rubric in the 1637 obliquely suggests the possibility of a side-table. Rattray's *ORDER* is the only Scottish eucharistic text to explicitly require a *Prothesis*.

⁴³¹ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., footnote *, p. 113.

⁴³² Ibid., p. 113.

⁴³³ Ibid., p. 113.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

The public service of the *ORDER* begins with five liturgical items that are not part either of Rattray's analysis or of the Liturgy of St. James:

- 1) The first liturgical act of Rattray's *Order* is the Deacon's bringing water to the priest to wash his hands. As he washes the Priest recites aloud v.6, Ps. 26 This 'innocent and ...significant' ceremony is part of the Greek text of the Liturgy of St. James, but is not in Rattray's analysis.⁴³⁵
- 2) This is followed by the Deacon's proclamation, 'Let none of those who ought not to join this service stay...' These proclamations are not in the liturgy of St. James, but are taken from the 'Clementine' Liturgy in the 'Apostolic Constitutions'.⁴³⁶

The Kiss of Peace, follows the Deacon's Proclamations; in the Liturgy of St. James it comes immediately after the priestly washing of hands, and is a constituent part of the Liturgy as Rattray notes on page 3 of his analysis. Rattray understands the 'Holy Kiss' not as a formalised act among a few but for the whole assembly. He includes a rubric giving instruction as to who 'salutes' whom. The clergy greet the 'Bishop or officiating Priest', and the men greet the men and the women greet the women. He also includes a note which says, 'This is not to be used but in such churches or chapels as are so ordered that the men and women sit separate as they ought to do'.⁴³⁷ Bishop Rattray's liturgical intuition is astonishingly prescient in actually proposing the observance of an ancient practice not revived until approximately two hundred years after *The Ancient Liturgy's* publication. That the men sit or stand on the right and the women on the left (facing the Iconostasis) is the custom in many Orthodox congregations today.

- 3) The third item introduced by Rattray at the beginning of his *Order* is the Offertory. There is an Offertory in the Liturgy of St. James, but it is not the Offertory provided by Rattray. His Offertory begins with the sentence, 'Let us present our Offerings with Reverence and Godly Fear'. This sentence is wholly original to Rattray. It is not in any previous prayer book, or in any of the ancient liturgies.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., footnote †, p.113.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., footnote *, col. 2, p. 113.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., footnote *, col. 2, p. 113.

4) The Offertory sentence is followed by fourteen Sentences which ‘are not in *Lit. Ja.*, or any other ancient liturgy, but are taken chiefly from the Liturgy composed for the Church of Scotland...and are inserted here as being very proper to stir up the People to offer willingly with a devout heart’.⁴³⁸ In the custom of the Prayer Books the Sentences are either to be said by the Priest⁴³⁹ or sung by clerks, as ordered in the Book of 1549.⁴⁴⁰ These Sentences are to cover the receiving of the ‘free-will Offering of the People’. The money collection, which as already observed, Rattray sees a substitute for the presentation of the bread and wine by the people. Once again, Rattray show considerable insight into liturgical practices that long after his day would re-emerge. Rattray does not recommend the revival of the presentation of the ‘Gifts’, but he is strikingly aware of the ancient practice, and is careful to connect the collection of the money with it, which he calls ‘Oblations’⁴⁴¹ and not alms.

5) The final and fifth item introduced by Rattray, and immediately preceding the portion of the Liturgy of St. James used by him is the Offertory Doxology said by the Priest when the Deacon, ‘or any other fit person (if there be no Deacon)’ brings forward the free-will offering, ‘Blessed be Thou O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine O Lord is the Greatness, the Power the Glory and the Majesty; for all that is in the Heaven and in the Earth is Thine: All things come from Thee and of thine own do we give unto Thee’.⁴⁴² The use of this verse from David’s’s prayer of thanksgiving for resources for the Temple, I Chronicles 29; 11, as a doxological prayer over the free-will offering is completely original to Rattray. It is one of the sixteen Offertory Sentences in the 1637 Liturgy, used as a *cento* of verses from I Chronicles 29 (vv. 10, 11, 12a, 14b, 17) but 1637 has no comparable doxology. Of particular note is the last verse of the doxology after the colon, ‘all things come of Thee and of Thine own do we give unto Thee’. This verse is also from the *cento* of verses from I Chronicles 29, verse 14, but it is also a quotation from the ‘Prayer of Oblation’ in the Eucharistic prayers of St. Mark, St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil, ‘...we offer to thee thine own out of thine own...’.⁴⁴³ This doxological prayer and the sentence introducing the Offertory, ‘Let us present our Offerings...’ are two immediately recognisable features

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, footnote ||, p. 114.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 41.

of Rattray's *Order* that will appear in the 1764 *Scottish Communion Office*, twenty years later.

The Offertory Doxology is followed by a rubric instructing the Deacon [or Priest] to go to the *Prothesis* where the Deacon prepares the Cup by pouring in wine and water, (the bread is already in the Paten) and brings the cup and bread to the Priest, 'who shall reverently place them upon the Altar'.⁴⁴⁴ Then Rattray directs the Priest, who '...having prayed secretly for a short space, shall turn himself to the People and signing himself with the sign of the Cross upon his forehead...'.⁴⁴⁵ The Prayer the Priest is then to say secretly is Appendix, 'Numb. III'.⁴⁴⁶ Then begins the Anaphora proper.

The rubric requiring the Priest to sign himself with the sign of the Cross is indeed radical. One can say that Rattray's *Order* is not only the total reversal of the intentions of the National Covenant of a hundred years previous, but also of that aspect of the Scottish Reformation which sought to either exclude or diminish the ceremonies and gestures of Christian worship as either incitements to or the vehicles of superstition. F. C. Eeles describes a more muted gesture used by [some?] Episcopalian Presbyters at the recitation of the Words of Institution in the Eucharist. 'The Presbyter places his hands palms downward and at right angles to each other, first over the bread and then over the cup, as he recites the Institution...'.⁴⁴⁷ Eeles does not comment, but the gesture is making the sign of the Cross without movement. Rattray's rubric suggests that the Priest trace the Cross on his brow in full view of the congregation. Rattray says in his note, 'They must be strangers to Antiquity who do not know that the Sign of the Cross was used by the primitive Christians from the apostolical Age downward, not only in the Sacred Mysteries of Religion, but in the ordinary occurrences of life. [There follows citations from Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Chrysostom.] And no serious and judicious Christians...can disregard, far less oppose the venerable usages universally received in the first and purest ages immediately

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 105.

⁴⁴⁷ Eeles, F. C., *Customs and Traditions associated with the Scottish Liturgy*, London: Alcuin Club, 1908, pp. 64—65.

succeeding the Apostles, and which the Catholick Church...undoubtedly derived from Apostolic Tradition'.⁴⁴⁸

Then follows the eucharistic prayer proper. This follows the description Rattray gives in *The Christian Covenant*. The 'preface' is a hymn to God for creation of the things visible and for the angelic hosts, naming the nine orders of Angels. Then follows the Hymn used in virtually all eucharistic rites from Isaiah 6. The Prayer continues, after a doxological introduction, with a history of salvation from the fall to the the ministry of Jesus, 'who directed his whole dispensation to our salvation'.⁴⁴⁹ The Words of Institution follow.

Rattray inserts the 'Manual Acts' from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer in the Words of Institution of his *ORDER*. There are two possible reasons for this. The first is that this is not strictly a borrowing from the English Prayer Book. The Liturgy of St. James has directions for 'manual acts' for the Priest contained with in the text of the Liturgy that are very similar to the 'Manual Acts' of the 1662 Prayer Book.⁴⁵⁰ The second is that the Liturgy of St. James has no clear moment of 'the Fraction'.⁴⁵¹ Breaking the Bread as directed in the 'Manual Acts' is an expression of the sacrificial view of the Eucharist that has been discussed in this study. Charles Wheatly, the eighteenth century commentator on the 1662 Prayer Book, says of the breaking of the bread, '...during the repetition of these words the priest performs to God the representative sacrifice of the death and passion of his Son. By taking the bread into his hand and breaking it, he makes a memorial to him [God the Father] of our Saviour's body broken upon the Cross, and by exhibiting the wine he reminds him of his blood there shed for the sins of the world';⁴⁵² The bread is the 'instituted representative' Christ's Body broken. When the priest says the Prayer of Oblation, he is exhibiting in 'open view' before the Father and the assembly of the Church Christ's Body crucified and broken [that is dead] and his blood shed. In Rattray's *Order* the

⁴⁴⁸ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 115.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

⁴⁵⁰ Jasper, R. C. D., and Cuming, G. J., *Prayers of the Eucharist, Early & Reformed*, Collins, London, 1975, pp. 58—59; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. vol. VII, p. 544.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., p.548.

⁴⁵² Wheatly, Charles, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848, p. 297.

Prayer of Oblation says, ‘We sinners offer to Thee this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice’. In bread and wine, we offer to the Father the death of Jesus Christ.

The Prayer of Oblation, follows on the Words of Institution. This prayer is a focal point of the whole Prayer of Consecration. The Words of Institution consecrate or designate the bread and wine as the ‘instituted representatives’ of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Prayer of Oblation, offers them to God the Father as the memorial of the Christ’s death, but also commemorating his burial, resurrection, ascension, looking for his second Advent. The Prayer specifically asks that by this offering sins would be forgiven, and that God would ‘grant us thy heavenly and eternal good things’.⁴⁵³ It is on this basis of the offering of the death of Christ representatively and commemoratively that intercession is made; by making this offering in obedience to Christ’s command at the Last Supper, God the Father is pleased or propitiated, and pours out his blessings.

The *Epiclesis* or Prayer of Invocation, which follows, is also very specific: ‘Make this bread the holy BO+DY of thy Christ, and this Cup the holy BLO+OD of thy Christ...’.⁴⁵⁴ The Prayer of Invocation, as in all of the ancient Greek liturgies, invokes the Holy Spirit to come upon the assembly gathered, as well as the holy Gifts, ‘Have mercy upon us, O Lord God,...and send down they holy Spirit upon us and upon these Gifts here set before Thee’.⁴⁵⁵ Neither the English 1549 Liturgy nor the Scottish 1637 Liturgy contain a specific the *Epiclesis* upon the People as well as the bread and wine, as Rattray’s *ORDER* does. In both 1549 and 1637, the *Epiclesis* precedes the Words of Institution, and is directed to the bread and wine only. Even in the 1764 Liturgy which does follow the classic Greek pattern, there is no inclusion of ‘the people’ in the *Epiclesis*. While the Invocation asks for specific effects on the gifts, that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, it does not ask anything directly on the people, but that by receiving the Body and Blood Christ, ‘...that they may be to all who partake of them, for the Sanctification of soul and body, for the bringing forth of the fruit of good works, for remission of sins and for everlasting life’.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 117.

The Prayer of Invocation is followed by the Intercession. All the Greek liturgies have petitions of intercession that follow the Invocation. However it is a particular feature of the Liturgy of St. James, as there are many petitions. How many depend on which manuscript of the Liturgy is being followed. The earliest known manuscript from the Vatican has twenty nine petitions,⁴⁵⁷ and a long *cataena* of Saints in the commemoration at the conclusion of the Intercession. Rattray saw these Intercessory petitions as the Intercessory prayers of the Eucharist. The Priest is beseeching the Father as, in type and symbol, the Son of God lies slain upon the holy Table ‘in open view’. Jesus Christ in his glorified Resurrection Body is pleading his once-for-all Sacrifice upon the Cross for us before the Father in heaven, as we plead that same sacrifice in bread and wine here below.

The petitions of the Intercessions within the Eucharistic Prayer almost exactly reflect those petitions Rattray lists in his Appendix ‘Numb. I’.⁴⁵⁸ The Eucharistic Prayer concludes with provision for the commemoration of a Saint’s day (it is interesting to note that the commemoration appears to suggest the possibility of the commemoration the figures from the Old Testament as well as the New Testament,) ‘And grant that we may find mercy and favour, with all thy Saints, who from the beginning of the world have pleased Thee in their several generations, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and every just Spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ [particularly *N.* whom we this day commemorate.]’⁴⁵⁹

The Rubric at that point directs, ‘Here the Priest shall pause a while, he and the People secretly recommending those departed whom each thinks proper’.⁴⁶⁰ The Prayer continues, ‘Remember O Lord...those also whom we have remembered, and those whom we have not remembered...give them rest in the...in the Bosom of our holy Fathers Abraham Isaac and Jacob...’⁴⁶¹ In a footnote Rattray gives a succinct description of the meaning of prayer for the departed.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Jasper, R. C. D., and Cuming, G. J., op. cit., pp. 58—63.

⁴⁵⁸ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., pp. 102—103.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 119.

After the conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer, the Liturgy continues with a salutation, followed by a litany led by the Deacon. In the Liturgy of St. James the last three of these petitions do not appear, and as Rattray notes are borrowed from the Clementine Liturgy and the Liturgy of St. Basil. The last petition of the litany is, 'And for *rest to our Fathers and Brethren who have gone before us'. The asterisk * signals a footnote which is a further series of citations of Scripture, including the Apocrypha, and the early Fathers on the subject of the repose of the dead.⁴⁶³ Then follows the Lord's Prayer, a prayer in preparation for the receiving of Holy Communion, then Communion, first by the celebrant, then the clergy, then the laity. After Communion, an Exhortation to thanksgiving is led by the Deacon, followed by the Prayer of Thanksgiving for the benefits of having received the Body and Blood of Christ at the 'heavenly Table: Let not the receiving of these unspotted Mysteries be to the Condemnation of us Sinners; but keep us good God in the Sanctification of Thy holy Spirit; that being made holy, we may obtain a part and inheritance with Thy Saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world...'.⁴⁶⁴ The liturgy ends with a blessing by the priest, and the dismissal by the Deacon.⁴⁶⁵

At the end of the liturgical text there are several rubrics detailing the frequency of celebrating the Eucharist. 'Every Sunday and every other Festival for which there is a proper Epistle and Gospel'; are days the Priest should celebrate, 'unless he be hindered by some urgent or reasonable cause'; also there should be a sufficient number to communicate, 'there shall be no celebration...except two persons at the least communicate with the Priest'. The Priest should also, 'inform the people of the nature and importance of this holy Mystery...and the...advantage of frequent communion'.⁴⁶⁶

Rattray includes a rubric at this point concerning the reservation of the Sacrament for the sick or dying.⁴⁶⁷ Bishop Dowden writes, 'How far Reservation has been practised it is not easy to say. There was without doubt occasional reservation for the Sick...It is certain that after Easter and Christmas it was a common practise to communicate

⁴⁶³ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 122.

the sick with the Reserved Sacrament.... In 1899 Mr F. C. Eeles published a treatise entitled *Reservation of the Holy Eucharist in the Scottish Church*. He has produced much interesting information ...but he has wholly failed to produce a particle of evidence for reservation after the Reformation until we come to the time of the Non-Jurors'.⁴⁶⁸ None the less, one can but assume that Bishop Rattray followed such a practice, and perhaps a few of his successors such as Bishops Keith and Alexander who were friends and admirers of Rattray's.

The final rubrics concern the reverent consumption of the remains of the Sacrament other than what is to be reserved; the safe keeping of the Reserved Sacrament, 'under a safe lock' in the vestry, and its timely renewal; and the disposition of the 'free-will offering of the People' beyond the defraying the cost of the bread and wine for the Eucharist.⁴⁶⁹

Bishop Rattray clearly saw the need for a worthy eucharistic liturgy for reverent and solemn worship. His attempt to supply this liturgy was not successful, partly because of the political events that were to affect Scottish Episcopalians for decades; partly because of the subsequent need to conform more and more to the norm of the Church of England, and partly because it was exotic: from too distant a time, from too different a liturgical tradition, the Byzantine liturgical culture of fourth century Jerusalem. However, it is the liturgical text *par excellence*, that exemplifies the eucharistic doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice outlined in this thesis.

Conclusion

Not only does Bishop Rattray's *ORDER* exemplify the doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice, but also his *Christian Covenant* is his explanation of it.

1) The Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but that is an improper sacrifice in which the thing offered is not destroyed; it is the offering of bread and wine as a memorial and commemoration of Christ's sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the

⁴⁶⁸ Dowden, John, op. cit. p. 226.

⁴⁶⁹ Rattray, Thomas, op. cit., p. 122.

Last Supper. Section 1 the *Christian Covenant* is the explanation of exactly that point in the terms of the offering of Melchizedek, also in *A Sermon on the Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, Rattray deals with that point in terms of Malachi 1: 11.

2) The Eucharist is a representation of Christ's death both to us, to 'proclaim the Lord's death', and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ's once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice, as the one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice. The last part of Section 4 of the *Christian Covenant* describes in some detail the Eucharist as an impetratory or supplicatory sacrifice. Rattray's *ORDER* contains the long list of petitions in the text of the Liturgy of St. James in Fabricius' *Apocriphals of the New Testament*, which come at the end of the Prayer of Consecration. In Scottish eucharistic texts from Rattray onward, until the 1970 'Grey Book' Liturgy, the 'Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church' is placed after the Consecration.⁴⁷⁰

3) By the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the forgiveness of sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice. Section 5) of his *The Christian Covenant* covers this point, although Rattray speaks in more general terms, '...by these pledges are assured of His being reconciled with them, and of their being in a state of favour with him...' and, '...by thus partaking of the Sacrifice of Christ, have a title to all the benefits purchased by it...'. In the Sermon, Rattray speaks more explicitly, '...[the Eucharist] is also Expiatory and proptiatory, in Virtue...of ...the great personal Sacrifice of Jesus Christ... and...is the instituted Commemoration appointed by him as the proper and efficacious means...of applying the Pardon of our Sins...'.⁴⁷⁰

4) The bread and wine do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine, but by the prayer of the Church, said by the Bishop or Presbyter on behalf of the Church, (i.e.

⁴⁷⁰ Lempriere, Philip A., op. cit., The 1735 text of the Liturgy also placed the 'Prayer for the Whole state of Christ's Church' after the Prayer of Consecration.

the gathered people) in union with the Catholic Church, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ (not the whole Christ). In the central section of 4. of the *Christian Covenant* Rattray states, ‘...as Christ offered up his body and blood to God the Father under the symbols of bread and wine...so the priest offereth up this bread and cup as the symbols of this Sacrifice of His Body and Blood...after which he prays that God would...accept this commemorative Sacrifice by sending down upon it the Holy Spirit...that...he may He may...make this bread and this cup...verily and indeed His Body and His Blood; the same Divine Spirit being united to these elements and invigorating them with the virtue, power and efficacy thereof and making them one with it...’.

5) The consecrated bread and wine become neither Christ’s actual natural body as born of the Virgin Mary, nor his Ascended and Glorious Resurrection Body; the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine are denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood, and the breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ, referring back to the Christ’s own words in the Institution, ‘...my Body broken [in death] for you’. The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol. Rattray outlines in the quotation immediately above that ‘as Christ [at the Last Supper] offered up his Body and Blood under the symbols of bread and wine’ the bread and cup offered by the Presbyter saying the Words of Institution over them, become ‘symbols or antitypes’ of the body and blood of Christ ‘as slain on the Cross for our Redemption’. Then by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, they become the Body and Blood of Christ. Rattray says that the Holy Spirit ‘being united to these elements, and invigorating them with virtue, power and efficacy...’. Also 1. of the *Christian Covenant* says, ‘[Jesus offered them [the bread and cup] up to God and the symbols of his Body and Blood, and invoked a blessing...the Divine power of the Holy Spirit, to descend upon them...He gave them to his disciples as His Body broken, His blood shed...for the remission of sins’.

6) Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second and glorious Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit. In sections 2) of the *Christian Covenant* Rattray writes, that ‘He entered into heaven...there to present His sacrifice to God the Father...to make continual intercession for his Church’. And in 3) he writes, ‘He commanded the Apostles, and their successors...to do (i.e. to offer) this bread (and cup) in commemoration of Him...or as the memorial of His one sacrifice...once offered for the sins of the world, and thereby to plead the merits of it before His Father, here on earth, as He doth continually in heaven’.

As section 4) of the *Christian Covenant* describes what in effect was to become Rattray’s *ORDER* in terms of the doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice. In the list below the six points given above are correlated

- 1) The Offertory, p. 115; the Prayer of Oblation, p.117
- 2) The intecessory petitions, pp.117, 118, 119, and Litany before the Lord’s Prayer, p. 120
- 3) The Prayer of Oblation, p. 117; the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, p. 117, prayer, ‘We thy servants, O Lord’, p. 120—121; the petition, ‘but keep us... in the sanctification of thy holy Spirit...’, in the Prayer of thanksgiving after Communion, ‘O God who of thy great and inexpressible love...’, p. 121.
- 4)The first petition of the Litany before the Lord’s Prayer, ‘Let us pray for the Gifts’, p. 120. This petition would seem to clearly indicate even though the bread and cup have been consecrated to be the Body and the Blood of the Lord, they are still ‘gifts’ of bread and wine offered to the Father in commemoration of Christ’s death, and that the offering is pleasing to God.
- 5) The Words of Institution, p. 116; the sentence in the Prayer of Oblation, ‘...we sinners offer unto Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice...’, p. 117. This sentence indicates that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is the offering of bread and wine as representing and commemorating the bloody sacrifice of the Cross, and is not the bloody offering now, and the first petition of the Litany before the Lord’s Prayer, as above.
- 6) The Prayer of Oblation, p. 117, ‘In Commemoration of his ...Passion...Cross... Death, Burial, and Resurrection...his Ascension into Heaven, and Sitting at the right

Hand of thee his God and Father, and looking for his second glorious and terrible Advent’.

Part II Robert Forbes and the relationship in structure, content, and doctrine between Bishop Rattray’s *ORDER* and the 1764 Scottish Liturgy.

The history and development of the *Liturgy of 1764* has authoritatively been discussed by Bishop John Dowden in his book, *The Scottish Communion Office, 1764*. W. J. Grisbrooke in his *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, also provides several pages of commentary, based on Dowden’s work. Grisbrooke quotes Dowden’s judgement that the posthumous publication of the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, ‘was of deep moment in the history of the Scottish Office’.⁴⁷¹ The 1764 Liturgy is the work of Bishop Robert Forbes with the then Primus, William Falconar, and as Bishop Dowden shows, the text for the 1764 Liturgy, was closely based on Falconar’s text of 1755, which Dowden sees as ‘distinctly traceable to Rattray’s work’.⁴⁷² For the sake of clarity it must be noted that there were many ‘unofficial’ editions of the ‘Communion Office’ similar to each other from 1722 (a reprint of the 1637 Liturgy) onwards that had no Synodical approval,⁴⁷³ and which will not be noted in this thesis, with the exception of that of 1735.

Robert Forbes was an Aberdonian, the son of a schoolmaster, born on May 1st 1708.⁴⁷⁴ He was educated at Marischal College, and was ordained a priest in 1735 in Edinburgh, and Bishop of Ross and Caithness in 1769. He lived at Leith the whole of his ministry, and was buried in the Maltman Aisle of South Leith Parish Church. Always closely associated with the Jacobite cause, his most important work was *The Lyon in Mourning*, memoirs connected to the ’45, in ten octavo volumes.⁴⁷⁵ Bishop Dowden discovered, transcribed, and published in 1904 Bishop Forbes’ *A Catechism*,

⁴⁷¹ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 155; Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 71.

⁴⁷² Dowden, John, op. cit., pp. 77—78.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁷⁴ Forbes, Robert, *A CATECHISM Dealing chiefly with the Holy Eucharist*, J. Dowden, ed., Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son, 1904, footnote 6, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, ‘Forbes, Robert’ (1708—1775), pp. 409—410.

which in very brief compass expresses the teaching that is expressed in the 1764 Liturgy.⁴⁷⁶

It is the intention of this examination of the 1764 Liturgy to place Rattray's English language *Order* at the centre of the desire for a truly indigenous eucharistic rite, which in turn produced the 1764 Liturgy, and to demonstrate that the order, or sequence of the various parts of the 1764 Liturgy derive directly from Bishop Rattray's *Order* of 1744, as its principal and significant source, and that the 1764 Liturgy is purposefully faithful in doctrine to the idea of the Eucharist as the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice. Grisbrooke observes this point and writes,

'Nevertheless...the doctrines held by its compilers—and be it added by not a few Scots divines after them [Grisbrooke notes Bishop Jolly's *Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*—and they are doctrines which the rite was intended to express, and does express very effectively...'.⁴⁷⁷ Grisbrooke's failure in all of the three Scottish eucharistic rites that he examines, and that are also examined in this thesis, is that he sees them in terms of English church history and English eucharistic doctrine. He discerns no thread of Scottish eucharistic doctrine running through them.

It must be said at this point that Bishop Dowden, while acknowledging considerable influence from Rattray, also sees many wider influences at work, principally those coming from the English Non-Jurors. This point must be carefully considered.

Dowden thought that the doctrinal impulse that led to the 1764 Liturgy, was from the English Non-Jurors. Dowden, quotes Thomas Rattray writing as the laird of Craighall, his Perthshire estate, in the days before his ordination, that he had such scruples about the deficiencies of the English Communion Service, that he usually prevailed upon the officiating priest to use 'the mixture and either the first Prayer in the Post-communion in the English Liturgie... or the Scots Liturgie.... Yet still the prayers in both these liturgies are so much out of order...that I could not help being thereby very much disturbed in my devotions'. Bishop Dowden comments on that quotation, 'So it was, here and there among the learned. But the feeling in favour of the eucharistic doctrine afterward expressed in the Scottish Liturgy necessarily took sometime to grow among

⁴⁷⁶ Forbes, Robert, op. cit., 24 pages.

⁴⁷⁷ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 159.

the clergy and people. The main impulse towards the adoption of the views of the Eucharist which afterward became general reached Scotland from the South'.⁴⁷⁸

The principal objection to Dowden's statement is that, like Grisbrooke's, it ignores the existence of the tradition of eucharistic thought expressed by writers in the tradition of Scottish Episcopacy from the early seventeenth century down to Rattray's own day. Dowden makes no connection between the two periods of Episcopacy in the Scottish Church before disestablishment and the writings of the post-disestablishment Episcopalians.

There are two points to make about the circumstances surrounding the eucharistic doctrine expressed in the 1764 Liturgy. The first is that the powerful influence of some seventeenth and early eighteenth century English writers such as Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Joseph Mead, Bishop George Bull, the non-juring bishop and liturgical scholar Thomas Brett, and 'the learned Mr. Johnson' is undeniably true. Nonetheless, even while a strong, articulate, and powerful body of English eucharistic theology was influencing eighteenth century Scottish Episcopalians, there was already in existence a strong, residual eucharistic tradition native to Scottish Episcopacy which not only created and maintained the climate in which the congenial English ideas could flourish, but also was itself a potent and defining influence. There are several pieces of evidence for this claim.

There are concrete links connecting the writers of seventeenth century Scottish Episcopacy with eighteenth century Episcopalians. Archibald Campbell's having owned a copy of William Forbes' *Considerationes*, and having referred to it as one of his modern authorities in his *Doctrines of the Middle State*, and Thomas Rattray's possession of John of Corse's *Omnia Opera* and a work by his father, Bishop Patrick Forbes, also established above from the catalogue of the sale of Rattray's Library, are two. Also, one can see that from the catalogue that Rattray was keenly aware of his Scottishness, both culturally and theologically.

⁴⁷⁸ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 48.

One might say that the works of two authors, no matter how important, make a slender thread upon which to hang the proposition that Rattray and those after him were the heirs to a substantive Scottish theological eucharistic tradition. In order to make such a claim on such a basis, one must take into account the published theological works of Scottish ‘episcopalian’ writers prior to Rattray’s day. The works were very few indeed, and, apart from the then relatively recently published *Omnia Opera* of John Forbes of Corse, the other works considered here must have been more or less inaccessible. However there is also a second and stronger link, the evidence that the seventeenth works discussed in this thesis all maintain the same teaching, in more or less the same words, and all emphatically resorting to the teaching of the Church Fathers. An example is Henry Scougal’s ‘Preparation Sermon’, which clearly expresses this tradition of eucharistic doctrine with a distance of time from other writers of Scottish Episcopacy, both before him and after him. Sinclair Snow in a chapter of his biography of Patrick Forbes details the many strong links from seventeenth century Episcopacy into eighteenth century Episcopalianism, especially located around Aberdeen. Although he does not mention Thomas Rattray, he does mention Robert Keith, Rattray’s close friend and supporter.⁴⁷⁹

Comparison of Rattray’s *ORDER* with the 1764 Liturgy

The Scots Episcopalians’ desire to see their native theology clearly cast in liturgical form was finally achieved in the Liturgy of 1764. A careful comparison of the liturgical components of Rattray’s *ORDER* and those of the 1764 Liturgy follows; this writer asserts that Thomas Rattray’s *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, with its English language *ORDER* was the precipitating and defining influence upon the Liturgy of 1764. The 1764 Liturgy, published as a ‘wee bookie’ began with the Exhortation before the Offertory. Those parts of the Liturgy that come before the Exhortation after the Sermon in Bishop Dowden’s work is a reconstruction, as he notes.⁴⁸⁰ The Offertory also is the beginning point of Rattray’s *ORDER*.

1) After the Exhortation following the Sermon, *Then the Presbyter or Deacon shall say*, ‘Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and with godly fear’. There are three items that suggest direct influence: A) a sentence that initiates the

⁴⁷⁹ Snow, W. G. S., op. cit., pp. 161—172.

⁴⁸⁰ Dowden, John, op. cit., p.121.

actions of the Offertory, B) the identical wording of ‘Let us present...’ in Rattray’s *ORDER* and 1764, and C) the inclusion of a rôle for the Deacon. The sentence ‘Let us present...’ one must conclude is of Rattray’s authorship, as it first appears in his *ORDER*.

2) The Offertory Sentences of 1764 are identical with those of the *ORDER*, with the addition of one extra, Heb. 13.16.

3) The rubric at the end of the ‘Offertory Sentences’ of 1764 compares with the rubric of the *Order* on two points: i) the Deacon receives ‘devotions of the people’; ii) the money collected is referred to as ‘oblations’ at the second reference, ‘...and he [the Deacon] shall reverently bring the said Bason with the oblations there in...’.

4) The ‘Offertory Doxology’ of 1764 is identical with the *ORDER* with the exception of the addition of I Chron. 29. 12a ‘Both riches and honour come from Thee’, which has been prefixed to v. 14b. ‘all things come from Thee...’

5) In the Prayer of Consecration there are seven points of identity between 1764 and Rattray’s *Order*. (1) The change of the word ‘one’ for the word ‘own’ in the relative clause of the opening sentence, ‘(who by his own oblation of himself, once offered)’. In the Scottish Book of 1637, and in all of the English Books the clause reads, ‘who by his one oblation of himself, once offered’. The significance of the word ‘own’ lies in the importance laid upon Christ’s voluntary self-oblation. The use of the word ‘own’ is not intended to convey any meaning other than self-volition, it is not suggesting any idea of immolations other than the Cross itself. Grisbrooke concurs in his commentary.⁴⁸¹ The *ORDER* contains the following sentence which is introductory to the Words of Institution, ‘And when the Hour was come, that he who had no sin, was to suffer a voluntary and life-giving Death upon the Cross for us Sinners, in the same night that he was betrayed, or rather offered up himself for the Life and Salvation of the World...’. In his chapter entitled ‘Notes’, Dowden acknowledges the influence of Rattray via Bishop William Falconar’s 1755 edition of the Liturgy.

⁴⁸¹ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 157.

(2) The omission of the word 'there' in the phrase found in the Scottish 1637 and all of the English Books, '...and made there a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice...' Dowden writes, 'The word 'there' was first omitted in the edition of 1755, and the omission was continued in the edition of 1764. There can be little doubt that the reason of the omission was the belief of the Non-Jurors that Christ offered Himself to the Father at the institution of the Eucharist, although the oblation was not consummated till the death upon the Cross'.⁴⁸²

(3) The 'Manual Acts' as in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. These 'Acts' are part of Rattray's *ORDER*, and accompany the recitation of the Words of Institution, as in the 1662 Book. Many of the Revisers of that Prayer Book were of the school of thought corresponding to the adherents to Scottish Episcopacy, and saw the Eucharist in the same terms as their Scottish counter-parts. The breaking of the Bread at the words, 'and when He had given thanks, he brake it...' fits precisely with the idea that in the recitation of the Words of Institution the Bread and the Wine are made the Symbols or Antitypes of the crucified Body and shed Blood of Christ in death. Any sort of 'Manual Acts' are a Scottish idea, first appearing in the Scottish Book of 1637, but fully developed in the 1662 Book. That Rattray uses them at the Words of Institution in his *ORDER* is testimony to their fitness to express the theological ideas of the Scottish doctrine, exemplified by Rattray. Bishop Falconar uses a version of the Manual Acts in his edition of 1755, which are similar to those of 1637, except for including the breaking of the bread.⁴⁸³ Bishop Dowden does not comment on the inclusion of the 'Manual Acts'.

(4) The use of capitals to emphasise the word 'DO', in the sentence, 'DO this in remembrance of me'. Rattray does not resort to so crude a device, but the emphasis does reflect the idea expressed in *The Christian Covenant* that the Eucharist is the memorial, commemoration, and representation of the Christ's Death on the Cross. This idea is also expressed in the earlier Scots writers of the Seventeenth Century. For Scottish Episcopalians particularly, the word 'DO', in the Lord's command meant the making of the 'Christian Sacrifice' of the eucharistic offering of bread and wine as the memorial.

⁴⁸² Ibid., p. 160.

⁴⁸³ Lempriere, Philip, A., op. cit., p. 37.

(5) The sequence of the constituent parts of the Prayer of Consecration is certainly the direct influence of Rattray's *ORDER*. In the English Book of 1549 and the Scottish Book of 1637 the Institution, Oblation, and Invocation were present, but not in the Greek sequence. The Invocation preceded the Institution, which was followed by the Oblation. Rattray's *ORDER* is the first Scottish liturgical text to use the Greek order. He is followed by Bishop Falconar's Liturgy of 1755, and by the 1764 Liturgy. Bishop Dowden acknowledges that, 'the influence of Bishop Rattray's work at last secured in 1764 the authorised establishment of this sequence'.⁴⁸⁴ However, Henry Broxap, the Mancunian historian has in *The Later Non-Jurors* asserted the sequence of the Prayer of Consecration in the 1746 Scottish Liturgy is due to the influence of the English Non-Jurors' Liturgy of 1718.⁴⁸⁵ Dowden says, 'We have the authority of Rattray, writing in 1720, for stating that Falconar had at Craighall used the Non-Juror's Office of 1718. This was no doubt at the suggestion of the learned laird'.⁴⁸⁶

There are unmistakable similarities between the Non-Jurors Liturgy of 1718 and the Scottish Liturgy of 1764 in the obvious use of the 'Greek sequence' of prayers in the eucharistic prayer, Institution, Oblation, Epiclesis, and the following of the 'Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church' directly after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. There was, it seems, certainly as far as those who were involved with the Scottish and English Non-Jurors a sort of *Zeitgeist* with reference to the nature of 'correct' eucharistic worship. Be these similarities as they may, it is the contention of this thesis that the precipitating and controlling influence on the 'final' form of the Scottish Liturgy of 1764 from the Offertory through to the recitation of 'Glory be to God in the Highest', was the publication of Rattray's Ancient Liturgy in 1744. The reasons for making this assertion are:

A) The possible influence of the 'Non-Jurors' Liturgy of 1734' is discounted by this writer. Broxap cites several occasions when there was tension between the Scots Episcopalians and some factions of the English Non-Jurors, including Thomas Deacon's Manchester congregation, over Deacon's irregular consecration by

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

⁴⁸⁵ Broxap, Henry, *The Later Non-Jurors*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1924, p. 71.

⁴⁸⁶ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 61.

Archibald Campbell.⁴⁸⁷ The Non-Juror's Liturgy of 1734, an elaborate text based on the 'Clementine' Liturgy, is entirely the product of Thomas Deacon.⁴⁸⁸

B) Henry Broxap makes the claim that the Non-Jurors' Liturgy of 1718 was the decisive influence in the shaping the 1764 Scottish Liturgy, 'If the liturgy of Laud and Wedderburn had not been in existence, it is probable that no distinct office for Scotland would have emerged from the confusions of the Revolution and the disasters of the '45... the Scottish Liturgy of 1764... possess[es] one common and essential characteristic which was not found in the Liturgy of 1637... the Eastern order...these developments are undoubtedly due to the New Communion Office of 1718'.⁴⁸⁹ Broxap's claim does not take into account the already established tradition in Scottish theological and liturgical practice of the use of the *Epiclesis*, and a disposition toward the Greek liturgies which stretched well back into the seventeenth possibly into the sixteenth century.⁴⁹⁰ It was formalised in the Communion Office of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, but the use of the *Epiclesis* had an existence in Scotland that was independent from the 1637 Liturgy. Nor had Broxap taken in to account the power of the attachment to the memory and work of Thomas Rattray by his fellow and successor bishops.

C) Thomas Rattray was not wholly original in his idea of making use of the Liturgy of St. James, for the Non-Jurors' Liturgy of 1718 obviously makes use of some passages the Eucharistic Prayer from the Liturgy of St. James in the Prayer of Consecration.⁴⁹¹ However, Rattray as a Scottish churchman and bishop was keenly aware of the needs of Scottish Episcopalians with regard to Christian worship. His scholarly exertions with the Liturgy of St. James, were informed by his desire to offer a liturgy of truly apostolic, truly Catholic (i.e. of the universal, undivided church) provenance to his people as the vehicle of solemn, dignified eucharistic worship. As Bishop Dowden wrote of his choice, 'He assumed that the Liturgy of the church of Jerusalem, i.e. the Liturgy of St. James, presented the norm that it was desirable to follow'.⁴⁹² This was understood by his contemporaries as the already quoted comments by Bishop

⁴⁸⁷ Broxap, Henry, op. cit., pp.184—85, 257—259.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 201.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 70—71.

⁴⁹⁰ Torrence, op. cit. p. 89, and passim, and Sprott, G. W., op. cit., pp.119—120.

⁴⁹¹ Dowden, John, op. cit., pp. 216—218. Cf. Rattray's Greek/English analysis.

⁴⁹² Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 72.

Dunbar⁴⁹³ and Bishop John Alexander⁴⁹⁴ demonstrate. Bishop John Dowden acknowledges the impact of Rattray's work. He writes of Rattray, 'His clear and impressive exhibition of the harmonious agreement of the liturgies of the East in the order and sequence of the parts of the Anaphora, and more especially, of the Prayer of Consecration, could not but influence all liturgical students who became acquainted with it'.⁴⁹⁵

D) Broxap also writes, 'It should be pointed out once more that the Liturgy of 1718 was the type on which the present Scottish Liturgy was made...'.⁴⁹⁶ It is not the intention of this writer to press the assertion of Bishop Rattray's influence too far, but it is certainly true that the Scottish Non-Jurors had a clear identity which distinguished them significantly from their English brethren. This is exemplified by the fact that the Scottish Liturgies were not used in England, nor conversely were the English Non-Juring bishops invited to participate in Scottish Episcopal consecrations.⁴⁹⁷ Also, as Bishop Dowden recognises, the quality of Rattray's intellect, judgement, and scholarship was superior, as it is recognised to have been so even today.⁴⁹⁸ It appears little more than common sense to add that Rattray's scholarship and insight which were of the first order, and that they were 'home-grown', together with the profound respect and affection with which Rattray was held⁴⁹⁹, strongly suggest that while the Scottish Liturgy of 1764 concurred with other liturgies, as it did with the Non-Jurors of 1718, that the true source of inspiration and influence came from home ground. F. C. Eeles makes the claim, in a footnote, that he was informed by the Bishop John Dowden that both Bishop Archibald Campbell and Bishop James Gadderar assisted the English Non-Jurors in compiling their Liturgy of 1718.⁵⁰⁰ If this be true, then it would make any influence the English Non-Jurors Liturgy of 1718 may have had upon the Scottish 1764 Liturgy somewhat circular!

(6) The words, 'WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE' which appear in *1764*, first appeared in an unauthorised 'commercial' edition of the Office in 1735, but in

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁹⁶ Broxap, Henry, op. cit., p. 70.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.184—185.

⁴⁹⁸ Grisbrooke, W. J., op. cit., p. 136.

⁴⁹⁹ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 192—193; Bp. Keith's eulogy for Bp. Rattray amply makes the point.

⁵⁰⁰ Eeles, F. C., op. cit., p. 45.

Lempriere's collation of Scottish Offices, they do not appear in small capital letters. The small capitals first appeared in Falconar's 1755 text.⁵⁰¹ Their origin in this clause is suggested as being the work of Bishop Dunbar of Aberdeen.⁵⁰² Even though they cannot be said to have their origin in Rattray's *Order* they strongly resonate with the clause 'we sinners offer unto Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice', in the prayer of Oblation in the Consecration Prayer of Rattray's *ORDER*. The retention of the clause, and its being printed in small capitals to emphasise it, suggests the influence of the similar clause from Rattray's *ORDER*. The theological point in both Rattray's *Order* and 1764 is that the Eucharist is the solemn offering of bread and wine as the instituted representatives of the Body and Blood of Christ to God the Father in obedience to Christ's command. In a footnote Dowden observes the word 'eleva' written in the margin of a copy of the 1764 Liturgy which belonged to Bishop John Alexander, and that it 'probably points to common usage'.⁵⁰³ F. C. Eeles in his *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected to the Scottish Liturgy* expands on Dowden to say, 'At the words DO THIS, a very slight elevation of each kind was made, and at the words WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE a considerable elevation, but no higher than the breast of the celebrant, and both kinds were offered simultaneously, the paten in the right hand and the chalice in the left hand of the priest... This practice is entirely borne out by the traditional practice of some of the northern churches'.⁵⁰⁴ G. W. Sprott also mentions the custom of 'lifting' as a practice common in the Church of Scotland, and even spawning a 'sect' known as the 'Lifters'.⁵⁰⁵

(7) The position of the 'Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church' in the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, falling as it does between the *Amen.* of the Prayer of Consecration and the Lord's Prayer, is one of the Scottish Liturgy's most striking characteristics, and is unique to Scottish Episcopalian liturgical practice. It is also striking that Bishop Dowden, while commenting on the form and wording of the Prayer, makes no comment as to why it is in the place that it is. Marion Lochhead writing on the doctrine of sacrifice in the Scottish Liturgy says that such a position bewilders other Anglicans.⁵⁰⁶ If one reads Bishop Rattray's *ORDER* and his *Christian Covenant*, the

⁵⁰¹ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 65., Lempriere, Philip A., op. cit., p. 38.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., footnote 2, p. 162.

⁵⁰⁴ Eeles, F. C., op. cit., p. 65.

⁵⁰⁵ Sprott, G. W., op. cit., p. 115.

⁵⁰⁶ Lochhead, Marion, 'The Christian Sacrifice', *Theology*, vol., LXVII, September, 1964, p. 389.

reason for Bishops Falconar's and Forbes' placing of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church after the Prayer of Consecration is obvious. The sequence of petitions which follow the Invocation in the Liturgy of St. James are a model. Such petitions follow in other ancient Greek liturgies, but they are not so extensive in scope, as the Jerusalem liturgy. One of the chief characteristics of Rattray's *ORDER* is the Intercessory petitions which he not only preserves, but highlights by the Deacon's Litany before the Lord's Prayer', which follows the conclusion of the Prayer of Consecration, and which repeats many of the petitions of the Intercession of the Prayer of Consecration. The Greek text of the Liturgy of St. James, does not contain so extensive a Deacon's Litany before the Lord's Prayer, and as Rattray points out in his notes in his *ORDER*, that several petitions were added, one from the Liturgy of St. Basil, and two from the 'Clememtime' Liturgy.⁵⁰⁷

In the *Christian Covenant* Bishop Rattray carefully outlines the theology of such a practice. 'Then [after the Institution, Oblation, and Invocation] the priest maketh intercession, in virtue of this Sacrifice thus offered up in commemoration of, and in union with the one great personal Sacrifice of Christ, for the whole Catholick Church, and pleadeth the merits of this one Sacrifice in behalf of all estates and conditions of men in it, offering this memorial thereof, not only for the living, but for the dead also, in commemoration of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and all of the saints who have pleased God in their several generations...'.⁵⁰⁸ He explains further in a footnote, 'Since the intercessions of our great High Priest at the heavenly altar, in virtue of His original sacrifice of Himself, ought certainly to be the rule of our intercessions at our Christian altars on earth, in virtue of His memorial thereof; and since His intercessions must be as extensive as the merits and the efficacy of His Sacrifice,...so in consequence, ours must be likewise'.⁵⁰⁹

The placing of the 'Prayer of the Whole State of Christ's Church' after the 'Prayer of Consecration', declares a theology of 'eucharistic action' and significance in the sequence of prayer. It would seem that both Bishop William Falconar in his 1755 liturgy, and Bishop Robert Forbes in the 1764 liturgy clearly intended both to follow the theology and practice espoused by Bishop Rattray, including prayer for the dead,

⁵⁰⁶ Chrysostom, St. John, *On the Priesthood*, iv., 4.

⁵⁰⁷ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. 120.

⁵⁰⁸ Rattray, Thomas, 'Some Particular Instructions', p. 19.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

hence the deletion of the phrase, ‘militant here in earth’, as it is in the Liturgy in the 1549 Prayer Book, which also included a petition for rest for the faithful departed.

(8) Bishop Dowden observes that the invitation to thanksgiving after having received Holy Communion ‘Having now received...’ ‘first appears in 1764. It is a modification of the bidding of the Deacon in the Clementine Liturgy, which had suggested a similar form to Rattray’.⁵¹⁰ The influence of Bishop Rattray’s *ORDER* is present in this instance. In the *ORDER*, after everyone has received Holy Communion, the Deacon, ‘being turned to the people’, says, ‘Let us now give thanks to God that he hath vouchsafed to make us partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ...’. Why Bishop Forbes chose to use the Deacon’s exhortation from the Clementine Liturgy as opposed to the one from Bishop Rattray’s *ORDER* is not known, but a guess can be made by comparing the form Rattray’s *ORDER* with the form used in the 1764 Liturgy. The ‘exhortation’ in 1764 is more explicit in what is required of the communicant, ‘and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; and that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life...’⁵¹¹ In Rattray’s *ORDER*, the exhortation asks the communicant simply to pray, ‘...that he would keep us unblameable...’.⁵¹²

(9) The final item in this list of direct influences of Rattray’s *ORDER* is the inclusion of the text of the hymn, ‘Glory to God in the highest’, the *Morning Hymn*, (as it is entitled in the *Codex Alexandrinus*) from Rattray’s Appendix VI.⁵¹³ The *Codex Alexandrinus* was given to James VI by Cyril Lucar, but did not arrive in England until 1627. Direct evidence, comes from John Skinner’s book, *The Office of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper...with a Preliminary Dissertation etc.* of 1807. Although Skinner does not mention Rattray, it is likely that he is drawing on Rattray’s Appendix VI, by calling the hymn the *Morning Hymn*, as Rattray does, and by drawing a distinction between the two texts which Rattray gives, one the orthodox text from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and the other, ‘altered by the Arian Party’ from the *Apostolic Constitutions*.⁵¹⁴ Bishop Dowden acknowledges Skinner’s assertion saying,

⁵¹⁰ Dowden John, op. cit., 170.

⁵¹¹ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 131.

⁵¹² Rattray, Thomas, *Ancient Liturgy*, p. 121.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 108—109.

⁵¹⁴ Skinner, John, *The Office for the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*, Aberdeen : J. Chalmers and Company, 1807, p. 169.

‘That it was this form⁵¹⁵ that suggested the inserted clauses of the Scottish revision is distinctly stated in Skinner’s *Illustration*⁵¹⁶ of the Office; and if there were any *tradition* on the subject when he wrote, he certainly would have been as likely as any to have known it’.⁵¹⁷

Conclusion

Correlating the text of the 1764 Liturgy to the eucharistic doctrine as described in the six points outlined in the Introduction to this thesis is the conclusion of this examination of the Liturgy.

1) The Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but that is an improper sacrifice in which the thing offered is not destroyed; it is the offering of bread and wine as a memorial and commemoration of Christ’s sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the Last Supper. A) At the Offertory, the Presbyter is directed ‘to offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord’s Table. B) The opening paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration describes the Eucharist as ‘a perpetual memorial of his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again’. C) The Words of Institution are linked with the idea of the memorial by being introduced with ‘For in the night...’. D) ‘DO this in remembrance ...DO this as oft as ye shall drink...’. interpreting the word ‘DO’ in the Septuagint sense of ‘make sacrifice’. E) The prayer of Oblation restating the idea of the memorial says, ‘we...make here...with these thy holy gifts WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE [sic.] the memorial thy Son hath commanded up to make’. (pp. 126, 127.)

2) The Eucharist is a representation of Christ’s death both to us, to ‘proclaim the Lord’s death’, and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ’s once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice, as the one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice. A) The Eucharist is referred to as ‘the memorial of his death. B) In the Prayer of Oblation is offered, ‘having in remembrance his

⁵¹⁵ The 1764 Liturgy uses a text of the *Gloria in excelsis* which differs from the text in the 1662 BCP; it uses an English translation of the ὁμνος ἑωθινός in the *Codex Alexandrinus* which included the phrases, ‘God the Father Almighty,:/ O Lord the only begotten son/ Jesus Christ, /And Holy Ghost’.

⁵¹⁶ Skinner, John, op. cit., p. 169.

⁵¹⁷ Dowden, John, op. cit, p. 172.

blessed passion, and precious death...rendering unto thee most hearty thanks procured unto us by the same'. C) The Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church follows the Prayer of Consecration. (p.126, 127, 128.)

3) By the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the Forgiveness of Sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice. A.) The Prayer of Oblation gives thanks for the 'innumerable benefits procured unto us' by Christ's death. B.) The Invocation of the holy Spirit asks specifically that 'by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ...we...may obtain remission of sins, and all other benefits of his passion', and that '...whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion...may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, the he may dwell in them and they in him'. C) The Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, asks that, 'we...may be set on his right hand, and hear...his most joyful voice...inherit the kingdom prepared for you'. D) The collect of thanksgiving asks, 'assist us by your Holy Spirit...that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as you have commanded us...'. (pp. 127, 129, 132)

4) The bread and wine do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine, but by the prayer of the Church, said by the Bishop or Presbyter on behalf of the Church, (i.e. the gathered people) in union with the Catholic Church, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ (not the whole Christ). A) The Invocation of the Holy Spirit asks God the Father to send the Holy Spirit 'upon these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may become the body and blood of they most dearly beloved Son'. B).Any idea that the word 'become' might mean transubstantiation, is mitigated by the next sentence, 'And we...desire thy fatherly Goodness to accept this...sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving...', meaning our offering of bread and wine as the memorial of Christ's death and in praise and thanksgiving for the benefits gained by them.C) The word 'become' indicates an undefined transformation of the bread and wine. (p. 127)

5) The consecrated bread and wine become neither Christ's actual natural body as born of the Virgin Mary, nor his Ascended and Glorious Resurrection Body; the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine are denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood, and the breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ, referring back to the Christ's own words in the Institution, '...my Body broken [in death] for you'. The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol. A) Both the opening paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration and the Prayer of Oblation call the offering of bread and wine 'memorials' of Christ's death. B) The 'Manual Acts' during the Words of Institution direct the Presbyter to break the bread at the words, 'and when he had given thanks, he brake it'. C.)The offering of the broken bread and the cup at the Prayer of Oblation at the words, 'WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make', looks back to the Lord's words in the Institution, 'THIS IS MY BODY given for you...THIS IS MY BLOOD ...shed for you', in which he by bread and wine offers his own coming death to the Father; the offering of the broken bread and the cup is the offering, in type and symbol of Christ's death to God. (p. 126, 127)

6) Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit. A) The opening paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration indicates that Christ's Body is at the right hand of the Father, from where he will return as Judge, 'until his coming again'. B) The Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church indicates that the faithful departed 'do now rest from their labours', and the both the living and the departed look forward to the Resurrection and the Christ's return as Judge. 'that the day of the general resurrection, we and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear his most joyful voice...'. (pp. 126, 128.)

Liturgies may reflect a doctrinal point of view, but by their nature are not able to articulate doctrine point by point, However as W. J. Grisbrooke is quoted earlier as saying, '...the doctrines which this rite was intended to express, and does very

effectively...cannot be treated...other than with the respect for a true understanding of the...liturgical worship it enshrines'.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ Grisbrooke, W. J., *op. cit.*, p. 159.

Chapter IV The Nineteenth Century: John Skinner, Alexander Jolly, and George Hay Forbes

Part I John Skinner

John Skinner was a son of a famous father, John Skinner,⁵¹⁹ bishop coadjutor of Aberdeen, who with Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Moray, and Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, consecrated Samuel Seabury in 1784; who paved the way for the repeal of the penal laws in 1792; who began the reunion of the ‘Qualified Chapels’ with the Scots Episcopalians by the Synod of Laurencekirk in 1804, and furthered the normalisation of the relationship of the Scottish Episcopalians with the Church of England. He was the brother of Bishop William Skinner, who succeeded his father as Bishop of Aberdeen in 1816,⁵²⁰ and was elected Primus in 1841.⁵²¹

John Skinner’s work on the Scottish Liturgy entitled, *The Office for the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion, according to the use of the Episcopal Church of Scotland with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Doctrine of the Eucharistical Sacrifice; A Copious Local Illustration and an Appendix containing The Collation of Offices &c. Drawn up by the late Samuel Horsley, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph*, (hereafter referred to as *Dissertation and Illustration*) was published in 1807. Its principal purpose is to demonstrate that the doctrine of the Scottish Episcopalians with regard to the Eucharist is not only in accord with the doctrine of the Church of England, but is indeed the same as that of the Church of England. Its secondary purpose is to describe the Episcopalian doctrine of the Unbloody Sacrifice of the Eucharist, which by many quotations from English sources, is claimed to be that of the Church of England, as well as that of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

John Skinner’s *Dissertation and Illustration* is apparently addressed to an English readership, yet one cannot help but think that he is also addressing those Scots who were members of the ‘Qualified’ congregations who used the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* as one of the conditions of toleration stipulated by the Act of Toleration of 1712. John Skinner’s point of view in the *Dissertation and Illustration* was shaped by

⁵¹⁹ Grub, George, op. cit., p. 176.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 135.

⁵²¹ Ibid., p. 245.

the state of the Scots Episcopalians at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which was desperate. The Penal Laws enacted in the August of 1746 had been a heavy burden, even though they had not been strictly enforced since the death of George II in 1760. Skinner's father, Bishop John Skinner, with James Allan Park, QC, a Scots barrister in London, to whom John Skinner dedicated his *Dissertation and Illustration*, worked tirelessly to have them repealed by Parliament, which was achieved in 1792. The intention lying behind his work is not only to attempt to demonstrate the identity of Episcopalian eucharistic doctrine with that of the Church of England, but also to deny the accusation that the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, because of the 'doctrine of *sacrifice* which it so clearly establishes, is no better than symbolising with Popery'.⁵²² The structure of the work is a discussion of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, followed by the text of the 1764 Scottish Liturgy. Then follows a description of private devotions then in use by some in the Scottish Episcopal Church, which is followed by an 'Illustration' of the several sections of the Liturgy.

The Preliminary Dissertation

Skinner's *Dissertation* begins by asserting the 'Material Sacrifice' in the Eucharist, the material offering of the bread and wine as the instituted representatives of the body and blood of Christ, and emphasising the word 'do' as meaning 'to sacrifice' in the same sense as both John Forbes of Corse and Bishop William Forbes.⁵²³ But, Skinner declares, even though the command of Christ, 'being of a definite, positive nature, that not to believe it to be of universal obligation were to deny the authenticity of scripture',⁵²⁴ yet there are 'many discordant interpretations, which from time to time have been placed upon them. Papist, and Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Socinian, all hold opinions of their own...while they believe that the true nature and import of our Saviour's institution and command sanction these opinions'.⁵²⁵ Skinner does not mention any Scottish writer, but makes a strong appeal to the Scottish eucharistic tradition in a general way, 'It being, therefore, the *steadfast* and *undisguised* belief of the Scottish Episcopal Church, that in order correctly to

⁵²² Skinner, John, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵²³ Forbes William, op. cit, vol. II, p. 577; Low., W. L., op. cit., p. 67; Forbes of Corse, John, op. cit., pp. 528—529.

⁵²⁴ Skinner, John, op. cit., p. 9.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

ascertain the nature and extent of every positive Institution...recourse must be had to the doctrines, the principles, and the practice of the Primitive and Apostolical Church of Christ, before the corruptions of popery, or the errors of Socinius, of Luther, and of Calvin had a being...'.⁵²⁶ The phrase 'steadfast and undisguised belief' suggests the existence of a maintained and known tradition 'of recourse...to the doctrines, the principles, and the practice of the Primitive and Apostolical Church of Christ, before the corruptions of popery'. How far back would this tradition reach? How long maintained and known? Skinner certainly looks back to the second Consecration at the Restoration because he says, '[The deposed Scottish] Bishops betaking themselves solely to spiritual concerns, endeavoured to place all matters ecclesiastical, on the footing of Primitive and original doctrines and practices...'.⁵²⁷ He also most probably means the whole of post-Reformation Episcopacy reaching back to the bishops of the first consecration of 1610, because he discusses pre-Covenant Episcopacy, in relation to events leading up to the 1637 Liturgy. Skinner turns to the Church of England for support for the historic stance of Scottish Episcopalian eucharistic theology by many quotations from English writers who are in agreement with it. Many of the earlier writers are the same as those quoted by William Forbes. Skinner goes on to mention men of the eighteenth century, and finally he mentions the names of scholars contemporary to himself.

He follows this by putting forward a sketch of the historical circumstances surrounding the 1637 Liturgy beginning with the first preparations in Aberdeen in 1616 where an act was passed, 'that a Liturgy, or form of Common Prayer should be composed for the use of the church'.⁵²⁸ He does not engage in argument over the authorship of the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, but he is aware that there was disagreement between the Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Laud,⁵²⁹ and that Laud used Bishop Wedderburn's notes to defend himself. The fact that Wedderburn used the eucharistic rite of the 1549 English Prayer Book, was of great use to Skinner. Skinner discusses the Revolution of 1688, where he makes the interesting statement, 'No sooner did the revolution in 1688 disunite the Church and State in Scotland, than the Bishops betaking themselves solely to spiritual concerns, endeavoured to place all

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵²⁷ See footnote 531. below.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., pp. 24—25.

matters ecclesiastical, on the footing of Primitive and original independence'.⁵³⁰ The remainder of the *Preliminary Discourse* is a discussion of the 'Memorial Sacrifice' from the writings of English authors. In a few pages Skinner gives an abstract of the doctrine found in John Johnson's *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveiled and Supported* as the doctrine of the Scottish Episcopal Church, that is, that the two doctrines are the same, and derive from the same source, the 'irrefragable evidence',⁵³¹ of the writings of the Church Fathers.

Skinner then turns to the eucharistic doctrine of Waterland and some of his followers who agreed a sacerdotal sacrifice, but no material sacrifice in the Eucharist, and with whom the Episcopalians could have only limited agreement.⁵³² Skinner concludes, 'For in our belief the Eucharist...has the purity and cleanliness of an unbloody sacrifice, and the value of a bloody one. It is of infinitely greater efficacy, than all the bloody sacrifices of the Jews joined together—as being the communion of the body and blood of Christ. It is not only the best we have to give; but it is that, which, by the will of God and our Redeemer, we are authorised to offer, as long as the world endures; for we are "to shew forth the Lord's death till he come". And thus the Holy Eucharist, according to our faith, is the PURE MEAL-OFFERING, everywhere to be presented on God's holy altar;—and this meal offering is to us, in spirit and power, in virtue and efficacy, the body of Christ, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'.⁵³³

In this exposition of Skinner's views one can see that Skinner is a faithful adherent to the eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy. First he understands that there is a tradition of longstanding, suggested primarily by his connecting the tradition with the Liturgy of 1637. Second, He also understands that the tradition is unitive: that there was one tradition, not a tradition with multiple strands. Third, he does not try to conform the Scottish doctrine to the other views of eucharistic doctrine, such as Waterland's, but notes the distinctions. However, he is desirous of making common cause where he can. One can see Skinner's aim, which is to make a place for the traditional eucharistic doctrine of Scottish Episcopalians in the doctrinal mainstream,

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵³¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁵³² Ibid., p. 50.

⁵³³ Ibid., p. 53.

particularly in England or where English ideas hold sway, and to counter the negative view of the Scottish Liturgy as ‘symbolising with Popery’. Unlike his theological forebears William Forbes, John Forbes of Corse in the seventeenth century, and Thomas Rattray in the eighteenth century, he is not trying to establish doctrine. Skinner’s purpose is to describe the doctrine he has inherited, but he describes the Scottish doctrine entirely in the terms of the works of English theologians.

The Communion Office

The next of the five sections of John Skinner’s book is the text of the 1764 liturgy, which section will be passed over with out comment.

Private Devotions

Following the text of the 1764 ‘Communion Office’, Skinner provides sixteen pages of devotions to be used by the communicant at the Eucharist, ‘...and taken from a little Work, entitled, “A Layman’s account of his faith and practice, as a member of the ‘Episcopal Church in Scotland’”’.⁵³⁴ These prayers are couched in the language of the Eucharist as the commemorative and representative sacrifice. ‘Accept...this commemoration and representation...of the all-sufficient sacrifice.... Let this memorial...’.⁵³⁵

Illustration of the Foregoing Office

The fourth section of Skinner’s work is the *Illustration of the foregoing Office from the Ancient Liturgies and from the Writings of the approved Rituals, &c. of the Church of England*, and is his *apologia* for the Scottish Liturgy, and is, uniquely, a commentary upon it. As the title states Skinner keeps to his design for presenting Scottish eucharistic practice and doctrine as consistent with the Church of England both in doctrine and liturgy. For the purposes of this thesis, however, the interest lies in observing how much light Skinner sheds on the inner coherence of Scottish eucharistic doctrine and practice as exhibited in the ‘Communion Office’ of 1764, and in particular its relationship to Rattray’s *ORDER*. Bishop Dowden gives an interesting clue in his comment about Skinner with reference to the text of ‘Glory to God in the highest’, used in the 1764 Liturgy, and closely based on Rattray’s translation of the

⁵³⁴ Ibid., p. 82.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

Alexandrian text. He writes, ‘...and if there were any *tradition* on the subject when he wrote, he would certainly have been as likely as any one to have known it’.⁵³⁶

The *Illustration* is set out with the principal sections headed by titles in capital letters in italics. The subsections are headed by titles in small capital letters, not in italics. In the following discussion, the main sections and the sub-sections of the *Illustration* can be identified by the titles. The *Illustration* also operates as a little commentary on each segment of the text of the ‘Communion Office’ that Skinner wishes to bring forward.

The first section is *THE EXHORTATION*; the point of interest is the RUBRIC AFTER THE EXHORTATION, where the presbyter or deacon is directed to say, ‘Let us present our Offerings to the Lord with reverence and Godly fear’. These words are taken directly from the Offertory of Rattray’s *ORDER*. Skinner does not mention Rattray in his text, but in a footnote refers the reader to the Rattray’s posthumous book. ‘* See the “Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem”...printed by Bettenham, 1744’.⁵³⁷

THE OFFERTORY in a section of fifteen pages, Skinner discusses at length the Offertory of the 1764 Liturgy. He compares the Offertory Sentences of the 1764 Liturgy with those of the English Prayer Book. Skinner does not draw any particular attention to the concluding sentence, I Chronicles 29. 10,11, 12, which is a direct borrowing from Bishop Rattray’s *ORDER*, although he does quote Bishop Horsley, an open admirer of the 1764 Liturgy, as saying that the placing of the alms on the holy table, ‘is introduced with peculiar propriety’.⁵³⁸

‘*The Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord’s table*’. There no such rubric in the English *Book of Common Prayer*; it is taken directly from the 1637 Liturgy.⁵³⁹ Both the 1637 and the 1764 Liturgies specifically and explicitly direct the preparation and ‘offering up’ of bread and wine, as well as the reception of a money offering. However, in the 1764 Liturgy the money offering is taken and offered separately from and before the ‘offering up’ of the bread and wine. This follows precisely the pattern of Rattay’s

⁵³⁶ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 172.

⁵³⁷ Skinner, John, op. cit., p. 99.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., p. 100.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., p. 180. (Bishop Horsley’s Collation)

ORDER. Some English commentators have argued that the phrase ‘alms and oblations’ in the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ’s Church Militant here in Earth, includes both the money offering, directed by the rubric at the Offertory, and the bread and wine which the rubric directs the priest to place on the Holy Table. Bishop Dowden has argued that the phrase ‘alms and oblations’ in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* does not include the bread and wine. ‘The contrast with the corresponding rubric in the present English Prayer-Book is striking, and rendered more striking when we notice that in English Prayer-Book the Priest is directed to *humbly present and place the decent basin*, with alms, but with respect to the Bread and Wine he is directed simply to “place upon the Table so much...as he shall think sufficient”. Certainly if the English revisers of 1662 intended an *oblation* of the Bread and Wine at this point they could scarcely have used language better fitted to mislead. What I point to here is further supported by the fact that Cosin actually proposed the following rubric at the last revision in 1662, “And if there be a Communion the Priest shall then offer up and place the bread and wine, etc.,” [The suggestion was not accepted.] ...But I will state...that after a very...minute investigation of the whole subject I am unable to feel satisfied that any oblation of elements at this point was intended by the revisers of 1662, or that the word *oblations* in the succeeding prayer for the Church Militant was intended even to include the elements, much less that it was intended to refer to them exclusively’.⁵⁴⁰

Skinner then addresses the mixed cup, a long established Episcopalian tradition. His tack is to acknowledge that it is not allowed in the Church of England, but that its practice is not to be condemned because many esteemed English writers advocated its use, as well as its being the clear practice of the ancient church. Bishop Dowden writes of the practice of the mixed cup in Scotland, ‘The mixed cup is not enjoined in the Scottish Office, but the practice...has long been, I believe, general. Bishop Torry [1782—1855, Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Dunblane] was in his eighty-fourth year when, in 1847 he was petitioned...to “attest the usages of the church in Scotland” which had prevailed during his ministry. Among the final rubrics of the Office...in his Prayer-book we read, “it is customary to mix a little pure water with the wine in the eucharistic Cup, when the same is taken from the Prothesis or Credence to be

⁵⁴⁰ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 152. (See ‘On Alms and Oblations: An Historical Study’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol., I.)

presented at the Altar”’.⁵⁴¹ Bishop Rattray also discusses the custom in his time, a hundred years before Bishop Torry, the custom was common especially in the North East of Scotland, and had perhaps continued from the pre-Reformation church.⁵⁴² Certainly Bishop Rattray directs the use of the mixed cup both in his *ORDER*⁵⁴³ and in the eucharistic part of *The Christian Covenant*. A contemporary of Rattray’s, Robert Woodrow the church historian, recorded, with a hint of anxiety, a rumour that the mixture of wine and water was still in use at Aberdeen, ‘Mr. Stewart tells me ...[that] he has been told that in Aberdeen, yet, they use their wine at the Table mixed with water. Enquire about this’.⁵⁴⁴ Skinner makes his apology for the Scottish practice of the mixed cup over six pages by way of ancient authorities and English advocates. The mixed cup continued to be forbidden in the Church of England until the Lincoln Judgement of 1890 (in which it was adjudicated by E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the mixture was allowable, but not as part of the eucharistic service, i.e., it was to be done before the service began⁵⁴⁵).

THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

It is of course the Prayer of Consecration that is the single most contentious item in the 1764 ‘Communion Office’, from the point of view of the adherents to the 1662 English Prayer Book. Skinner begins, ‘As ignorance and prejudice have united in condemning the additions to the present English form of consecration, which the prayer in the Scottish Office exhibits, it shall be my endeavour to shew...that they are not only agreeable to primitive and catholic practice, but that they stand approved by some of the most eminent liturgical writers, whom the church of England has ever produced’.⁵⁴⁶ Skinner draws upon the ancient liturgies to prove his case, turning quickly to Bishop Rattray, but as was his habit, not directly in the text, but in the notes.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., p. 225.

⁵⁴² Skinner, John, op. cit., pp. 43—44.

⁵⁴³ Rattray, Thomas, p. 113.

⁵⁴⁴ Woodrow, Robert, *Analecta*, vol. 4, Edinburgh: Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843, pp. 168—169.

⁵⁴⁵ Cross, F. L. and Livingstone, E. A., *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, ‘Lincoln Judgement, The’, p. 824.

⁵⁴⁶ Skinner, John, op. cit., pp. 118—119.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

After two quotations from the ‘Clementine Liturgy’ taken from the Preface to Bishop Rattray’s *Ancient Liturgy* to prove the point concerning the structure of the prayer, that is, that the Oblation and the Invocation follow the Words of Institution. Skinner then summons the other ancient liturgies to his defence, ‘St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, the Ethiopic Liturgy, the Liturgies of Severus, Nestorius, &c. all of which do, in their form of oblation and invocation, “scarce differ in thought,” according to Mr. Johnson, “but in words only”’.⁵⁴⁸

Skinner makes the positive assertion that ‘The Episcopal Church in Scotland, in full reliance on Scripture and primitive usage, believes, that the eucharistical elements receive their validity, their power, virtue and efficacy, not only merely from repeating the words, “This is my Body,” “This is my Blood,” &c. but from the prayers of *oblation* and *invocation*, from the forms of *blessing* and *giving thanks*, with which, in strict compliance, with the languages of the ancient liturgies her Communion Office is so happily furnished’.⁵⁴⁹ Quoting Bishop Bull’s⁵⁵⁰ answer to the Bishop of Meaux on his response to Bull’s defence of the Nicene Creed, Skinner gives a brief and clear summary of the eucharistic doctrine held by Scottish Episcopalians, and set forth in the 1764 Liturgy in particular. ‘In the Eucharist, Christ is offered, not *hypostatically*, as the Trent fathers have determined, but *commemoratively* only: and this *commemoration* is made to God the Father, and is not *a bare remembering* or putting ourselves in mind of him. For *every sacrifice is directed* to God, and the *oblation* therein made, whatsoever it be, *hath him* for its object and not man. In the Holy Eucharist therefore, we set before God the bread and wine, as figures or images of the precious blood of Christ shed for us, and of his precious body and plead to God the merits of his Son’s sacrifice, once offered on the Cross for us sinners, and in this Sacrament *represented*, beseeching him for the sake thereof, to bestow his heavenly blessings on us’.⁵⁵¹

Skinner continues making appeals to English readers, or to Scots readers who have loyalties with the ‘Qualified Chapels’, and are accustomed to the English Prayer Book Communion service, for a number of pages. He concludes this section with this

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 124.

⁵⁵⁰ Bishop Bull can be seen to have been a specific influence on Thomas Rattray.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 124—125.

testimony to the ‘primitive practice of the Scottish Liturgy’. ‘Surely the unprejudiced enquirer cannot wish for convincing proof of the purity and orthodoxy of the Scottish forms of *oblation* and *invocation*, than that which I have now brought forward. The man of contrary disposition I attempt not to convince. The Episcopal Church in Scotland finds the voice of the primitive Church to be completely in favour of her practice at the Altar... For I can state with authority...that the “consent of all the Christian Churches in the world, however distant from each other, *in the prayer of oblation of the Christian Sacrifice*, in the Holy Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, is indeed wonderful; for all the ancient Liturgies agree in this form of prayer, almost in the same words, but fully and exactly the same sense, order, and method, which whosoever considers, must be convinced, that this order of prayer was delivered to the several churches in the very first plantation and settlement of them.”⁵⁵²

Skinner does not give a coherent eucharistic theology either from his own understanding or from those authorities to which he refers, either ancient or English. He gives rather a perspective, a view of the kind of doctrinal stance that the Scottish rite expresses, and abundant evidence that a parallel school of distinguished English theological writers were of the same opinion that the Eucharist is the offering of bread and wine in commemoration of the Lord’s death.

THE PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST’S CHURCH

Skinner begins by quoting Wheatly, the eighteenth century Prayer Book commentator and liturgical scholar, commenting on the practice of the Church of England, ‘There is a difference between the practice of the Church of England and theirs [the primitive Christians], that whereas we use the form of intercession immediately after placing the elements upon the table; it is in all the ancient Liturgies, except St. Mark’s and the Æthiopian, deferred till after the consecration*’. But he continues stating the practice of the Scottish Episcopal Church. ‘For this reason is it, that the prayer for the “whole state of Christ’s Church” occupies the place which it is found to occupy in the

⁵⁵² Ibid., p. 134. (Quotation from Bishop Bull’s sermon on prescribed forms of prayer)

Scottish Communion office, primitive practice being the invariable rule and guide of its compilers'.⁵⁵³

Skinner does not primarily focus on the wider intercessory character of the Prayer, but he does briefly mention the theological rationale for placing the intercessory prayer for the Church after the Consecration, that it is prayer 'for the whole catholic Church'.⁵⁵⁴ It is the theological rationale that is the significant issue. The reason (as discussed above) that the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church comes after the Prayer of Consecration and before the Lord's Prayer is that by commemoration, offering the death of Christ to the Father, the Presbyter pleads the benefits and blessings accruing to the faithful communicants, and those for whom they pray. It is the place of intercession, for which the basis is the redemption won by the shedding of Christ's blood. The position also follows the precedent of the ancient Greek liturgies, which was a conspicuous element in shaping the Scottish liturgy of 1764. It is in this regard that Skinner directs virtually the whole of his discussion to the issue of prayer for the faithful departed, as he says, 'The doctrine maintained by the primitive Christians on the subject of the "*whole state of Christ's Church*" was...that it embraced not only the faithful on earth, but also the faithful departed'.⁵⁵⁵

The Scottish version of the prayer is identical to the English, except that it includes a petition for the faithful departed and a long paragraph of thanksgiving for 'saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations'. The petition for the departed asks, 'And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who having finished their course in faith do now rest from their labours'. The subject of prayer for the departed was [and remains] a matter of controversy in the Church of England. It appears to have been have been a part of Scottish Episcopalian thought, (for there has never been any controversy over the matter) from the time of Bishop William Forbes.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ Ibid., p. 135. (*Wheatley's *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, 1722, cit. in loco.)

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 135.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

⁵⁵⁶ Forbes, William, op. cit., vol. II, *On Purgatory*, Book 1, Chapter 4., pp. 121—141.

Skinner uses his discussion to align himself with influential English writers agreeable to prayer for the departed, principally Wheatly, Jeremy Taylor, and Thorndike. He depends, as Bishop Rattray did, on 2 Timothy 1. 18, ‘...may the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord on that Day—and you know well the service he rendered at Ephesus’. However, the particular reason that intercession in the Scottish Liturgy is placed after the Consecration is not just to pray for the departed at that point, but to quote Rattray, ‘Then the priest maketh intercession, in virtue of the this Sacrifice thus offered up in commemoration of, and in union with the one great personal Sacrifice of Christ, for the whole Catholic Church, and pleadeth the merits of this one Sacrifice in behalf of all estates and conditions of men in it offering this memorial thereof, not for the living only but for the dead also...’.⁵⁵⁷ To some degree the issue for prayer of the dead is, if not a separate issue, at least a subsidiary one. Skinner does not here, as he often does, draw attention in the footnotes to Rattray’s *Ancient Liturgy*.

Skinner’s theology of the ‘middle state’ or ‘intermediate state’, is the usual Episcopalian doctrine, that the final and ultimate blessedness is reserved for the resurrection of the dead on the Last Day, when all of the redeemed are invited to enter the Kingdom of God, ‘Come ye blessed of my father, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world’. (St. Matt. 25. 34). Between physical death and the resurrection of the dead, the Christian soul, sundered from the body, remains alive in Christ, free from further sin, in a state of preparation for ‘That Day’. They can pray for us, and we for them, towards the final consummation in Christ. Turning to Wheatly again, Skinner produces a quotation that not only succinctly sums up the doctrine, ‘...the interval between death and the end of the world, is a state of imperfect expectation and bliss, in which the souls of the righteous wait for the completion and perfection of their happiness at the consummation of all things’, but also explains praying for the departed as part of the intercessions which follow the Prayer of Oblation and the *Epiclesis*, ‘...while they were praying for the Catholic Church, they thought it not improper to ask a petition in behalf of that larger and better part of it which had gone before them, that they might altogether attain a

⁵⁵⁷ Rattray, Thomas, *Christian Covenant*, p. 19.

blessed and glorious resurrection, and be brought at last to a perfect fruition of happiness in heaven'.⁵⁵⁸

Then shall the Presbyter say,

As our Saviour hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say, 'Our Father', &c.

The placing of the Lord's Prayer immediately after the Consecration Prayer stands in marked contrast to the 1662 eucharistic rite, where it is part of the post-communion thanksgiving. The particular reason that Skinner articulates for the Scottish place for the Lord's Prayer is the petition, 'give us this day our daily bread', 'being invariably by the ancients referred to the *supersubstantial bread*, *αρτον επιουσιον*, of the Eucharist'.⁵⁵⁹ None of the earlier Scottish writers, John Forbes of Corse, William Forbes, James Sibbald, Henry Scougal, or Thomas Rattray, make specific comment about the placement of the Lord's Prayer. However, from the Liturgy in the 1637 Prayer Book, the liturgical tradition of the Scots Episcopalians has been to follow the practice of the ancient liturgies and place the Lord's Prayer immediately following the Consecration prayer. All three of the Scottish liturgies, 1637, Rattray's *ORDER*, and 1764 all follow that practice. One might well assume that for the Scots writers the clear example of the ancient liturgies was sufficient rationale in itself.

Then the Presbyter shall say to them, that come to receive the Holy Communion, this invitation.

Ye that do truly &c.

Skinner makes the interesting comparison between the exclamation of the priest after the Lord's Prayer in the Greek Liturgies, 'Τά ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις', 'Holy Things for Holy Persons!' and the short exhortation, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins...'. 'For it was the never failing practice of the Primitive Church to give both an invitation and a warning when the eucharistic sacrifice was offered, and the bread and the cup about to be dispensed, in the following concise terms, "Holy Things for Holy persons." The mysteries being made holy by the word of God and prayer, the people were admonished to become holy and devout, that they might be duly disposed to receive them...Chrysostom says, "We do not exhort men to destroy themselves by

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 136. (Wheatly's *illustration for the whole state of Christ's church.*)

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 146.

rash approaches, but to come with fear and purity of heart”⁵⁶⁰. The inspiration for placing the Invitation, General Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words, following the Lord’s Prayer is the 1549 Liturgy. Donaldson suggests that Wedderburn desired to follow the order of the 1549 Liturgy with regard to the position of the Invitation, General Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words after the Lord’s Prayer in the 1637 Liturgy, but the suggestion was rejected.⁵⁶¹ In both the English Communion office (1552 and all subsequent revisions) and in the Scottish 1637 Liturgy, the Invitation, General Confession, etc. precede the Prayer of Consecration; they, do not follow it. The point that Skinner makes further suggests that not only the influence of Bishop Rattray’s *ORDER* on the shaping of the 1764 Scottish Liturgy, but also that there was an appreciation of the of the Greek liturgical tradition generally. Skinner’s comparison between ‘Holy Things’ and the Invitation, Confession and Absolution in the Scottish Liturgy is perceptive and accurate. Such a comparison is made by no one else.

In the third section of Skinner’s work, ‘Private Devotions at Holy Communion’, Skinner includes private ‘responses’ to the Comfortable Words. These devotions were apparently widely used by the laity at the Eucharist.

Come unto me, &c.

‘Refresh, O Lord, thy servant, wearied with the burden of sin’.

God so loved the world, &c.

‘Lord, I believe in thy son Jesus Christ—O let this faith purify me from all iniquity’.

This is a faithful saying, &c.

‘I embrace with thankfulness that salvation which Jesus has brought into the world’.

If any man sin, &c.

‘Intercede for me, O blessed Jesus, that my sins may be pardoned, through the powerful merits of thy propitiating death’.⁵⁶²

When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord’s table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

⁵⁶¹ Donaldson, Gordon, op. cit., p. 51.

⁵⁶² Skinner, John., op. cit., p. 35.

Skinner suggests that this rubric was ‘first enjoined in the authorised Scotch Office’. This may suggest Scottish practice at the holy Table, at least among some. He mentions the first known use of the *pall* or *corporal*. ‘The introduction of it has been described in Eusebius, who was Bishop of Rome in the fourth century. We know that in the year 412 it was in use, from the following remarkable words of Isadore Peleusiota, “the fine linen cloth which is stretched over the holy gifts, represents the good office of Joseph of Arimathea”’.⁵⁶³ There does not appear to be very much direct evidence as to actual practice in the celebration of Holy Communion. Rattray includes such a direction in his *ORDER*, ‘When all have communicated, what remaineth of the consecrated Elements shall be reverently placed upon the Altar, and covered with a fair linen Cloth.’⁵⁶⁴ But this he must have taken from the 1637 Liturgy, since the Liturgy of St. James contains no such direction. The rubric in the 1637 Scottish Liturgy, very similar to the two above, is, ‘When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go the Lord’s table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporal, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this collect as followeth’.⁵⁶⁵

POST COMMUNION

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, OR ANGELIC HYMN.

In his discussion of this hymn Skinner does not refer in a footnote to the *Ancient Liturgy*, yet from the beginning, in the body of his text, he refers to the hymn as ‘the Morning Hymn’ as Rattray did in his appendix ‘Numb. VI’. The texts of this hymn, in the respective English and Scottish liturgies, while occupying the same place, are markedly different. The Scottish Liturgy of 1764 uses, almost but not quite, word for word, Rattray’s translation of the ‘Alexandrian’ text. In appendix ‘Numb. VI’, Rattray gives two texts of the ‘Morning hymn’, one the Alexandrian text, the other from the Apostolic Constitutions, which contains obvious Arian influence. The choice of Rattray’s text for the 1764 liturgy, as opposed to the text in either the 1637 Scottish liturgy or the 1662 English liturgy, is one must assume because 1) Rattray offers a translation directly from the Greek of the Primitive Church, and 2) that the clause, ‘O Lord the only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and Holy Ghost’, clearly affirms allegiance

⁵⁶³ Ibid., p. 167.

⁵⁶⁴ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. 121.

⁵⁶⁵ Donaldson, Gordon, op. cit., p. 201.

to Nicene orthodoxy in the face of the rampant intellectual Arianism of eighteenth century Britain.

Skinner discusses the two texts, ‘When the first reformed liturgy [1549] was published, the *Alexandrian* copy had not been discovered [annexed to the psalter of the *Alexandrian Bible*, presented by Cyril Lucar to James the VI]; but after its appearance, the compilers of the present Scotch Office did well to profit by it...’⁵⁶⁶

5. A Collation of the Several Communion Offices.

This collation was produced, as John Skinner acknowledges several times, by Samuel Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph. Horsley was a friend of Skinner’s father Bishop John Skinner, a friend of the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury, and an advocate of the Scottish Liturgy. The *Collation* is a comparison of the 1549 English liturgy, the 1637 Scottish liturgy, the 1662 English liturgy, and the 1764 Scottish liturgy.

Bishop Dowden gives credit to this *Collation*, for his ‘reconstruction’ of the 1764 Scottish Liturgy from the Lord’s Prayer and Collect for Purity to the Sermon. Rattray wrote in the *Preface* to his *Ancient Liturgy*, ‘But what I am concerned with at present is only the proper Anaphora of the Eucharistical service, viz. from the Sursum Corda, *Lift up your Hearts*, to the *Ite in Pace*, *Depart in Peace*.’⁵⁶⁷ Bishop Robert Forbes, following Rattray, if not directly, at least in principle, was concerned with that part from the Offertory to the end in the published text.

In practice one may assume that the ‘Synaxis’ for the Eucharist was taken from the English Prayer Book, and quite possibly after the publication of the English Non-Jurors Office in 1718, the first part of that liturgy was used. The most significant contribution from the Non-Jurors is the Summary of the Law, as an alternative to the recitation of the entire decalogue.

Conclusion.

Skinner labours throughout this work, attempting to find common ground between the express content of the 1764 Communion Office, and a theology, desired for, but in fact largely absent from, the 1662 rite, indeed absent since the revision of 1552. Peter

⁵⁶⁶ Skinner, John, op. cit., p. 169.

⁵⁶⁷ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. v.

Doll comments on the anomaly of theological views growing up in the Church of England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that are at odds with the Prayer Book eucharistic text. ‘Without substantially altering the text of the 1552 rite, the exponents of the developed eucharistic doctrine read into the rite an understanding of the Eucharist inconsistent with Cranmer’s intentions and much closer to the admired rite of 1549. Stuhlman observes, “The Church of England began to observe a Eucharistic theology which was at variance with, though not in absolute contradiction to, its [the rites of 1552—1662] eucharistic theology”’.⁵⁶⁸

John Skinner is the first of the writers considered in this thesis to write consciously as a part of a Scottish theological tradition, and to refer to it as such. The circumstances in which Scots Episcopalians had to exist had changed dramatically, and finding an identity with English eucharistic thought was seen as necessary to make a place for the Scottish eucharistic doctrinal tradition and the Scottish Liturgy, which he thinks is both misrepresented and misunderstood. But while pragmatically seeking to align the Scottish Liturgy with English thought and practice, he gives no ground in defending the tradition. Not once does he compromise the traditional theological or liturgical stance of Scots Episcopalians. Skinner’s tactic is to draw upon agreeable well-known English theological writers; it is however clear that he draws only on one school of English eucharistic thought, the old High Church school. Skinner seeks to recruit Waterland’s theology, no doubt to widen the base of agreement in English theology, but not successfully.⁵⁶⁹ Skinner’s second strand of attack in seeking to persuade his readers of the acceptability of the Scottish eucharistic tradition is his point by point analysis of the 1764 Scots Liturgy to demonstrate its faithfulness to the doctrine he has established.

In keeping with the other sections of this thesis, a comparison of six points of the doctrine of the Eucharist as the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice as outlined in the Introduction of this thesis is necessary. The comparison will be given in two parts, first from the *Dissertation*, then from the *Illustration*.

⁵⁶⁸ Doll, Peter, op. cit., 12. (Stuhlman, Byron D., *Eucharistic Celebration 1787—1979*, New York: Church Hymnal Corp., 1988, p. 11.)

⁵⁶⁹ Skinner, John, op. cit., pp. 49—52.

1) The Eucharist is called a Sacrifice, but that is an improper sacrifice in which the thing offered is not destroyed; it is the offering of bread and wine as a memorial and commemoration of Christ's sacrificial death on the Cross, as instituted by him at the Last Supper. The whole thrust of Skinner's book is to define the Eucharist as the sacrifice or offering of bread and wine as the symbols of Christ in his death. The *Dissertation*: In Skinner's abstract of John Johnson's 'irrefragable evidence' in his *Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar*, he sets out repeatedly the doctrine of the Eucharist as the offering of bread and wine as the memorial of Christ's death. (pp. 41—45). He also quotes both Bishop Jewell and Waterland asserting that the offering of Christ to the Father took place at the Last Supper in his offering of bread and wine (p. 47). The *Illustration*: In his discussion of the rubric at the Offertory, 'The Presbyter shall then offer up... the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament...'. Skinner quotes Wheatley, who agrees that when Christ instituted the Eucharist as the 'new sacrifice' he first offered the elements to the Father. (pp. 101—147.)

2) The Eucharist is a representation of Christ's death both to us, to 'proclaim the Lord's death', and to God the Father as our prayer to Him, pleading Christ's once-for-all and all-sufficient Sacrifice, as the one truly efficacious prayer of the Church, for the Church, specifically for the communicants present, but also for all for whom the celebrant and communicants pray, both the living and the dead; in this sense the Eucharist is an impetratory sacrifice. Skinner does not venture very much into other aspects of eucharistic doctrine, but there are a few places where he mentions the wider implications, as in this instance, the benefits and blessings flowing from the Eucharist. The *Dissertation*: In the long quotation from Bishop Andrewes' Easter sermon that Skinner quotes via Brett, Skinner includes Andrewes' statement '...*Christ's death, and that sacrifice... [it] only [is] absolute, all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it...*'. (pp. 38—39) The phrase 'all else...operative by it' is understood to mean all of the benefits both the direct benefits flowing from the Eucharist such as the forgiveness of sins and eternal life, but also all blessings from the petitions presented at the Eucharist, that is, the impetratory aspect of the Eucharist; The *Illustration*: In seeking to illustrate the unique placement of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church in the Scottish Liturgy, Skinner says that 'primitive practice was the invariable rule and guide of its compilers', (p. 135.) and agrees that putting the prayer after the Prayer of Consecration is the proper place for intercessory petitions, and that

the prayer embraced not only petitions for the living but also the faithful departed. He draws on Thorndike and Wheatly who in their comments on the English 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and the Communion Office in particular, note and approve the ancient tradition. (pp. 135—140.)

3) By the act of eating his Body and drinking his Blood as Christ commanded, rightly and in faith, the communicants receive all the benefits of Christ's saving death—the Forgiveness of Sins, the continuing grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life; in this sense alone can the Eucharist be called a propitiatory sacrifice. The *Dissertation*: Skinner quotes both Cyril of Jerusalem, '...while the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies in open view, and of beseeching God over the sacrifice of propitiation...' and Eusebius, 'we offer the blood of sprinkling—the blood of the Lamb, which takes away the sins of the world, the expiation of our souls' (pp. 42—43) in seeking to establish ancient authority for the Scottish Episcopalian view of the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice, a controversial view in the Church of England. The *Illustration*: He quotes Bishop Bull '...we...plead to God the merits of his Son's sacrifice on the Cross for us sinners...' (p. 124) as illustrative of the view of the propitiatory character of the Eucharist in the Church of England; a contemporary writer, quoted by Skinner discussing the 'collect of thanksgiving' as a petition that the work of the Holy Spirit may continue in the communicants says, '...it...is...a petition...that we may continue in the communion of the Catholic Church, and be fruitful in good works', (p. 168).

4) The bread and wine do not change in substance, remaining bread and wine, but by the prayer of the Church, said by the Bishop or Presbyter on behalf of the Church, (i.e. the gathered people) in union with the Catholic Church, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine undergo an ineffable change or transformation, beyond the power of human comprehension or explanation, and become the true Body and Blood of Christ (not the whole Christ.) The *Dissertation*: Skinner, as with all of his predecessors, both asserts that the elements do not change substance, and discusses the nature of the consecrated elements, not so much by what they are in and of themselves, but in terms of what they do, that is the effect that receiving the Body and Blood of Christ has upon the faithful communicant. With regard to the former, he quotes the Archdeacon of Sarum (a contemporary of Skinner's), '...the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ in figure, or by

representation. They continue bread and wine in their nature...the body and blood of Christ in spirit and effect...and this is *through the operation of the Holy Ghost*'; (p. 52—52); with regard to the latter, Skinner writes, 'The bread and wine ...both materially and in themselves, are yet...in *power* and *efficacy*...the very *body* blood of *Christ* and convey to us all the benefits purchased by his meritorious death and passion' (p. 48—49). and *The Illustration: Concerning the Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Scottish Liturgy* Skinner quotes from several sources, from the *Reasonable Communicant*, reputedly by Bishop Fleetwood '...the Church of Christ did *heretofore pray, that the Holy Spirit of God coming down on the creatures of bread and wine might make them the body and blood of Christ...*', (p 125); there are many other quotations from British authors, Waterland, Stillingfleet, Wilson, Jeremy Taylor, as well as references to ancient authors and liturgies. (pp. 125—134)

5) The consecrated bread and wine become neither Christ's actual natural body as born of the Virgin Mary, nor his ascended and glorious resurrection body; the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ in death, as sacrificed on the Cross, hence in the Eucharist the separation of the bread from the wine is denotative of death as the separation of the body from the blood, and the breaking of the bread is also denotative of the death of Christ, referring back to the Christ's own words in the Institution, '...my Body broken [in death] for you'. The consecrated bread is the Body of Christ; the wine is the Blood of Christ, in truth, in efficacy, in type, and in symbol. *The Dissertation*: Skinner does not write directly to this point, his overriding emphasis is on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist in Scottish Episcopalian thought, but he is clear that the bread and wine offered are types and symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and that the Eucharist is a commemorative sacrifice. He quotes Bishop Jewell '...as Christ was slain at the table, so was he sacrificed at the table...verily and indeed, but only in a mystery'. (p. 47) Skinner himself writes, 'And thus the Eucharist...is the PURE MEAL OFFERING everywhere to be presented on God's holy altar...'.(p.53) *The Illustration*: Skinner quotes Bishop Bull to describe the nature of the offering made to the Father in the Eucharist, 'In the Holy Eucharist Christ is offered not *hypostatically*, as the Trent Fathers have determined, but commemoratively only...we set before God the bread and wine, as figures of the ...blood of Christ shed for us, and his precious body...'. (p. 125.)

Skinner chooses other quotations in his lengthy *Illustration* of the Prayer of Consecration (pp. 118—135) but Bishop Bull's is characteristic.

6) Jesus Christ in his ascended and glorious body sits at the right hand of the Father where he will remain until his second Advent. He is ineffably present in His Church and in the celebration of the Eucharist in his Godhead, by the Holy Spirit. This aspect of eucharistic doctrine is discussed in neither the *Dissertation* nor the *Illustration*, however one may say that, while Skinner does not discuss it, it is stated briefly in the text of the Scottish Liturgy; one would assume Skinner's assent. The introductory paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration, immediately prior to the Words of Institution, states that Christ commanded a 'perpetual memorial...until his coming again.' The Prayer of Oblation names the Ascension as one saving acts for which the bread and wine are offered in thanksgiving, and from which 'innumerable benefits [are] procured...by the same'.

Part II Alexander Jolly

Alexander Jolly's life has been recorded by William Walker in his *Life*.⁵⁷⁰ The events of his life are unremarkable, except to say that living his whole life in the north-east of Scotland, he never married, and lived an almost monastic life of virtual poverty,⁵⁷¹ prayer and study among his remarkable collection of books and his unique archive of manuscripts relating to the Scottish Episcopal Church. The bishop, even in his lifetime, but especially after his death was known as 'the venerable Bishop Jolly'.⁵⁷² He was a man of mild manner, grave bearing, deep piety, and great learning. John Henry Hobart, The Bishop of New York, exclaimed after having met Bishop Jolly in Aberdeen in 1823, 'If I had gone from America to Aberdeen, and had seen nothing by Bishop Jolly...I should hold my self greatly rewarded. In our country we have no such men'.⁵⁷³ He died 'On the morning of St. Peter's Day, 1838...at Fraserburgh. No

⁵⁷⁰ Walker, The Rev'd William, *The Life of the Right Reverend Alexander Jolly*, second edition, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1878, Title page.

⁵⁷¹ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit, 1832, dedication, no page number.

⁵⁷² Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁷³ Grubb, George, op. cit., vol. IV, pp. 175—176.

human eye beheld his departure. He was found with his hands crossed upon his breast; and the serenity of his countenance shewed that his end had been peaceful.’⁵⁷⁴

The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist

Bishop Jolly’s great work, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, was published in Aberdeen in 1831. It is the clearest and most thorough exposition of the Scottish eucharistic teaching to be found. It is perhaps the culmination of the Scottish eucharistic tradition, as it comments on every aspect of the eucharistic action from the nature of sacrifice, to the ministers of the Eucharist, to the doctrine of the Eucharist, to such concerns as the significance of Sunday. Chapter IV, the longest chapter in the book, is carefully directed to assuaging any scruples an English reader might have about the distinctive Scottish perspective; it follows the same method that Skinner did in his work, seeking to prove that the doctrine set forth in chapters I–III has been held by a great many notable English divines.

The structure of the book is six chapters, in which each deals with some different aspect of the Eucharist, its foreshadowing in the Old Testament in chapters I and II; chapter III is the substantive discussion of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice. Chapter IV is the appeal to precedents in English writers for parallels with the Scottish theology. Chapters V and VI are concerned with attendant issues such the significance of Sunday, the importance of frequent communion, and adequate preparation for receiving Holy Communion. The Appendix extols both the personal virtues of Bishop Thomas Rattray and the excellence of his redaction of the Liturgy of St. James, giving the text of Bishop Rattray’s English *ORDER*. This examination will focus on chapters I, II, and III.

Chapter I. *The Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, typified by divinely instituted Sacrifice from the beginning, the only ground of fallen man’s acceptance and communion with God.*

The first Chapter of *The Christian Sacrifice* is a theological exposition of the place and significance of sacrifice in the scheme of salvation from Adam to the end of the

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 190.

Patriarchal era. Jolly describes Adam's state in creation as first 'animal or natural', that is with a soul, but no spiritual endowment, and then as 'spiritual', 'stamped with the divine image of the Spirit of God'.⁵⁷⁵ Jolly's view was that mankind in Adam and Eve, would be raised, body and soul, by degrees in the garden of Paradise to eternal life, 'without out undergoing death'.⁵⁷⁶ By partaking of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve suffered a two-fold death, "dying thou shalt die," as the original language expresses it...the death of the soul, by its separation from God, ...and the death of the body, by the separation of the soul from it'.⁵⁷⁷ The remedy for mankind's plight is disclosed in the curse pronounced in Gen. 3. 15, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel'.⁵⁷⁸ It is sacrifice, both the sacrifices of the Old Testament as looking forward to the sacrifice of Christ, and the celebration of the Eucharist as the memorial of Christ's death, that is God's chosen means of offering the benefits of salvation to repentant mankind, either in anticipation or fulfilment.

Jolly says, 'In the third chapter of Genesis...we find the...downfall of human nature...[and]...the promise of redemption by the death of Christ; at the very beginning of the fourth we find the performance of sacrifice looking to the atonement undertaken by Christ ...which in its full comprehension and right application, is the soul and substance of the whole of Scripture from beginning to end... This is the only bond, which by its mediation connects in fellowship God and man...'.⁵⁷⁹ This rather bold statement, that sacrifice, either anticipatory or memorial of the death of Christ is the thread running through Scripture, and is the 'only bond...which connects in fellowship God and man', is essentially the theme of Jolly's book; the substance of the book is the explication of that theme. In the terms of Scripture, the nature of that material sacrificial bond between God and man has existed in three phases—the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian.⁵⁸⁰ Chapters I, II, III are the exposition of the each of those eras as periods of time in which the certain aspects of the performance of Sacrifice changes, but the basic element does not.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 9—10.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

The Patriarchal Era: Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham, Job

Jolly's examination of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel makes two points. First, the brothers' sacrifices were to be presented by their father, 'the priest as well as the king of the family'. Jolly says, '...under the Patriarchal dispensation...the priesthood was that of the first-born...and priesthood, or the ministry of a divinely-commissioned officer, was ever essential to its acceptance'.⁵⁸¹ This he applies to the whole scheme of sacrifice, from Cain and Abel to the Christian Eucharist, only the terms of the priesthood changing with each era. Second, the nature of the acceptance of Abel's sacrifice and the rejection of Cain's, lay not in the 'materials' of the sacrifice, but in the attitude of the offerers. Jolly is at pains to indicate that it was not because Cain was a 'tiller of the ground', and that his rejection was not because of his cereal offering. God's words to Cain 'would seem to impute his failure to his own evil disposition and life: "If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted?"'⁵⁸² Jolly concludes his discussion of Cain and Abel with this observation, 'Redemption is absolute, but salvation is conditional, suspended upon terms... Abel offered with repentance, faith, and holy obedience, which are the three conditions of acceptance...'.⁵⁸³

Noah, 'the second father of mankind', is mentioned very briefly as offering sacrifice in '...intercession for others as well as himself'.⁵⁸⁴ Abraham is discussed in terms of the significance of his encounter with Melchizedek, who as one of the chief types of Christ in the Old Testament, is discussed in terms of the significance of prefiguring Christ both as Priest and King of righteousness and of peace, in his offering of bread and wine as a sacrifice to God, prefiguring Christ in his ministry at the Last Supper.⁵⁸⁵ Jolly mentions many ancient Fathers in support of his interpretation.⁵⁸⁶ Jolly argues against the Romanists, and those who suppose that his interpretation would support transubstantiation, and those who reject the idea of sacrifice in the account of Melchizedek. 'let us seek truth sincerely', he says, 'and we shall find it'.⁵⁸⁷ Job like Noah is presented as a typical example of the Patriarchal reliance on sacrifice as the

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13—14.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 16—18.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

means of intercession and approach to God. ⁵⁸⁸Jolly concludes, ‘We may ...very confidently infer the divine appointment of sacrifice and priesthood as the worship of God’s appointment from the beginning...adapted to the state of fallen man, in order to restoration’. ⁵⁸⁹

There are four principal points that Jolly makes in this chapter. The first, is that ‘material sacrifice’ is God’s appointed means of human access to him. The second, is that that sacrifice must be offered by the rightful priest, a ‘divinely commissioned officer’; in the Patriarchal era that was a first-born son who had become the father of his family. The third, is that it must be offered in repentance, faith and obedience. The fourth is that this structure of worship has existed from the beginning of God’s relationship with fallen man as the means of his redemption, looking forward to, or as prophetic of, Christ’s saving death on the Cross. Jolly makes a another point, underlying the four above, which is that immediately after the fall, God tells mankind, in the curse on the serpent, of the coming sacrifice of Christ which will destroy the Devil and his works and power, ‘it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel’ (Gen. 3:15). As Christ himself was to become the ‘material’ of the sacrifice for the redemption of mankind, so from that point when the Cross was prophesied in the curse upon the serpent, all sacrifice prior to Christ’s Incarnation, is prophetic and anticipatory of the Christ’s death. And for those who sacrificed properly, and with faith, repentance and obedience, as did Abel, Noah, Abraham, Melchizedek, and Job, they also sacrificed availingly, ‘the benefits procured by it all terminating in Christ its author and end...applying His grace and merits by such appointed means’. ⁵⁹⁰

Chapter II. *The Divine Service by Sacrifice, the worship of God under the Law of Moses: Bearing witness to Christ, the end of the Law and the subject of the Prophets.*

The second chapter of *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist* deals with five prophecies of the Eucharist, three in the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and two in the Psalms. In these prophecies Jolly sees the extension of the priesthood and sacrifice

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

beyond the bounds of Israel and Judah into the gentile world.⁵⁹¹ Jolly writes that the advent, death and resurrection of Christ ‘...was foretold from Moses to Malachi... they speak of ...a Priest who would perpetuate sacrifice, not after the order of Aaron, but of Melchizedek, a King as well as a Priest’ of universal reign that salvation should be spread abroad in clearer truth by a priesthood and sacrifice calculated for all nations, to the utmost bounds of the earth, and to the end of the world’.⁵⁹² The old Levitical priesthood and sacrifice ended with Christ’s death and resurrection, and a new priesthood and sacrifice came into being, and like the Gospel, it was opened to all people of all nations. The new priesthood, an extension of Christ’s ministry, is to offer the new sacrifice, the memorial of his one sacrifice, upon new altars everywhere. The old Levitical priesthood and the old Levitical sacrifice upon the Temple altar in every aspect was not a thing in itself, but was prophetic of Christ’s ministry at the Last Supper, his death and resurrection, and of its subsequent commemoration by the church.

The first prophecy Jolly adduces is Isaiah 19: 19 and 21—23. Here he sees the universality of the new sacrifice and the new ministry prophesied. Isaiah 29: 19, ‘In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt...’. Jolly, following the ‘ancient Fathers’ understanding of the verse, sees it as parallel to Malachi 1:11, with the Egyptians and the Assyrians answering to the Gentiles of Malachi. Further in verse 21, ‘And the Lord shall be known to Egypt and the Egyptian shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation...’. Jolly reads ‘do sacrifice and oblation’ in the terms of Christ’s “*Do* this in remembrance of me”—extending his priesthood and sacrifice beyond the bounds of Judea...whereby God’s name is glorified among Egyptians, Assyrians, and all nations’.⁵⁹³ One notable strain in Scottish Episcopalian eucharistic doctrine that is present here is the translation of the Greek word ποιετε as meaning to make sacrifice. The use of the ‘do’ is based, as already discussed, upon the Septuagint use, but also as Jolly emphasises here the appearance of that word in the words of Christ at the Institution of the Lord’s Supper. Jolly takes the word ‘do’ to mean to offer the memorial of Christ’s death.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵⁹² Ibid., pp. 23—24.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p. 24.

Jolly then turns to the last chapter of Isaiah to seek prophetic material for the establishment of the three-fold ministry, ‘I will take from them for priests and for Levites...’. Jolly comments, ‘Now this priesthood could not be that of Aaron, which was confined to one family, but another, after the order of Melchizedek, a priest of the Gentiles. But priesthood implies sacrifice, for every priest must have somewhat to offer (Heb. 8: 3)’.⁵⁹⁴ Jeremiah 33, 17, 18, says, ‘Thus says the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel. Neither shall the priests, the Levites, want a man before me...to *do* sacrifice continually...’.⁵⁹⁵ is a further discussion of the Christian ministry. First, having its unity in Christ, the one Priest of the one Sacrifice, ‘unchangeable, “the same yesterday, today, forever”’.⁵⁹⁶ Second undergoing a transformation to become from High Priest, Priests, Levites, Bishops, priests and deacons. Quoting St. Jerome (no citation) he says, ‘what Aaron and his son were in the temple, so the same are the bishops, priests and deacons in the church’. Jolly closes with a powerful vision of Christ ruling over the church in the ministry and sacraments of the Church, ‘And thus, the one Lord, by his one Spirit, rules and governs all in unity;—one one priesthood, one altar, the same in substance, power, and virtue through out all ages, Christ himself being all in all’.⁵⁹⁷

The Eucharist as prophesied in Old Testament is the subject of the rest of the chapter. Jolly focuses not only on the sacrifice of Melchizedek, but especially on the *Mincha*, the meal and drink offerings under the Law as foreshadowing the Eucharist as the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. ‘...after the coming of the real priest and the infinitely meritorious sacrifice of his death should put and end to the bloody sacrifices which preceded it...so this commemorative sacrifice...looks back with praise and thanksgiving... It is...very properly called the Eucharist, i.e. the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving’.⁵⁹⁸ It is Psalm 50 v. 23 which Jolly presents as a prophetic of the Eucharist, “Whoso offereth thanks and praise to me, honoureth me, and to him that ordereth his conversation right will I shew the salvation of God”. ... Thus the early fathers understood the words and applied them as a prophecy of the Eucharist’.⁵⁹⁹ He cites St. Clement of Rome and St. Irenaeus for support in his interpretation. It is

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 26—27.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

Irenaeus to whom he points as making the connection with the *Mincha* as the ‘pure offering’ of the Gentiles.⁶⁰⁰

Jolly cites Psalm 40, vv. 8, 9, 10 as equally prophetic of the Eucharist, drawing on the interpretation in Hebrew 10 especially verses 5—10. Jolly comments, ‘...that body [Christ’s]...He offered...with his own hands, when he took bread and said, “This is my body which *is given* for you...” ...But the worth of it [Christ’s death] was sufficient to render acceptable all the sacrifices which were types and figures of it’,⁶⁰¹ quoting Hebrews 7: 27 and 28, Jolly notes the limitations of the Aaronic priesthood. ‘Accordingly, in the last of the prophets, we are led to expect a change in the external economy of the church...a dispensation of wider extent...is told in these words [Malachi 1: 10, 11]. The *Mincha* is the word for *offering* in the original...which ...denominated the oblation of fine flour, the meat and drink offering superadded to the bloody sacrifice which went before it...’⁶⁰² Jolly defines the pure offering of Malachi as the Aaronic offering of fine flour, oil and incense and the libation of wine as transformed in the Church’s offering of bread and wine as specifically foreshadowed by Melchizedek’s offering of bread and wine. And further, that Malachi in chapter 3, prophesies the purification of the Aaronic priesthood, (Malachi 3: 1—4) to offer sacrifices ‘pleasant unto the Lord.’⁶⁰³

Jolly concludes, ‘The design of all, from first to last is one and the same: to exhibit and apply the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ...for the purification and salvation of his worshippers through the several ages, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ...both before and after his actual coming in the flesh’.⁶⁰⁴ He goes on to say that Christ’s death on the Cross is not the end of sacrifice offered to God. ‘It seems to be a great misunderstanding... to think... that after the coming of the Messiah, priesthood and sacrifice would be no more’.⁶⁰⁵ They are, Jolly asserts, but the end of the bloody types that prefigured it; the Church now has the unbloody of sacrifice of bread and wine as the commemorative sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 28, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. I, Clement of Rome, ‘1st Epistle to the Corinthians’, chapter, 36, p. 15; Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, book 4, chapter 32., 2., p. 506.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁰² Ibid., p. 29.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., p. 30.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

This chapter although fairly brief, nonetheless exhibits a profound reading, not only of Scripture, but also the Fathers of the Church. Bishop Jolly, unlike many, perhaps all of his contemporaries, was well placed to speak with authority on the Patristic tradition of the eucharistic doctrine he espouses, and its sources in Scripture. The picture Jolly puts forward is one of God's unswerving love for mankind, and in spite of the Fall, and offering not only the promise of redemption, but also the means of grace, through the sacrifices of the Law, in anticipation of their fulfilment in Christ. Not only that, but of the promise coming means of extending salvation to all mankind.

Chapter III. *The Appearance of Christ in the Flesh, to take away sin by the Sacrifice of Himself, the only sacrifice of atonement and access to God: Commemorated, according to his Institution, by the Sacrifice of thanksgiving, the Eucharist; Appointed to shew forth His Death until his second coming to complete salvation and consummate all things.*

This third chapter of Bishop Jolly's *the Christian Sacrifice on the Eucharist* is the heart of the book and contains the substance of his teaching. Bishop Jolly begins by stressing again the unity of the two Testaments as one seamless whole, and the central subject of both is the person of Jesus Christ, with John the Baptist as the 'link or clasp' between them. '...the Baptist is the bond of union, as it were, between the two, the link or clasp that makes them one whole according to the expression of Tertullian.* perfect unity pervading every part, ...Jesus Christ...from the first of Genesis to the last of Revelation...is the grand concern'.⁶⁰⁶

The point of Jolly's statement is to give credence to the prophecy of Malachi, 'We are not...to think ourselves unconcerned with his last command to Malachi, "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, with the statutes and judgements" (Mal. 4; 4). In every sacrifice through all the books of Moses, we read and see our saviour Jesus Christ...and his atonement. ...therefore, He said to the Jews, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me"' (John 5: 46).⁶⁰⁷ Bishop Jolly, following the tradition of the Fathers, is keen to stress not only the continuity of the

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 33. * Bishop Jolly's footnote: 'Fibula Legis et Evangelii'. Tert. adv. Marcion, Lib. iv.'

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

two Covenants, but also the fulfilment of the Old Covenant in the New, and especially, that the sacrifices of the Old Covenant, are prophetic of the Eucharist.

The Christian Altar

The term *altar* as Jolly uses it implies priest and sacrifice, that is, the Eucharist: the table, the bread and cup of wine mixed with water to be offered, and the priest who stands at the table to offer the bread and cup. Technically, the name ‘altar’ is not the usual term used in the rubrics of the 1764 Liturgy, which refers twice to ‘the holy Table’, twice to ‘the Lord’s Table’, but only once does it refer to ‘the altar’, in the rubric where the presbyter is directed to kneel to recite the Prayer of Humble Access’. Later in the chapter Jolly returns to the theme of the Christian Altar and says, ‘We call that upon which the gifts...are laid, sometimes the holy Altar, and sometimes the holy Table. In respect of the sacrifice, *Altar*...is the name; and in respect of the sacrament...it is called *Table*... And...in the words of the prophet, *Altar* and *Table* are the same thing...’ (Ezekiel 41. 22).⁶⁰⁸

Jolly cites the Apostolic Constitutions, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Cyril of Jerusalem, all of whom interpret Matthew 5: 23, 24 as establishing the identity of the Christian Altar as the place of the Christian Sacrifice.⁶⁰⁹ Then Jolly quotes Joseph Mead’s four points from his essay, ‘Of the name ALTAR’: 1) Jesus’ injunction is nowhere commanded in the Law, therefore he intended it for an ordinance of the kingdom of God (i.e. the Church); 2) The whole of the Sermon on the Mount is ‘doctrine evangelical’, hence every part of it is to be regarded as essential, including this part; 3) As vv. 23 and 24 appear as part of Jesus’ exhortation to ‘exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and the Pharisees’ in relation to the commandment ‘thou shalt not kill’, they are an exemplification of how Christians are to exceed the old righteousness of the Law; 4) This passage seems to be part of the ‘filling up of the Law’, ‘Think not that I am come to dissolve the Law and the Prophets (that is to abolish or abrogate the observation of them in my kingdom) but to accomplish, supply or perfect them’.⁶¹⁰ Jolly also draws upon Hebrews 13: 10, ‘We have an altar, whereof

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., p. 38. (Mead, Joseph, op. cit., ‘Of the Name ALTAR’, p. 390.)

they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle’, to establish the name ‘altar’ as a designation appropriate in the New Covenant.

Jolly next turns to St. John 6: 51 ‘the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world’. This passage is read in the future tense, as looking forward to the Last Supper, ‘For when He had accomplished his...course...He entered upon his Melchizedekian priesthood...to offer himself a sacrifice for the sins of [the world]’.⁶¹¹ ‘Now no where...shall we find this act performed by him but at his Last Supper, when he made this oblation and gave himself to suffer and to die under the symbols or substitutes of bread and wine’.⁶¹² Bishop Jolly’s following argument, since there are several points, is perhaps best set out in numbered headings: 1) He would not wound or harm himself; 2) under the authoritative figures of bread and wine for his body and blood, he gave himself: gave his body to be broken and his blood shed; 3) in order to demonstrate that his death was voluntary, he made that oblation of himself while he was perfectly at liberty [Bishop Jolly here quotes St. John, 10:18, ‘No man taketh my life from me...’] 4) Jesus was not only willing to die voluntarily, but also desirous, ‘With desire have I desired to eat this Passover...’ (St. Luke 22: 15). 5). The Passover lamb was to be roasted over fire, Jesus was to die ‘in the fire of the inconceivable flame upon the cross’; 6) as the sacrificed lamb was eaten as a feast by the household, so that ‘...this sacrificed Passover might be eaten as a feast to his household the church ever after, he performed the oblation of it in bread and wine...as he foretold that he would in his ...sermon ...at Capernaum’ (St. John 6: 51).⁶¹³

The Scottish Liturgy of 1764 by the subtle omission of one word affirms the above interpretation. Both the 1637 Liturgy and the English 1662 Liturgy say in the Prayer of Consecration, ‘...who...didst give thine only Son...to suffer death upon the Cross...who made *there* (by his one oblation...)’. The 1764 Liturgy says, ‘...thou...didst give thy only Son...to suffer death upon the Cross...’. The word ‘there’ does not appear. No mention is made of the Cross as the place of offering, as it is in 1637 and 1662.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., p. 39.

⁶¹² Ibid., p. 40.

⁶¹³ Ibid., pp. 40—41.

Christ's Voluntary Self-Offering

Summing up the whole flow of ideas he has been putting forward, but moving on to stress the voluntary character of the Lord's self-offering, Bishop Jolly writes, 'Our Lord's...economy...was typified... by significant symbols in the sacrifices of old, which all looked forward to Him, and terminated in Him alone.... The sacrifice was first offered, and then it was slain; as our Redeemer...was once offered to bear our sins...by his own voluntary oblation of himself in the institution of the Eucharist, that He might passively bear our sins in his own body on the tree of the cross'.⁶¹⁴ The voluntary nature of Christ's self-offering, that although his death is prophesied, his human will freely acquiesced to his death and accepted it, is an important part of the eucharistic doctrine of Scottish Episcopacy. Rattray specifically mentions it in his *Christian Covenant*,⁶¹⁵ and it finds specific expression in the 1764 Liturgy in the phrase, 'by this own sacrifice'.

Bishop Jolly then adduces quotations from Bishop Patrick [Simon Patrick, 1625—1707, Bp. of Ely], St. John Chrysostom, Dr. Outram, and St. Gregory of Nyssa,⁶¹⁶ whom he quotes at length, to support the voluntary self offering. The passage from St. John Chrysostom is interesting because he relates the voluntary self-offering to the 'High Priestly Prayer' of St. John 17. St. Chrysostom asks, 'What is [the meaning of] "I sanctify myself"? "I offer to Thee a sacrifice"... For... He alluded to his own sacrifice when He said, "I sanctify", is clear from what follows'.⁶¹⁷ Bishop Jolly comments, '...clearly meaning that in the institution of the Eucharist by the bread and the cup, He made the oblation of himself, to suffer and to die upon the cross for the sins of the world. He then and there ordained his Apostles to be priests in his Church, thus authorising them to perpetuate the memorial of his sacrifice...'.⁶¹⁸

The seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, then according to Bishop Jolly, not only contains Christ's prayer of self-offering, the appointment and ordination of the Apostles as priests of the Church, and a prayer for 'the whole state and well-being of the Church', but also (v. 4) the statement, 'I have finished the work Thou gavest me to

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

⁶¹⁵ Rattray, Thomas, *Christian Covenant*, p. 17.

⁶¹⁶ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., p. 44. Bishop Jolly's footnote, S. Greg. Nyss. Tom iii, Paris, 1638.

⁶¹⁷ Chrysostom, St. John, 'Homily LXXXII', St. John, 17: 14—26, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. XIV, p. 303.

⁶¹⁸ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 42—43.

do'. 'His part, by thus willingly offering himself to suffer and to die he had then finished. The remaining part was the bloody and malicious work of men and devils who tortured his immaculate, blessed body...when all sensible comfort was suspended. At length when he endured to the utmost extremity...and both parts, his own and his enemies, were accomplished, He finally said, "It is finished," and bowing his head, gave up his spirit...and expired....'.⁶¹⁹

The first point Bishop Jolly made in this chapter was that the Holy Table is an Altar, implying sacrifice, the second was that the sacrifice was the free will, voluntary offering of Christ made at the Last Supper. His third point is that Christ also simultaneously, as he offered himself, instituted the perpetual commemoration of his once-for all sacrifice, until his return in power and glory. These commemorative sacrifices can no more detract from Christ's one true sacrifice upon the cross, than did all the sacrifices 'which were instituted and prevailed from the beginning', and because the commemorative sacrifice is 'the sacrifice of the universal church, embracing Gentiles as well as Jews, to the end of the world.' The prophecy from Malachi, 'From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering', is thereby fulfilled.⁶²⁰

The Memorial Sacrifice

The bread and the cup are the materials of the memorial and commemorative sacrifice. The bread is set apart to represent his body, 'considered and bruised and broken for the sins of the world, and therefore he broke the bread with his own hands to signify by such a sign His voluntary surrender of himself in to the hands of His crucifiers, thus making the bread the authoritative figure or symbol of his body'. And the wine and water poured out into the cup, and separate from the bread is set apart to represent his blood, '...to signify His complete or perfect death, by the separation of his blood from his body—the blood being the life thereof—he took the cup and consecrated or separated it to signify or represent his blood, so shed or poured out'.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., pp. 46—47.

⁶²¹ Ibid., p. 48.

Later on in the chapter, Bishop Jolly introduces a discussion of this subject through the writings of St. Justin Martyr, and St. Irenaeus. In his discussion of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* [chapt. 117], he returns to the prophecy of Malachi and concludes with these words, 'St. Justin Martyr...proves that ...the legal sacrifices are superceded by the pure offering—the eucharistic bread and cup...typified by the meat and drink offering under the law, now everywhere presented through the whole church throughout the world'.⁶²² St. Irenaeus is quoted, also in relation to the prophecy of Malachi [*Adv. Haer.* Book 4, chapt. 17. 5]. 'Christ bearing testimony to the prophets that they published the truth...and to his own disciples giving command that they should offer to God of his own creatures, He took that same species of bread...and giving thanks, said, This is my body; and the cup in like manner ... declaring it to be his blood. Thus he taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the church receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout the whole world; concerning which, Malachi, among the twelve prophets, foretold...plainly indicating that the former people should cease to offer; but in every place sacrifice shall be offered to me, and that the pure offering'.⁶²³

Bishop Jolly next broadly alludes to the whole Patristic tradition in support of the doctrine, ' All the subsequent fathers, St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen , St. Cyprian, and downward form a cloud of witness to the commemorative sacrifice, representative, yet efficacious and communicative of Christ's body and blood...'.⁶²⁴

The Mixed Cup

The nature of the bread of the Eucharist was not an issue, and is passed over. However it must be stated that Bishop Jolly's conception of bread to be used in the Eucharist did not include wafers; in his day plain white bread was in universal use in Scotland. The cup is more complicated, primarily because the neither the Gospel narratives, nor St. Paul describe the contents of the cup. The tradition, ostensibly reaching back to the Last Supper itself, is that the cup contains wine diluted with some water. This tradition was largely interrupted at the Reformation, but very

⁶²² Ibid., p. 67.

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 68.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., p. 68.

possibly continued at Aberdeen and its environs, for which there is anecdotal evidence. Woodrow, who would have seen the ‘mixed cup’ as outright Papism, writes, that he has heard of the practice in use at Aberdeen.⁶²⁵ Also Bishop Thomas Rattray writes in a MS [partly transcribed by Dowden] about the conditions of worship obtaining in Scotland after the Revolution, concerning the mixed cup, ‘...it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine—not indeed at the Altar, but at preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation, and after this time we are now speaking of [from 1689/90 to 1710], came to spread somewhat more...’.⁶²⁶

Bishop Jolly spends sometime establishing the contents of the eucharistic cup and its significance. ‘We are not expressly told what was in the cup. That there was wine in it is certain from the expression of our Lord, “I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine”, which phrase however meant wine diluted or mixed with water. Pure or unmingled wine was called by them “the fruit of the tree”, or “the pure blood of the grape”. A mixed cup it was that the Jews used after the paschal supper.... Now, it was this cup, after supper which our Lord took into his sacred hands, and set apart to represent his blood, considered as shed for the remission of sins by the wound in his side’.⁶²⁷ Rattray in his *Christian Covenant* gives the three ancient meanings⁶²⁸ of the ‘mixed cup:’ 1.) that it was the cup used at the Last Supper, and was the Paschal cup, of the ‘fruit of the vine’, [i.e. wine mixed with water]; 2.) that as the cup is commemorative of Christ’s blood shed on the Cross, the mixture is commemorative of St. John 19: 34 ‘But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water’; 3.) St. Cyprian’s explanation, which is that the wine is Christ and the water is the Baptised People, and the mixing the union of Christ and his Church.⁶²⁹ Bishop Robert Forbes used a prayer at the mixture based on St. Cyprian’s explanation.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁵ Woodrow, Robert, op. cit., p. 269.

⁶²⁶ Dowden, John, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶²⁷ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., p. 48.

⁶²⁸ Rattray, Thomas, *Christian Covenant*, p. 21.

⁶²⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶³⁰ Forbes, Robert, *Catechism*, p. 22.

As Scriptural proof for the mixing of wine and water, Bishop Jolly produces first the incident recorded in St. John 19: 34, 35, ‘...one of the four roman soldiers who had nailed him to the cross “pierced his side and out came blood and water”’. Secondly he turns to Hebrews 9: 19, 20, ‘...in the 24th chapter Exodus, ...that solemn sacrifice by which the Mosaic covenant... was struck. Now in that place there is mention made of blood only: but we are assured by the inspired author to the Hebrews that it was mingled with water, “For Moses...took the blood of calves and goats, *with water* and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined to you”. And our Lord, taking a cup of wine and water for the life giving figure of his blood, and giving it to the Apostles for their cleansing, as by the blood of sprinkling, said, “This is my blood of the new testament”’.⁶³¹ Bishop Jolly is known to have recited St. John 19:34 at the preparation of the Chalice when he celebrated the Eucharist.⁶³²

The testimony of the Fathers, particularly St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenaeus, and St. Cyprian, is called upon to support the use of the mixed cup. Bishop Jolly attests that that was ‘a matter of the original institution, and was universally practised by the church’.⁶³³ He mentions particularly St. Cyprian’s *Epistle to Caecilius*, ‘in which he insists very earnestly, that to the integrity of the eucharistic cup there must be both wine and water’.⁶³⁴ Later in the chapter the Mixed Cup is referred to again. ‘...all the liturgies and all the good Fathers of the primitive church, harmoniously concur in asserting that the materials of the Christian sacrifice are bread and wine—which was...universally mixed with water. He quotes St. Justin Martyr, ‘Bread’, says St. Justin Martyr, ‘and wine and water are presented’.⁶³⁵

There were some Episcopalians in Scotland who refused the mixed cup, one of the ‘Usages.’ The four ‘Usages’ were: 1) the Prayer of Oblation, and 2) the *Epiclesis* in the Prayer of Consecration, 3) prayer for the faithful departed in the eucharistic intercession, and 4) the mixed cup. In the 1720s the controversy about the ‘Usages’, that had begun amongst the English Non-Jurors, as there was no provision in the 1662

⁶³¹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁶³² Eeles, F. C., op. cit., p. 36.

⁶³³ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., p. 50.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

English Liturgy for any of them, spread to Scots Episcopalians, who were then also largely, but not entirely, using the English liturgy. The ‘usages’, including the ‘mixed cup’ had always been an integral part of the Aberdeen tradition, but were not necessarily accepted by Episcopalians in other parts of Scotland. After disestablishment, many parishes in north and central Scotland remained loyal to their Episcopalian clergy.⁶³⁶ Bishops Archibald Campbell of Aberdeen, Thomas Rattray of Dunkeld, and John Falconar of Fife, were early proponents of the ‘usages’. Grub states that Falconar had used the mixed cup ‘for many years back, and before any disputes arose in England...’.⁶³⁷ The argument between the ‘diocesan bishops’ and the ‘college bishops’ seemed to coincide also with the argument between the ‘Usagers’ and the ‘Non-Usagers.’ Rattray was chosen to draw up a proposal to unify the factions.⁶³⁸ By Bishop Jolly’s day the argument was long dead, and both the diocesan bishops and the ‘Usages’ were well established in the Scottish Episcopal Church. Three of the four ‘Usages’, found an explicit place in the 1764 Scottish Liturgy; only the mixed cup did not, but was the common Scottish practice.

Christ and Melchizedek

The two controlling passages in the Old Testament that the ancient Fathers used regarding the Eucharist were the prophecy of Malachi and the meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek. Jolly draws extensively on both to elaborate his doctrine; one can say here that both have roots in the early Scottish tradition of Episcopacy. John Forbes of Corse discusses Malachi 1: 11 as prophetic of the Eucharist, and William Forbes discusses the significance of Melchizedek’s offering of bread and wine at considerable length. In the paragraph that follows, Jolly draws these two Old Testament passages together, by identifying Melchizedek’s offering of bread and wine with the ‘pure offering’ prophesied by Malachi, ‘These materials...of his own appointment, our divine Redeemer...acting as a Priest, after the order of Melchizedek—whose sacrifice...was the pure offering of bread and wine—took and offered to God, and by them, as pledges and substitutes, offered Himself, in his own free will...to suffer and die for the sins of the world. In giving the bread, He gave his

⁶³⁶ Grub, George, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 301, 315.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 389.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 387—395.

body; in giving the cup, He gave his blood... “This is my body which *is* given”—which is presently given—“This is my blood which *is* shed for you”.

Jolly continues, ‘That this is the true interpretation of the words of institution, is confirmed by the language of the most early fathers and instructors of the church who lived in the ages next to the...Apostles.... St. Cyprian...understanding our Lord’s manner of offering the sacrifice of himself to have been prefigured in the priest Melchizedek, in which all the fathers are unanimous’.⁶³⁹

Sacrifice and Sacrament

So far in his discussion Bishop Jolly has written only about sacrifice. In the paragraph following the quotation from St. Cyprian he introduces the idea of ‘sacrament.’ He makes the distinction that ‘our Lord became a sacrament *to* us, as well as a sacrifice *for* us.’ ‘We see the mystery [the Latin word is *sacrament*] of the sacrifice prefigured in the priest Melchizedek [who] “brought forth bread and wine; and he was the priest of the most high God”. But that was a type of Christ, the Holy Ghost declares in the book of Psalms. And who is more properly priest of the most high God, than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered sacrifice to God his Father, and offered the same as Melchizedek had offered, that is bread and wine, as pledges of His body and blood, which the day after hung upon the cross, a sacrifice for the sins of the world?’⁶⁴⁰ Over the next several pages the relationship between sacrament and sacrifice are drawn out. ‘He...gave Himself for us, that He might give Himself to us, He being the bread of life’.⁶⁴¹ Further on Bishop Jolly writes, ‘It appears then, from the scriptures (and the most early fathers so understood them), that this most sacred ordinance is both a sacrifice and a sacrament. It is first, in solemn celebration *given to God*, as the representative body and blood of his Son; and then, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, it is returned, or *given to us* by God, as His life-giving, virtual or efficacious body and blood....*given for you* in sacrifice; *given to you* in sacrament. For let it be said in a word, Sacrifice is a gift to God, Sacrament is a gift from God, and this divine institution had the nature of both’.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁹ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., p. 51.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., p. 52.

⁶⁴² Ibid., p. 54.

In this distinction between sacrifice and sacrament, Bishop Jolly observes that 1) In the Last Supper with the disciples Jesus offers himself to God the Father as a sacrifice for the redemption of the world in bread and wine, and that that offering was fulfilled in his death on the cross. 2) Jesus also gave himself, in the ‘eucharistized’ bread and wine to the Disciples, that is, he gave thanks to the Father over the bread and wine that they might be His Body and Blood. 3) In the Eucharist the Church offers bread and wine to God the Father as representing and commemorating his crucified body and shed blood, and asks for the Holy Spirit to make the bread and wine to be his Body and Blood. 4) The communicants receive (eat and drink) the Body and Blood of Christ as applying the benefits of Jesus’ suffering and death, principally the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. The sacrifice is the offering to God, both by Christ at the Last Supper and by the Church in Eucharist. The sacrament is the Church’s receiving from God (both the Apostles at the Last Supper, and all other Christians down the ages) the Body and Blood of Christ to give us the benefits of Christ’s death and suffering. As Bishop Jolly says, the sacrifice is given to God, either once for all from Christ of himself in the bread and wine for us, or continually from the Church, in commemoration; and the sacrament is the Body and Blood of Christ given to us from God: the Eucharist is both.

The Memorial Sacrifice

In the process of discussing the relationship between sacrifice and sacrament Bishop Jolly also discusses the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharistic Prayers. It is to be found in ‘all the ancient liturgies’, which Jolly finds ‘convincing proof’ of its Dominical origin. He writes ‘...[Jesus] authorised and commanded His Apostles...and all their successors in the Christian priesthood, to do as he had done, though not to the same end. For what He did was to his actual death...whereas what we do is in order to commemorate and receive the mercies and blessings of it; to perpetuate...the memorial of his death and sacrifice.... “*Do* this,” he said, “in *remembrance* of me”’.⁶⁴³ The italicised *Do* indicates the interpretation of this word, in Greek, ποιέω, meaning literally ‘to make’ or ‘to do’, as in the Septuagint meaning ‘to offer sacrifice.’ Bishop Jolly writes, ‘...according to the Hebrew and the Greek language of the Old Testament [i.e. the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek Septuagint]

⁶⁴³ Ibid., p. 53.

...followed by that of the New, the word rendered *Do* really means *offer*...it is often applied to the materials of sacrifice, and the word in this place refers to the bread and cup. Now to *do sacrifice* plainly means to offer it'.⁶⁴⁴ Bishop Jolly then refers to 'that remarkable prophecy...pointing to the conversion and worship of the Gentiles', (Isaiah 19: 19, 21) as scriptural authority.

Bishop Jolly then comments on the interpretation of the word *ανάμνησιν* as meaning 'memorial', that is an act in commemoration of the Cross rather than remembrance as meaning simple mental recall, 'It should be understood also, that the word here translated *remembrance*, is the same which the ancient translators commonly called the *Septuagint* (with whose Greek...that of the New Testament corresponds) use to express the word, which our translation renders the *memorial* of a sacrifice, that which brought the whole in remembrance before God. The commandment of our Lord, therefore, to his church is of this import:—"Offer bread and wine, according to my institution, in sacrifice to God, for my memorial, or for a memorial of me, to shew forth, or bring my passion and death in remembrance before Him, and so render Him favourable and propitious to you...."⁶⁴⁵ Jolly clearly describes the 'anamnesis' as act, an objective, tangible, and ecclesial event rather than a subjective, intangible, and reflective one that takes place in the mind.

The understanding Bishop Jolly offers in the preceding paragraph is fundamental to the understanding of the Eucharist in Scottish Episcopacy. The point of the Eucharist is the proper 'Remembrance' and the Propitiation received. It is not that the Church engages in a mental act and intellectually remembers Christ's passion, but that the 'Remembrance' is an action. It is the setting forth of bread and wine and offering them to God in thanksgiving as the memorial of Christ's death, and by doing so receive the propitiation bought by Christ's death. As Jolly says, 'Of this essentially and absolutely propitiatory sacrifice [the sacrifice of Christ], the bread and the cup in the Eucharist are...the remembrancers before God, the tokens, as it were, of his Son's death and passion; upon which he looks propitiously, and for the sake or what they represent, extends his mercy and grace...to those who approach with penitent, faithful and obedient hearts. By them, offered according to His appointment, we shew forth

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

the Lord's death until He come; shew it forth before God...and speaking after the manner of men, put Him in remembrance of that everlasting covenant, of which His well-beloved Son is the Mediator.... This remembrance—the *continual* remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, is the great and primary design of the blessed institution; that is to be a memorial before God, and not merely to stir up in our own minds the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the Redeemer'.⁶⁴⁶

It is upon the basis of offering and remembrance that the Eucharist functions, and by these, there is propitiation, and because of the propitiation, prevailing intercession can be made. Jolly says, 'Thus, we enforce every prayer *through* Jesus Christ but still more...prevalently when we offer them in the Eucharist which is the sacrifice of prayer as well as of praise and thanksgiving. Sacrifice was ever understood to be prayer and supplication, founded upon the grand all-powerful Sacrifice of infinite merit and value'.⁶⁴⁷ It is upon this understanding, so clearly delineated by Bishop Jolly, that in the ancient liturgies the principal intercessory prayers follow the *Epiclesis*; similarly in the Scottish Liturgy of 1764 and its revisions (up to 1929, inclusive,) they follow the Prayer of Consecration.

The Apostolic Ministry

As Jolly established in Chapter I, the authority of the minister of the sacrifice is paramount with regard to the acceptability of the sacrifice; in some way he must be 'divinely authorised', as in the Patriarchal dispensation he must be the first born head of the family such as Adam, Noah, Abraham or Job. In the Levitical dispensation the priest must be of the tribe of Levi, and a descendant of Aaron. In the dispensation of the New Covenant, the authority of the minister of the sacrifice is no less important. It is chiefly the office of the bishops as the successors of the Apostles.⁶⁴⁸ For Jolly the point of the Apostolic succession is not only that it was the evidence of being authoritatively and divinely commissioned, but it is also of keeping peace and unity among the people of the Church.⁶⁴⁹ It is also the power to continue the succession.⁶⁵⁰ He then offers a distinction between the Apostolic days of establishing the Church, and the subsequent rise of dioceses, of priests, deacons and laity under the governance

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 56.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 63.

of the bishop. In the days immediately after the Ascension of Christ, ‘the presbyters...were in parity; the Apostles were their bishops... But as the spiritual power he gave them...was to be preserved to the end of the world; they did...in like manner ordain fit persons from among the presbyters, to fill their own places after their decease...’.⁶⁵¹ Jolly’s idea is that the succession of bishops in the Church also testifies to the consistent doctrine of the Christian sacrifice. In the Christian dispensation, Christ is the Priest of the one true acceptable sacrifice of himself in his death. He granted the authority to his Apostles to offer the memorial of his sacrifice; they in turn, through the laying-on of hands, ordained other bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to fulfil their respective roles, not only in the offering of the commemorative sacrifice, but also in the circumstances surrounding the celebration of the Eucharist, the godly governance and pastoral well-being of the Christian community.

The Eucharistic Prayer

From the succession of bishops, Jolly turns to the Liturgies that they used, focusing particularly on the Liturgy of Jerusalem, ‘The Liturgy of St. James, or of the Church of Jerusalem, we still possess; and of the corruptions...it has been with great learning and judgement cleared, by a most excellent bishop of our own church, the ever memorable Dr. Thomas Rattray...’.⁶⁵²

Bishop Jolly’s discussion of the structure of the Eucharistic Prayer is centred around the so-called ‘Clementine Liturgy’,⁶⁵³ that eucharistic text found in Book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In preparation for the discussion, Bishop Jolly mentions the remarkable collection of, and commentary upon, ancient liturgies by the English Non-Juring Bishop Thomas Brett, whose *Dissertation upon the Ancient Liturgies* was published in 1720. He also mentions Bishop Rattray’s work on the Liturgy of St. James, but reserves his more extensive comments for the Appendix, where he reproduces the text of Bishop Rattray’s English *ORDER* in full, minus the notes. Neither Bishop Brett nor Bishop Jolly, in this case, were so undiscerning or naïve as

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁵³ The Clementine Liturgy was reckoned by many of the period to be the uncorrupted, model liturgy. Scholars such as John Johnson of Cranbrook, Joseph Bingham, and J. E. Grabe revered its liturgical purity, but were aware of its Arian leanings.

to think that this text was contemporaneous with Clement of Rome, as Louis Bouyer asserts, ‘The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in certain Anglican milieus (especially among the Non-Jurors), were enchanted by them. As a consequence of their attribution to St. Clement of Rome, sustained by the text, but historically untenable, people thought that in the liturgy of the VIIIth Book...they had found an almost immediate trace to the liturgy of the Apostles’.⁶⁵⁴ In a letter included in Bishop Rattray’s *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* by the Publisher from Bishop Brett to an unnamed person, he writes, ‘...from Pag.109 to the end of that treatise [his *Dissertation*], I have given, what I think, reasons sufficient to satisfy unprejudiced persons, that there was no written Liturgy used in any Church before the latter end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth’.⁶⁵⁵

Using the ‘Clementine Liturgy’ as the model, Bishop Jolly then describes the structure of the Eucharistic Prayer according to the primitive use. Bishop Jolly in using the ‘Clementine Liturgy’, is not only using it as the ‘ideal’ model of liturgy, but also he is using a ‘neutral’ primitive liturgy, not directly tied to any specific tradition, to argue the authoritative character of the ancient structure he is putting forth. That the ‘Clementine Liturgy’ was, ostensibly the ancient liturgy of the church at Rome, its conformity to the ancient Greek pattern, as opposed to the later Roman rite, makes it all the more useful in demonstrating primitive authority.

First, he quotes St. Justin Martyr’s comment on the mixed cup, cited above, as a reference to the Offertory, where ‘Bread and wine and water are presented’ to the Priest. Bishop Jolly then writes, ‘The holy liturgy then calling upon the people to lift up their hearts, and fervently fix their minds in thanksgiving to God for all his mercies, proceeded in an act of solemn devotion, to separate these elements that they might be the authoritative symbols, figures, representatives, of that broken body and shed blood of our divine Redeemer.’⁶⁵⁶ He then goes on to describe the recitation of the Words of Institution. After which he comments, ‘The rehearsal of these words, declaring the original institution makes the first part of the consecration. The bread and the wine are thereby separated and set apart from all common use, and raised to a

⁶⁵⁴ Bouyer, Louis, *Eucharist*, C. U. Quinn, trans., Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968, p. 119.

⁶⁵⁵ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, p. xiv.

⁶⁵⁶ Jolly, Alexander, op. cit., p. 73

value beyond all the bread and wine in the Universe; being...the figures and symbols of his body and blood...'.⁶⁵⁷ Then Bishop Jolly describes the prayer of Oblation. He comments, 'These are the...words by which the eucharistic sacrifice is offered and presented to the Father as the memorial of the ...death and passion of His Son and [on account of which] He looks propitiously upon us.'⁶⁵⁸

Following the Prayer of Oblation, Bishop Jolly describes the Prayer of Invocation or *Epiclesis*, 'the office...proceeds to beg...His divine blessing upon them. ...A prayer to this purpose and in this place, we find in all the ancient liturgies ...they must have a supernatural virtue communicated to them by the Holy Ghost, the sanctifier.... To this end, our Lord... commanded His Apostles and their successors, the Bishops and Priests of his church to do as he had done...to bless them by prayer or invocation of the Spirit of God'.⁶⁵⁹ Bishop Jolly then describes the Prayer of Invocation in terms of fire used in the Scriptures as an image of the Holy Spirit, citing Elijah in Mt. Carmel; St. John the Baptist's declaration, 'He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire'(Matt. 3: 11); and by the descent of the Holy Spirit in the tongues of fire on the day of Pentecost. He concludes by indirectly quoting St. Chrysostom, 'The priest stands at the altar, says St. Chrysostom, not calling for fire to consume the sacrifice, but invoking God to send the Holy Spirit to sanctify the offering, and by it to sanctify us. By the almighty power and grace of this Spirit, those elements, with out any change in their substance, become the Body and Blood of Christ, in spirit and in power, in divine virtue and life-giving efficacy, to all intents and purposes of grace and glory'.⁶⁶⁰ This is the second time in this study that this passage from Chrysostom has been used with reference to the Eucharist, the conclusion of Henry Scougal's *Preparation Sermon* is the first.

The point of the above description was to secure the authority of universal ancient practice for the structure of the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, which it follows precisely. Although Jolly does not describe it in detail, the exact comparison is: the Offertory (the offering of the bread and wine, and placing them upon the altar); the Prayer of

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 75.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 76.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 76—77. (*On the Priesthood*, Book III, 4., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. IX, pp. 46—47.

Consecration whose internal organisation is part of the structure: ‘Lift up your hearts’; Preface [the introductory section between the ‘dialogue’ and the Institution]; the Words of Institution, the Prayer of Oblation, the Prayer of Invocation; the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ’s Church (intercession); and the Lord’s Prayer. Although Rattray’s *ORDER* is a much more elaborate liturgical text than the 1764 Liturgy, a point by point comparison with the 1764 Liturgy can be made. Rattray’s comparative analysis of the *Mystagogical Catechesis* V., the Clementine Liturgy, and the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Basil, with the Liturgy of St. James⁶⁶¹ in his *Ancient Liturgy*, established the commonality of the structure across the major ancient Eastern Liturgies. At that time the Scottish Liturgy was the only modern, non-Eastern eucharistic rite to follow the ancient structure.⁶⁶²

Against Transubstantiation

At this point in the chapter, Bishop Jolly begins his argument against transubstantiation. The use, he says, of the ‘...prayer for their [the offered gifts] sanctification by the Holy Spirit...clearly proves, the ancients entertained no thought of transubstantiation. ...Had the primitive church believed or suspected this, they would never have thought of praying for such sanctification of them...The natural body and blood of Christ are capable of no additional sanctification...’⁶⁶³ Jolly cites St. John 6: 63, ‘It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing’ suggesting that the Lord himself indicated our not taking ‘those strong expressions of his’ in a literal sense. He also cites St. Paul, I Cor. 11; 28, ‘Let a man examine himself, and so eat of that bread and drink of that cup’, and also v. 27, which also refers to ‘eat of this bread’ as saying that the consecrated bread of the Eucharist is still in substance bread, and likewise the wine.

But Jolly is also keen to emphasise that although there is no transubstantiation, there has been a change, ‘Bread it is, and yet the body of the Lord, and so in like manner, the cup of wine and water, and yet the blood of Christ’.⁶⁶⁴ ‘We must not’, he says, ‘ as

⁶⁶¹ Rattray, Thomas, *The Ancient Liturgy*, pp. 3—101.

⁶⁶² The Communion Office of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America from 1789 followed the Scottish Liturgy of 1764 in the structure of its Prayer of Consecration, but it followed the English 1662 rite in its placement of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ’s Church immediately after the Offertory.

⁶⁶³ Jolly, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

too many have done, run to the opposite extreme, by imagining that the eucharistic bread and cup differ nothing from common bread and wine, but by being [only] symbols or tokens of the body and blood of Christ'.⁶⁶⁵ Jolly in line with the all of the doctrine discussed and examined in this thesis says that the Prayer of Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the offered gifts does not change them into being another thing, but causes them to act upon the communicant with 'effect'; he says, 'by the authoritative blessing pronounced over the elements...they are the sure and effectual conveyance or communication of all the benefits purchased for mankind by the body and blood of Christ...by which he imparts his Holy Spirit to us [by whom] he dwells in us and we in him'.⁶⁶⁶ There is a supernatural change that occurs. The bread remains bread, but is simultaneously, by the action of the Holy Spirit, the body of Christ imparting to the person who consumes it, the benefits of Christ's death. Thus the sacrifice becomes a sacrament; the bread and wine which are offered to God as the memorial of Christ's death is made to become the vehicle of God's blessing to his church in the person of the faithful communicant. There is no discussion of how this change takes place, other than that the Holy Spirit causes it to happen in response to the faithful and obedient prayer of the church. There is only the assertion that a change does happen and that it is supernatural. 'For this wondrous, supernatural change of the qualities of the elements the church always prayed...the priest solemnly invoking or calling upon the God to send down his Holy Spirit upon them...'.⁶⁶⁷

The point of Bishop Jolly's doctrine as described here is that the Eucharist is dynamic, that is, the supernatural change in the elements is directed to produce saving change in the communicant, i.e., to have an 'effect' upon him. By saying, in the quote above, 'the church always prayed', he means to demonstrate the widespread use of the 'Greek sequence' in the many liturgies of the ancient church, and the singularity of the Roman rite.⁶⁶⁸ His intention is to demonstrate that by following the ancient 'Greek sequence', the Scottish Episcopal Church is not out on a liturgical or doctrinal limb, and that by isolating herself from the wider tradition, the Roman Church is in marked divergence from the established pattern of eucharistic prayer, and in eucharistic doctrine.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 80.

Conclusion

The chapters of Bishop Jolly's *Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, discussed here are a long explanation of the doctrine of the Eucharist as the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice in each of the six points as outlined in the Introduction. However, there are a few points which have received little emphasis: Prayer for the departed; the natural body of Christ seated at the right hand of the Father; and the offered gifts as symbols or antitypes of the body and blood of Christ in death, lying in open view before the Father as the propitiatory sacrifice, as the foundation for the eucharistic intercession.

As for prayer for the departed, in chapter IV Bishop Jolly uses a lengthy footnote to argue for the petition for the faithful departed in the Prayer for the Whole state of Christ's Church.⁶⁶⁹ He argues from II Timothy 1: 18 that Onesiphorus is dead, and that St. Paul is praying, 'The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in *that day*'. Bishop Rattray wrote a letter (a treatise in the form of a letter) discussing both what he called the 'Intermediate State' between death and the Resurrection, and the necessity of prayer for the departed. Bishop Jolly copied out this letter, and it is among the papers of the George Hay Forbes Collection in the St. Andrews University Library.

Bishop Jolly's views on the state of the natural body of Christ between his Ascension and his Return in Glory, are not discussed explicitly, but are implicit in several things Jolly does say. For example, his repeated statement that the Eucharist is the sacrifice commemorative of Christ's death until his return, and his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, both suggest that 'in substance' Christ is absent from this world, but is present in his Godhead by the Holy Spirit, hence his emphasis on the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, by whose activity they become the body and blood of Christ. Particularly in chapters I and II, Bishop Jolly does set forth the Eucharist (pp. 11, 12 and 22) as showing the Lord's death, and as the means of the application of its benefits to the receiving faithful. Bishop Jolly's work is the fullest

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 112—113.

and most explicit definition of the eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy begun in the 1620s and 30s.

Part III George Hay Forbes

George Hay Forbes was born in Edinburgh on May 4, 1821, the ninth of a family of three sons and seven daughters. Both on his father's and his mother's side, he was linked with many eminent men of Scottish history.⁶⁷⁰ From the seventeenth century onwards his family also played a crucial role in virtually the entire history of Scottish Episcopacy. There have been six Bishops Forbes, of whom five were kinsmen. The earliest of them was among the first bishops appointed by James the VI in 1610, and the latest, George Forbes' own brother, Alexander, consecrated Bishop of Brechin in 1847. George Hay Forbes' grandfather, Sir William Hay Forbes of Pitsligo, had been Sir Walter Scott's great friend who had saved Scott from financial ruin; he had also been the staunch friend and supporter of Bishop Alexander Jolly to whom Bishop Jolly dedicated his principal work, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*.

George Hay Forbes' life long passion, his personal loyalty to the old Scottish tradition is ably related in William Perry's biography of 1927. His dismay at its waning in the face of the 'development and change' that was taking place in the Scottish Episcopal Church was intense. In the preface to his edition of *Bishop Rattray's Works*, published in 1854, he writes, 'Earnestly do I trust that in these days of development and change, when our native traditional theology seems in no small danger of being quite forgotten, the calm deep learning of these admirable works may be the means of recalling earnest minds to the landmarks which our fathers set up'.⁶⁷¹ He was the last exponent of the eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy to publish.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷⁰ Perry, W., *George Hay Forbes, A Romance in Scholarship*, SPCK, London, 1927, p. 5.

⁶⁷¹ George Hay Forbes, 'Preface', *Bishop Rattray's Works*, p. ii.

⁶⁷² Strong, Rowan, op. cit., pp. 101—105. Strong recognises and discusses the differences between the Tractarian doctrine held by A. P. Forbes and the old 'High Church' doctrine of the Scots Episcopalians; also see Knight, Christopher, 'The Anglicising of Scottish Episcopalianism' *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol. 23, Edinburgh: The Scottish Church History Society, 1989, p. 374.

The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, volumes I–III.

The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, or the Communion of the Church of Scotland conformable to Scripture and to the Doctrine of the Church of Christ in the First Four Centuries is his characteristic work regarding the theological tradition of the Episcopal Church. It was published in 1844 as Part I, and advertised as being in preparation, Part II containing a defense of 1) The Invocation; 2) The Propitiatory and Expiatory nature of the Eucharist; and 3) Prayers for the Dead. Part II did not appear, until 1851, and not as originally planned. In 1854 Part III was published as a continuation of the discussion begun in the previous volume.⁶⁷³ Part I is an extensive discussion of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, and parts II and III are a detailed refutation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, based around the words *Hoc est corpus meum*. The three parts are set out in continuous pagination and in consecutively numbered paragraphs or groups of paragraphs.

Forbes is seeking to establish that the Scottish Liturgy is true to the ancient teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and to the ancient Liturgies: that the Eucharist is ‘the Tremendous and Unbloody Sacrifice’. *The Christian Sacrifice* is also a compendium of quotations from the Fathers of the first four centuries (ostensibly, but in fact, ranging up to St. John of Damascus in the eighth Century) regarding the various aspects of the discussions in which he engages. The fundamental argument is that the Holy Eucharist is a material sacrifice of bread and of wine mixed with water offered by the Church to God the Father in commemoration of, or as the memorial of, Jesus’ death on the Cross; the Church makes this sacrifice in obedience to Jesus’ commandment, ‘Do this in remembrance of me’ by which she pleads (as a sin-offering) the expiation of Jesus’ death and his blood shed for the forgiveness of sins (and as a propitiatory thank-offering to procure divine blessings for the future) and the pledge of eternal life in the Resurrection which are received in the Body and the Blood, and are applied to the dead as well as the living.⁶⁷⁴ This statement sums up the basic idea underlying the whole of the Scottish eucharistic tradition, which George Hay Forbes would spend his life defending.

⁶⁷³ Forbes, G. F., *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, Part II and Part III*, Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1851 and 1854.

⁶⁷⁴ A Layman (Forbes, G. H.), *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, Gallie and Baillie, Edinburgh, 1844, pp. 22–23.

His defense begins with the basic material of the Sacrifice, the bread and the wine. What constituted ‘bread’ was of no argument, but what it was that constituted ‘wine’ was. Forbes produces patristic authorities for the mixed cup, and boldly states that for Episcopalians the integrity of the eucharistic offering is undermined if pure wine is used.⁶⁷⁵ Forbes is very clear that the doctrinal foundation of the practice of the Scottish Episcopalians, in this as in every aspect of eucharistic doctrine and practice, is based entirely upon the Bible (by his argument including the Apocrypha) and (in Part I) the writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to Theodoret.

Once he establishes the material of the Eucharist, he moves on to discuss the nature of the commemorative sacrifice, linking it to the sin-offerings and the thank-offerings of the Old Covenant,⁶⁷⁶ followed by a minutely detailed discussion of the sacrifices of the Old Testament. One of the principal elements of which, for Christian purposes, was the *Mincha* or flour offering which was connected with the sin-offering, and is a foreshadowing of the Eucharist. This was linked to the idea that sacrifice has not been abolished because the Christian sacrifice is spiritual, that is, in or by the Holy Spirit, as opposed to immaterial.⁶⁷⁷ (Forbes' comment that the word ‘spiritual’ means ‘by the agency of the Holy Spirit’ as opposed to meaning ‘metaphysical, ethereal, or immaterial’ is a crucial distinction. The ‘spiritual body and blood of Christ’ is the consecrated elements of bread and wine. By consecration, the bread and wine become the true body and blood of Christ by the work of the Holy Spirit, in some indefinable, unknown, and transcendent manner. They convey to the soul of the communicant all of the saving benefits of Christ’s passion when received in faith, repentance, and obedience.)

Sacrifice is also not abolished because the Scriptures do not abolish it. He says, discussing Hebrews chapters 9 and 10, ‘The design of the Apostle is to show that the Mosaic sacrifices are done away and that the sacrifice of Christ had superceded them all; but it must not be concluded that this Sacrifice may not be commemorated, and applied by the sacrifice of the Eucharist, which derives all its value and power from it and is mystically one with it, for we must not wrest the words of any author to prove

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 52—53.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 67.

an assertion totally different from the subject which he is professedly treating of'.⁶⁷⁸ Forbes uses the encounter between Abraham and Melchizedek, and Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine as the priest of Salem, to prove that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, linking it with numerous quotations from the Fathers and the Scriptures on the subject.⁶⁷⁹

Part I concludes with the answering of three questions: 1) To whom is the sacrifice offered? 2) By whom is it offered? And 3) by what rite is the oblation offered? The question 'to whom?' is answered quickly, to God the Father. The question 'by whom?' is dealt with at greater length, because Forbes is clear that the whole body of Christ makes the offering, and that the bishop stands before God the Father not only on behalf of the people, but also with the people. 'The Eucharist is offered as well as consecrated, by the Christian people, which is mystically Christ's Body and one with Him, through the ministration of the priest. ...Hence in all the Liturgies, without one exception, the oblation, as well as the consecration or blessing the gifts, is performed in the plural number, and at the end the people exclaim "Amen"'.⁶⁸⁰ He quotes St Gregory Nazianzen, 'The priesthood is a sanctification of the souls, bringing man to God, and God to man'; he clearly saw the eucharistic offering as a living, dynamic action.

The final question 'by what rite?' asks not whether this or that particular rite, but what constitutes a proper rite by which to make the eucharistic sacrifice. He adduces four necessary elements of prayer: 1) a thanksgiving for God's mercies to us, especially the Incarnation of our Lord, his Death in particular, &c. and the [words of] Institution; 2) a verbal oblation of the bread and the wine to God, with a commemoration of what Christ has done for us; 3) a prayer of blessing on the gifts; 4) intercession asking propitiation for the living, the dead, and the sinner. Then follows a lengthy examination of several ancient eucharistic texts, or fragments of texts quoted by various Fathers. The last pages of the book argue that the 'Scotch Office' fits near to the Primitive and scriptural model, because of the construction of the Prayer of Consecration, in which not only do the Thanksgiving, Institution, Oblation, Memorial

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 131.

and Invocation follow in the correct order, but also they are followed by the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church (not 'Militant here in earth' only) for which efficacious petition is made for the living and the dead over the Consecrated Gifts.

Part II and *Part III* of *The Christian Sacrifice* are not as originally planned, a discussion of the 'Invocation' and 'Prayer for the Dead', but rather an extended discussion of the nature of the consecrated elements, 'What is It, this Body and Blood of Christ, which we receive?' These two volumes are less satisfactory than volume I, because the discussion is incomplete; there is no conclusion and volume III ends in mid-sentence, mid-paragraph. The argument of Parts II and III covers the same ground as that in Forbes' two reviews examined below. One difference between Parts II and III of *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist* and the two book reviews is that the latter argues against a rising movement in the Church of England, while the former argues against the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, and the 'Calvinist-Zwinglian' doctrine of the 'bare sign'. It is the judgment of this writer that the doctrine that Forbes presents in his reviews is of the greater significance; therefore Parts II and III will be passed over.

Reviews from *The Panoply*: E. B. Pusey's *The Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist*, and John Keble's *Eucharistical Adoration*.

In the 1850's two books concerning the relationship of the Person of Christ to the Eucharist appeared, one each from the two most prominent and influential men of the Oxford Movement, E. B. Pusey and John Keble. Pusey's book, entitled *The Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist*,⁶⁸¹ is a lengthy work, drawn from the writings of the Fathers of the Church, seeking to establish within the purview of the Church of England the doctrine of the 'Real Presence' of Christ in the consecrated elements of bread and wine. Keble's book, *Eucharistical Adoration*,⁶⁸² as the title implies, takes Pusey's argument, a step farther (although in the Preface to his book, Keble states that his book was written before he had seen or read Dr. Pusey's work), advocating the adoration of the consecrated elements because of Christ's presence in them as God Himself. He argues that they should be accorded the *latria*, which is accorded to Jesus Christ as Lord and God. George Hay Forbes reviewed each of these books in his

⁶⁸¹ Pusey, E. B., *The Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist*, J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1855.

⁶⁸² Keble, John, *Eucharistical Adoration*, J. H. & Jas. Parker, Oxford, 1857.

home-produced periodical, *The Panoply*. In the reviews Forbes strongly attacks the positions assumed by Pusey and Keble, fully aware of the prestigious reputations that they enjoyed, relying not on the work of the Scottish Doctors, but as the Doctors themselves did, drawing directly upon Scripture and the Primitive Fathers.

There is more than a little polemic in these two essays. A great deal of Forbes' life was spent in arguing the case for the old Scottish tradition and for the Scottish Liturgy in particular which was under increasing threat, especially at this time. During the 1850s and 60s, for political reasons, some bishops, clergy, and laity in the Scottish Episcopal Church sought to suppress the Scottish Liturgy in favour of the English 1662 Holy Communion rite. Forbes' fervent opinion was that The Scottish Liturgy clearly expressed the Patristic understanding the nature of the Eucharist; hence his acute sensitivity to the careful distinctions to be made. In addition, these two reviews illuminate a shift that was taking place in English theology and practice. The old Patristic High Church theology, and way of thinking focused around men like Andrewes, Mead, Bull, and Johnson was rapidly giving way to the new, more mediaeval-orientated, Romanised thinking of the 'Oxford Movement'. The changes resulting from this shift were to have a deep and wide-spread impact around the 'Anglican' world, but most especially across the northern border in Scotland.

For Forbes, such a shift in doctrinal understanding had no place in Scottish Episcopalian theology or practice, because it was completely antithetical to her traditional teaching and current practice, as in her distinctive Liturgy. Forbes warned his readers that the immense weight of the reputations of men like Pusey and Keble would make the possibility of accepting their reading of the Fathers at face value, all the more likely and dangerous. Forbes' own readership was minute, perhaps three hundred at the most,⁶⁸³ therefore his influence was virtually non-existent, but he was absolutely accurate in his assessment of the situation. The opinions of Pusey, Keble and their followers would sweep all before them. In the process, the foundations of the pseudo-Roman 'Catholic Revival' were to be laid by the new doctrines and practices they espoused.

⁶⁸³ Perry, William, op. cit., p. 110.

E. B. Pusey's *The Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist*

Forbes' critique of Pusey's book is contained within a longer article, entitled 'The Historical Sense of the *Thirty Nine Articles*.' He applauds Pusey for demonstrating the Catholic nature of the *Articles* which, Forbes says, are commonly assumed to be Calvinist in orientation, as opposed to the Catholic orientation of the Book of Common Prayer. But when it comes to Pusey's putting forward a doctrine of the 'Real Presence' of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, Forbes dismisses Pusey's argument as 'simple Lutheranism',⁶⁸⁴ and damagingly demonstrates that not one of the quotations Pusey adduces to support his argument carries the meaning attributed to them. Forbes writes, 'We would willingly have stopped here [after his praise for Pusey's work on the *Thirty Nine Articles*], but we feel called upon to ask whether Dr. Pusey's own phraseology does not partake rather of the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation in its more moderate form than that of the Primitive Church. He constantly speaks of the consecrated gift of bread as being *two things*, the bread and the Body of Christ therein present; of the bread as being the outward part of the sacrament and a type of *another thing* present in it, viz. the inward part or the Body of Christ'.⁶⁸⁵ Forbes has a clear understanding that the gift of bread (for instance) becomes one thing only by Consecration, the Body of Christ, and that the eucharistic Bread is not one thing which is a container for another.

Forbes quotes a paragraph from Pusey, in which Pusey sets out his argument, 'Plainly since the Holy Eucharist consists of two parts, "the earthly and the heavenly," as S. Irenæus says; "the visible and the invisible" as S. Augustine speaks; the outward and the inward part, as our own Catechism has it; the earthly, visible, and outward part can only be improperly so called by the name of the inward, invisible and heavenly part... Yet where the bread is, there is sacramentally the Body of Christ; where the consecrated wine is, there sacramentally, is the Blood of Christ. And so not the Fathers only, but the whole Christian people of old as I said, called the whole by the name of the inward part, which makes it what it is...'.⁶⁸⁶ Forbes comments on the quote, 'Now this strikes us as simple Lutheranism. It has no support in the Fathers; for all the passages which Dr. Pusey brings to support it in his great Collection of

⁶⁸⁴ Forbes, G. H., 'The Use of the Expression the "Real Presence,"' *The Panoply*, vol, 2, Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, undated, p. 151.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶⁸⁶ Pusey, E. B., *op. cit.*, p. xv.

authorities, speak only of the Body of Christ being *received* in bread, which is a very different thing from what they do not say, but which Dr. Pusey does on almost every page, that It is *contained* or is present in the bread after consecration. And the abstinence of the Fathers from these modes of expression becomes still more observable when we consider how with regard to the other kind, they speak of the Blood of Christ being contained not indeed in the wine but—in the chalice’.⁶⁸⁷ He goes on yet further to challenge Pusey directly in his understanding of what the Fathers say, ‘The great weight which so deservedly attaches to Dr. Pusey’s authority renders any mistake he may fall into doubly dangerous, as so many persons will naturally adopt at once his conclusions without examining them. And as we consider that this mistake will have serious consequences, and will really overthrow the true theory of sacraments in the Christian Church, we shall make no apology for pausing to consider the quotations from the Fathers which he brought forward in his “Doctrine of the Real Presence”’.⁶⁸⁸ It will become apparent that Forbes’ treatment of Pusey is harsh, and his criticism of Pusey as someone who should have both known better and written differently is relentless.

Forbes challenges not only the doctrine put forward by Pusey, but also his use of the term ‘Real Presence.’ ‘The fact that the term of “Real Presence” which Dr. Pusey uses so often does not (to the best of our knowledge) occur a single time in the 722 pages which he has nearly filled with quotations is sufficient to show that a doctrine which needs new terms to express it must be itself new. If not one of the ninety-one authors whom Dr. Pusey brings forward as evidence of the belief of the early Christians, though differing in language, in country, and in character choose to adopt this expression to embody what they thought and taught one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that it must be either unnecessary or positively at variance with their belief...we would say that the term “Real Presence”... would have been used earlier by some at least of the more than fourscore and ten authorities which he produces, if they agreed with him’.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ Forbes, G. H., op. cit., p. 150.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 150.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 153.

Pusey in his work states that the Body of Christ is present 'in' or 'under' the Consecrated Bread and that it co-exists 'with' it.⁶⁹⁰ Forbes notes that indeed some of the Fathers use these prepositions in relation the Body and Blood of Christ. 'But here there is a distinction which must be carefully attended to. It is one thing to say that the Body of Christ is present in the bread or co-existent with the bread and quite another to say that the Body of Christ is received in bread. The first phrases (which are what Dr Pusey employs) speak of two distinct substances co-existing; while the last, which is used by the Fathers, merely expresses that it has been made to us the Body of Christ'.⁶⁹¹ The point that Forbes is making is the very one described earlier in his *Christian Sacrifice* concerning the bread and wine 'becoming' the body and blood of Christ. The body of Christ is not 'in' in the bread. The offered bread on the holy Table is itself, by the prayer of the Church and the action of the Holy Spirit the body of Christ. It is still also bread, and it does not 'contain' or have within it something other than itself. It is bread that has undergone a spiritual change, that is that the Holy Spirit has made it to be the body of Christ, and those who eat of the 'bread' will partake of Christ's body, and receive all the benefits therefrom.

To Forbes, Pusey, in his pursuit of his doctrine of the Real Presence, is as guilty of the same errors that underlie the doctrine of Transubstantiation (which Pusey rejects), as the Romanists are. Forbes observes that Pusey criticises the Romanists on the ground that they had to coin a new word, 'transubstantiation', by which to denote their doctrine because their doctrine was itself new, and that, 'had the doctrine been believed in earlier ages, the word or some one really equivalent to it, would have made its appearance much earlier.' Forbes says that Pusey is himself guilty if the same error, 'In the same way we would say that the term "Real Presence" ...undoubtedly...would have been used by at least some of the more than fourscore and ten early authorities which he produces if they agreed with him'.⁶⁹² Pusey is, according to Forbes, defining a new doctrine, the doctrine of the 'Real Presence', unsubstantiated by any of the Fathers, cited next, he calls to witness.

⁶⁹⁰ Pusey, E. B., op. cit., p. x.

⁶⁹¹ Forbes, G. H., op. cit., p. 154.

⁶⁹² Ibid., p. 153.

Forbes then cites the nine quotations from eight Fathers, Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, Hilary of Poitiers (twice), Tertullian, Epiphanius and Bede, in which Pusey claims definitive authority for his doctrine. Commentating on the cited quotations, Forbes writes, ‘Now these are literally *all* the passages which Dr Pusey’s prodigious learning has enabled him to bring forward. I fearlessly appeal to the judgement of my readers to say whether there is one which is conclusive; whether a single early writer (and Theophylact is not very early) can be shown to use any expression tantamount to that of the “Real Presence”’.⁶⁹³

Forbes then quotes two passages, one from Chrysostom and one from Cyprian, in which he makes the point that both speak of the Blood of Christ which is in the Chalice, not in the wine. Forbes notes that Pusey argues that in the Fathers the Cup and the element of wine are ‘altogether equivalent’ to each other. Forbes concedes that by a figure of speech the cup and its contents may be used for each other, but that in fact the two are not to be confused. To demonstrate, Forbes cites a passage in Augustine where he corrects himself so as not to make the mistake of confusing the cup and its contents, ‘That cup, *or rather what the cup contains* when it has been sanctified by the word of God, is the Blood of Christ’.⁶⁹⁴ Forbes then asks the question, ‘Can any single passage be produced from the Fathers saying that “this wine, *or rather* what the wine contains—what is in the wine—what is under the wine—is the Blood of Christ?”’ Forbes answers the question, ‘Dr Pusey knows well there is none’.⁶⁹⁵

Two further arguments of Pusey’s Forbes deals with quickly. The first is Pusey’s idea that the ‘Real Presence’ can be compared to the indwelling of the Holy Trinity in the Faithful. To which Forbes asks the question, ‘Now is there in the whole range of Christian antiquity any author who says that the Body of Christ dwells in the Bread?’⁶⁹⁶ The second is taken from the appearances by which the Son and the Holy Spirit manifested themselves to men. Forbes thinks such an idea to be without warrant, ‘...we find that the Fathers and the Liturgies never speak of the Body of Christ descending upon the bread, or descending to be in the bread; though they often

⁶⁹³ Ibid., p. 155.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 155.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 156.

speak of the Holy Ghost descending upon the bread'.⁶⁹⁷ Pusey appears to be claiming that Christ descends to be in the bread. The points Forbes is making are 1) the concept of indwelling is mistaken with regard to the relationship between Christ and the eucharistic bread and wine, and 2) and that only the Holy Spirit is described as descending upon the elements, not Christ.

The final thrust against Pusey in this line of argument concerns the image of the hot coal, used by many of the Fathers to describe the Eucharist. Pusey (again following the Older Lutherans, as Forbes observes) asserts that the coal answers to the bread and the heat to the substantial Body of Christ present within it. Forbes says, 'If one wished to reason the matter, one might take exception to this on the ground that fire is not a body, nor even a substance, but a quality or condition of a substance...But we know that comparisons...especially... in hortatory writings...will not bear too close a scrutiny...so instead...let us see how the Fathers actually used it. I unhesitatingly say that none of the passages produced by Dr Pusey bear out the interpretation he puts on them, but that if they are considered with any degree of care, it will be seen that the coal itself is compared indifferently to the bread and to the Body of Christ... and the fire in the coal represents the presence of God the Holy Ghost...'.⁶⁹⁸ Forbes then quotes a passage from St. Ephrem of Syria in which Pusey italicises the words *in bread* as they appear, but Forbes points out that St. Ephrem gives 'not a single expression which could be construed to mean that the Body of Christ is in the bread. St. Ephrem speaks throughout of 'fire and the Spirit' as being in the bread and the cup'.⁶⁹⁹ With a supporting reference to St. John Chrysostom and quotation from St. John of Damascus, Forbes concludes this first portion of his critique.

The second part of the argument against the doctrine of the 'Real Presence' is not a debate over what the Fathers actually say, but over the doctrinal issue about the nature of our Lord's human Body and its relation to the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. Forbes begins by stating the human nature of Christ's Body and of its being subject to all of the weaknesses of our bodies, even death and corruption, except that the Father, by the immediacy of the Resurrection, 'did not suffer His Holy One to see corruption'

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 156.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 156–157.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 157.

(Ps. 16:11). Christ's Body was made spiritual and incorruptible, an earnest of the bodies we all shall receive at the General Resurrection. 'But', says Forbes, 'a spiritual body is still a body and not a mere spirit. It is a body freed from decay and weakness and all other consequences of the fall, a body which can be seen, touched, and handled, as existing in a definite place, and passing from one place to another by true local motion. This view of our Blessed Lord's glorified humanity is not merely the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, but is strongly borne out by all the notices of it which we find in Holy Scripture'.⁷⁰⁰ Even allowing for the instances such as where Jesus appears among the Disciples when the doors are shut, or where he suddenly disappears at the breaking of the bread on the road to Emmaus, and '...that a spiritual body is not so grossly corporeal and solid as our natural bodies now are, it would fall very far indeed below what is claimed for our Lord's glorified body—that it can penetrate substantially into the substance of other bodies and exist at the same moment in many places. It would be far more in accordance with Christian truth and with the language of the early church to speak of the REAL ABSENCE than of the REAL PRESENCE of the Body of Christ. The human body of our Lord is now in a definite place in heaven, and there only. Nor will it return to earth till the Last Day'.⁷⁰¹ Forbes then elucidates the doctrine of the Eucharist as the memorial Sacrifice, held by the Episcopalian tradition since the seventeenth century, in which the bread and wine are symbols and representations of His Body and Blood, 'not as living and glorious—not one of the Fathers says so, but as more than eighteen hundred years ago the one was crucified and dead the other shed for us and fills them with his grace and makes them effectual for our sanctification'.⁷⁰² Forbes then makes his charge against Pusey. 'It is merely misrepresenting the Ancients and misleading moderns to bring forward exclusively the language which was used of old about the Holy Eucharist, and wrest it to the support of new theories expressed by novel phraseology, while the great truths of the Incarnation by which that language was interpreted are left, if not unconfessed, at least unrealized'.⁷⁰³ Forbes treatment of Pusey is unforgiving; for Forbes, Pusey was both undermining the old Catholic Patristic tradition which had been consistently taught (in both Scotland and England) since the early seventeenth century, and in the

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. 159.

⁷⁰² Ibid., pp. 159–160.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., p. 160.

name of the old, bringing forth a new doctrine, that misrepresented and distorted the authentic voice of the Fathers.

Forbes then outlines three points which should be used to interpret all that the Fathers say about the Holy Eucharist: 1) That Christ as man, both in body and soul, is absent from us; 2) That no body, and therefore not Christ's Body does or can exist in more than one place at the same time; and 3) That it is the special prerogative of the Godhead to be present in many different places at once.⁷⁰⁴ 'The Christians then had too strong a grasp of the fundamental verities about the true humanity of their Lord to be in any danger of misunderstanding them and might expatiate freely on the power which the signs possessed from being Gospel signs of the great absent Archetype'.⁷⁰⁵

Forbes lays the blame for the circumstances that bring forward such doctrines as the 'Real Presence' at the door of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory. We have ceased to consider the doctrine of our own resurrection, and the relationship of our resurrection bodies to Christ's Resurrection Body, glorified and spiritual, but still a human body. The doctrine of Purgatory, says Forbes, throws the doctrine of the Resurrection of the body and the Judgement of the living and the dead on the Last Day, into the background, because the doctrine of Purgatory teaches that that each soul is judged immediately after death, and either then, or after having passed through Purgatory, to the Vision of God. This admits the idea of disembodied souls in heaven, and therefore only a vague idea of the nature of Christ's own Body at the right hand of the Father.⁷⁰⁶

Forbes cites a substantial quotation from St. Cyril of Alexandria in which St. Cyril expressly discusses Christ's bodily absence, and discusses the mode by which he is present to us: by the omnipresence of His Godhead, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰⁷ Forbes's argument against Pusey follows Cyril's teaching: that there is only one 'real' body of Christ, Christ's own, which sits at the right hand of the Father in glory. Jesus Christ is present in his church by his Godhead made known and experienced by the indwelling Holy Spirit (perichoresis). Likewise, in the Eucharist, the bread and wine become the body and blood Christ by the action (επικλησις or

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 160.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 160.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 160–161.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 161–162.

‘calling down’) of the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine which assume the virtue, the true character and efficacy of Christ’s own body and blood. Pusey, Forbes asserts, erroneously claims that there is some other dimension to Christ’s actual body and blood, other than that mediated by the Holy Spirit, which comes to, and is hidden within the eucharistic elements, and is distinct from them.

The quotation from St. Cyril effectively ends Forbes argument against Dr Pusey and his doctrine. There are several pages of recapitulation of points already made, and with further evidence to support his point of view.

John Keble’s *Eucharistical Adoration*

Forbes’ critique of John Keble’s *Eucharistical Adoration*, is not only a learned essay against the ‘Adorationist’ position, but it is also a significant, long (51 pages), painstakingly and subtly argued statement of the old Episcopalian doctrine of the Eucharist. Forbes’ argument is encompassing and complex, and he demonstrates a deeply and widely read understanding of the whole range of Patristic literature, not only of the Eucharist, *per se*, but also of related doctrines that are attendant upon a clear understanding of the Fathers’ teaching.

In Keble’s book, Forbes finds, ‘...a great vagueness and uncertainty in his positions, a weakness in his arguments and an absence of proper authorities’.⁷⁰⁸ Just over a hundred years later Owen Chadwick wrote an article on Keble, in which he agrees, no doubt unknowingly, with George Forbes, ‘In *Eucharistical Adoration* he came nearest to being a theologian. But the power in the book is the devotional poetry hidden behind the prose, not the theology’.⁷⁰⁹ In his review of *Eucharistical Adoration*, Forbes also acknowledges ‘the power’ in the ‘devotional poetry hidden behind the prose’. Forbes writes, ‘There are passages in Mr Keble’s book that will sink into the heart of any earnest searcher for truth as deep as any passage in his own *Christian Year*’.⁷¹⁰ However, the object of the review was a thorough demolition of Keble’s theology which Forbes thought not only wrong, but also extremely dangerous. ‘We believe, then, that this doctrine of Eucharistical Adoration is not primitive, but is

⁷⁰⁸ Forbes, G. H., ‘Eucharistical Adoration’, *The Panoply*, vol. II, Burntisland: The Pitsligo Press, undated, p. 264.

⁷⁰⁹ Chadwick, Owen, ‘The Limitations of Keble’, *Theology*, vol. LXVII, February, 1964, pp. 50–51.

⁷¹⁰ Forbes, G. H., op. cit., p. 264.

subversive of primitive truth, and, that its appearance in the Anglican Church is part of the penalty we are paying for the unhallowed changes in the Second Book of Edward, [in which] the dignity and the value of the Eucharist [has] been thrown into the background, [and] devout minds unable to find a mode of satisfying their feelings with regard to the Eucharist in the existing ritual, should devise a new and unauthorised way of doing so.’⁷¹¹ But the situation is more far more complex than the Faithful finding a vent for feelings of worship. To answer, Forbes produces a minutely considered argument in which as with Pusey, he not only turns Keble’s supporting quotations from the Fathers against him, but Forbes also produces many other passages of his own to support his contrary argument.

The question is, Forbes asks, ‘Whether divine adoration is to be paid to those things which after consecration are lying on the altar? We may not say (with many who hold this doctrine) whether the Body and Blood of Christ are after consecration so present in and under bread and wine as to be objects of worship; for we have lately endeavoured to show [in The use of the expression “Real Presence”] that this is not primitive doctrine’.⁷¹² Firstly he finds that to worship the Consecrated gifts is to undermine the whole nature of Christian worship, because the Eucharist is the means of worship and not its object;⁷¹³ it is from the altar that we look to the Throne of God, not to the altar as the Throne. ‘We offer upon the one in order to propitiate Him who sits upon the other’.⁷¹⁴ The bread and the wine are the things sacrificed to the Him who is the ‘object’ of our worship; they are not the objects of our worship themselves. He cites Theodoret who ‘...gives it as one main reason why God, through Moses, appointed the Israelites to offer slain beasts in sacrifice to Him, to have been that they had seen these beasts worshipped by the Egyptians, might be brought to feel the folly of this; because “they could not suppose that the things they sacrificed were gods; but that they were to worship Him Alone to Whom they were directed to offer these things,” and he elsewhere remarks that “it is the extreme of senselessness to worship what is eaten”’. Forbes concludes these introductory remarks by drawing a distinction, ‘... the difference between the Scotch Church and that of the Adorationists may be

⁷¹¹ Ibid., p. 265.

⁷¹² Ibid., pp. 169–170.

⁷¹³ Ibid., p. 266.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., p. 266.

briefly stated thus—the Adorationists worship Him in the bread and wine, while we worship Him by the bread and wine’.⁷¹⁵

Forbes finds Keble subject to some confusion in the main thesis of his book; by the use of internal evidence Forbes demonstrates that Keble has no clear view of what he means for the worshipper to adore in the consecrated gifts. Keble says on the one hand, ‘The Body and Blood of the Man Jesus Christ—of Him who is God and Man—was adored as present after consecration in the Eucharist; *i.e.* Christ Himself was adored, as present by the presence of His Body and Blood—p.112.’ and, the phrase by which the object of worship has been defined—“the Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine.”—p. 153; p.147. On the other hand we read:—“Where His Flesh and Blood are, there is He by a peculiar and personal Presence of His holy Humanity; and being there, He must needs be adorable, both by the holy Angels and by the children of men themselves”—p.65, and “I cannot understand these statements to imply less than a real and substantial Presence of Christ by the presence of his Body and Blood; nor can I imagine any one believing Him so present, and not acknowledging the same by special adoration.—p.75”’.⁷¹⁶ The inconsistency between the former where Christ is present in His Body and Blood as such, and in the latter where they find Christ present as in the Roman theory of concomitance, by which Jesus Christ, in his whole humanity, body and soul, now living and glorified, present equally in both the bread and the wine upon the altar and is to be adored,⁷¹⁷ is obvious. But they are two incompatible ideas for the former relates to the Body and Blood of Christ in his death by his sacrifice upon cross, and the other to his glorification in Heaven.

Throughout this article, Forbes is dealing with two questions, ‘Whom (or what) do we worship?’ and ‘How do we worship?’ It is over these two questions that the entirety of the arguments of Forbes’ review flows. Forbes very carefully lays out his ground: we worship God alone, and not any created thing, either material or spiritual, visible or invisible, not even the Body and Blood of Christ; and the only true worship of God is sacrifice, as it was in the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, and so it is now for us

⁷¹⁵ Ibid., p. 267.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., p. 270.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., p. 270.

of the New Covenant; The true worship of the Holy Trinity is the memorial sacrifice of bread and wine as the appointed and efficacious types and symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ (so made by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them).

The question of who or what, may be worshipped is the preliminary question to be addressed before any answer can be made to the authorities that Keble presents. Forbes begins with the appearances of an angel or of angels, who spoke in the name of the Lord to the Patriarchs, and were worshipped by them. ‘...these visions spoke in the person of God, and were addressed in the same way...’.⁷¹⁸ But, Forbes asserts, the Fathers were clear that the Patriarchs knew that the visions were but images of God and not his essential Being. The worship of the Patriarchs was that which is ‘lawfully given to creatures, and not true *latría*’. St. Augustine and St John of Damascus are called to bear witness, ‘Abraham’, says S. John of Damascus ‘saw not the nature of God for “no man has seen God at any time”, but the image of God; and falling down he worshipped it. ...But...he worshipped him not as God but as a minister of God who stands in His presence’.⁷¹⁹

The appearances to the Patriarchs may seem a long way from the Eucharist, but an enquiry about their significance is the first step Forbes makes toward answering the question Who or what may be worshipped? By this he seeks to establish two things: 1) that some created things are to be revered as being (in their various ways) images of God—angels and messengers of God, as mentioned above, but also in their appropriate and lesser degrees parents, kings, the civil authority, the clergy, etc.; and 2) that God alone in his essential being as the Holy Trinity is worthy of true worship, *latría*. This opens up one of the principal lines of enquiry in the review, ‘what worship is due Jesus Christ?’

Twenty pages later he writes, ‘We hope that our readers now see the difference between the visions of God which appeared to the patriarchs and the blessed Eucharist. The first were images of the adorable Trinity, and therefore were rightly worshipped as such. The latter is an image not of Christ, but of his Body and Blood, which in themselves are not to be adored with *latría*, and therefore may not be

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., p. 272.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 272.

worshipped'.⁷²⁰ The distinction that Forbes makes here lies at the very heart of the argument, and the failure to distinguish as Forbes does here is the source of much confusion about what is received. The bread and cup are symbols of Christ's death, his dead body, his blood shed, not of the whole Christ either before his death, or after his Resurrection and Ascension.

The next stage in the development of this line of thought Forbes takes from a statement that Keble makes about the worship of the person of Christ. Forbes quotes Keble, 'The person...of Jesus Christ our Lord, where ever it is, is to be adored—to be honoured, acknowledged, sought unto, depended on, with all possible reverence, with the most entire and single hearted devotion...by all creatures whom he has brought to know him'. Forbes responds, 'Now we would say speaking accurately and theologically, our worship is to be paid not to any person, but ...to the Being of the Most High God. This is one of the consequences of the unity of God, and therefore when we pray or sacrifice to God the Father, we are really praying or sacrificing to the Blessed Trinity, as the Fathers, especially S. Augustine and S. Fulgentius, teach very expressly'.⁷²¹

For Forbes the question at issue is the worship due to the manhood of Christ, which posed the further question, 'is the human nature of Christ worthy of adoration solely by virtue of its hypostatic union with the Godhead of the Son?' Forbes answers in the negative. He turns for support to the argument of William Forbes, in the *Christo Mediatore* of the *Considerationes Modestae*. Here Bishop William Forbes states, 'We must not deny that Christ by His obedience and passion truly merited the exaltation also of his humanity, and the glorification of His flesh; He asked from the Father that not we alone should be glorified, but Himself also; with the glory of the body and the exaltation of His name, as S. Augustine there expounds it...Many passages of Scripture show that Christ's passion not merely preceded...but even was the meritorious cause of the exaltation which he attained'.⁷²² This point is pivotal to the whole of the subsequent argument, as Forbes seeks to establish that the bread and wine offered in the Eucharist, are the 'effective symbols' of the Body and Blood of

⁷²⁰ Ibid., p. 295.

⁷²¹ Ibid., p. 275.

⁷²² Ibid., p. 276; William Forbes, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 369–371.

the crucified Christ, and are not the means by which, in either Tridentine or Lutheran definition, Christ glorified and ascended is really present. Therefore as the bread and wine are types or symbols of the crucified Body and Blood, they represent his Body and Blood not yet glorified, and are thus not the object of worship in themselves. Referring to the passage he quotes from William Forbes, he says, ‘Now this seems decisive of the question, for if the Body of Christ was itself entitled to *latría*, to supreme adoration from the moment of its conception, it could not receive any accession of honour which Scripture very expressly declares that it intrinsically did’.⁷²³

Forbes then makes the four following points:

‘1. Christ’s human nature, *considered by itself* is not an object of adoration, nor is His Body and Blood.

2. When the Son of God took upon him human nature, he took all that belonged to that nature, and therefore as man paid worship to God (Jn 4.22). On occasion he performed various functions of the priestly office by offering prayers and praises; by fulfilling his priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek by offering bread and wine, and most of all in offering His Body and Blood upon the cross as a sacrifice.

3. When we worship the Holy Trinity, we worship the incarnate Son of God who took our nature into the unity of his own person, so that His (glorified) Body shares in the honour paid to him as God.

4. Christ’s manhood has no personal subsistence apart from the person of the Son of God. We must not pay him a twofold adoration, as God and as man; with a single adoration we worship Emmanuel the Word made flesh’.⁷²⁴

Forbes then includes a list long of passages from Athanasius, Epiphanius, John of Damascus, pseudo-Augustine, pseudo-Chrysostom; the Council of Ephesus [Canon 9], and Peter Lombard in support of his statement. Forbes notes that ‘as the efforts of the Council [of Ephesus] were chiefly directed against the supposition that the manhood of Christ had a distinct personality separate from that of the Son of God, it was natural that they should confirm what had been taught all along, by the Church,

⁷²³ Ibid., p. 276.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., pp. 276–277.

that no separate worship be addressed to the manhood of Christ...[as his manhood] shared in that paid to him as God'.⁷²⁵ Forbes notes that the worship we pay to Jesus Christ as God and man, does not interfere with the intrinsic homage and honour due to his manhood, 'but that the Council recognised that the unspeakable difference between the adoration due to God, and homage one might give created things, that it altogether set aside the lesser honour, since it is entirely swallowed up in the other'.⁷²⁶ The second Council of Nicea in 787, which affirmed the worship (*doulia*) of icons, and condemned iconoclasm, was regarded with horror by Anglicans who saw it as confirming idolatry in the church. However, George Forbes, while not subscribing to the veneration of icons, sees that that Council had a clear understanding of the distinction between the '...homage which they supposed created things were entitled to, and which they so carefully distinguished from the adoration of the Most High God. So that even in their errors they bear witness to the truth we are contending for'.⁷²⁷

This brings Forbes to one of his conclusions, 'It will easily be seen what an important bearing this has upon the passages in which the Fathers speak of worship due to the Eucharist. ...However strongly we may hold that the bread becomes the Body of Christ and the wine his Blood, yet they cannot be entitled to greater honour than their archetypes, the personal, substantial Body of Christ as it was upon the cross; and so when we find the confessedly ambiguous word *adorare* or its Greek equivalent, we must necessarily interpret them in accordance with the doctrine already laid down, of that lesser homage which we pay in different degrees not merely to everything connected with the worship of God, but even to those persons and things which are held in dignity as regards this world'.⁷²⁸ The consecrated elements are treated with the honour, homage, and respect due to the manhood of Christ, but are not worshipped.

Having carefully established his ground, Forbes then begins the work of refuting Keble's argument from the very sources that Keble had chosen to support his thesis. Each passage is examined. The first, from Eusebius of Emesa as quoted by Gratian, is dismissed, because, a) Gratian is a notorious forger, and b) the passage itself is

⁷²⁵ Ibid., p. 279.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., p. 280.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., p. 280.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., p. 280.

deemed by Forbes a forgery.⁷²⁹ The second is St. Gregory of Nazanzius' *Oration on Gorgonia*. Keble cites the passage, (18.) where Gorgonia in her sickness prays to 'Him who worshipped upon the altar'. Forbes makes two objections: 1) God has always been worshipped upon the altars, not only of Christians, but of the Patriarchs and the Jews as well, for the particular sacrifice required of each dispensation is the true worship; 2) In the incident cited, Gorgonia approaches the altar, takes the Sacrament and applies it as a poultice to her infection. Forbes exclaims, 'Upon any theory of a 'real presence' of the *whole Christ* her conduct becomes too dreadful to think of. What? Mash up into a poultice what she had been just worshipping with supreme adoration and love? The idea is too shocking, and we may fairly claim the Greek Divine as being on our side'.⁷³⁰ If Gorgonia had believed the Sacrament to be the presence of the living God, would she have acted in such a way? Forbes thinks that she definitely would not have done. The third is a passage from St. Augustine, which Keble calls a 'curious passage'. (Reply to Faustus, XX, 13.) '...as some say, that in the bread and wine we worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Forbes says that Keble misses the point. The reason why Faustus the Manichee thought that in bread and wine the Christians worshiped Ceres and Bacchus, was not because they thought that they were consuming the pagan deities in eating that bread and wine, but because in the Christian sacrifice, bread and wine were the things offered. 'Senseless as were the rites of heathenism, they had not got so low as what Theodorite calls "the extreme of senselessness" in worshipping what they ate....But as they saw that they [the Christians] used these materials in sacrifice as a means of worship ...they not unnaturally adopted the conclusion S. Augustine mentions'.⁷³¹

Then come the four principal Fathers upon whom Keble relies, Theodoret, Ambrose, Augustine [in a different passage], and Cyril of Jerusalem. Each of these passages Forbes examines very carefully, not only by themselves, but in conjunction with other passages from the same author. In each case Forbes demonstrates from the texts that the Father in question cannot be used to support Keble's doctrine.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., p. 281.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 281.

⁷³¹ Ibid., p. 281.

1) Theodoret, *Dialogue 2*: Keble seeks to demonstrate Theodoret as teaching that the consecrated bread and wine are worshipped as God. Forbes shows, quoting Keble's translation, that by an examination of the Greek text itself, that in several places Keble subtly interpolates as he translates in order to draw the desired meaning out of the text, and in several instances, inserts intensives which do not answer to the Greek.⁷³² In this passage in *Dialogue 2*, 'Orthodox' is drawing a comparison between the earthly body of Christ and his glorified body, and the bread and wine in the Eucharist before and after the consecration; 'Orthodox' teaches that the glorified body has changed, but is still a body; so the bread and wine have changed, but are still, in substance, bread and wine, and that they [the consecrated bread and wine] are worshipped as those things they are believed to be: a symbol and image of the Archetype, not the Archetype itself. Forbes comments '...but the whole context shows that it [the passage] refers to worshipping the Body of Christ at the right hand of God with a worship which bears to the worship paid to the eucharistic symbols the same relation as exists between an image and its archetype'.⁷³³ Forbes then quotes a passage from *Dialogue 3*, which says the same thing even more explicitly, 'It is not the body of a mere man that procured to us salvation, but that of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God... Now when the type is adorable and entitled to homage, how is the Archetype itself contemptible and small?'⁷³⁴

2) St. Ambrose *On the Holy Spirit*, Book III, 73.–79: In this passage Ambrose is discussing the worship of Christ after his Resurrection, first by Mary Magdalene, and then by the Apostles, using v. 5 of Ps. 99, 'O magnify the Lord our God: and fall down before his footstool, for he is holy'. Keble quotes this passage to indicate that as the Apostles worshipped the flesh of Christ, so we too worship his Body and Blood in the Sacrament. (Many of the Fathers understood by implication that 'footstool' referred to the human body of Jesus, as St. Augustine does in the next quotation Keble uses): '...and so by the word 'footstool' we are to understand the earth, and by the earth, the Flesh of Christ, which to this day we adore *in mysteries*, and which (as we said above) *the Apostles* adored *in the Lord Jesus*; for Christ is not divided but one;

⁷³² Ibid., p. 282.

⁷³³ Ibid., p. 283.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., p. 283.

nor when He is adored as the Son of God is it denied that he was born of a virgin'.⁷³⁵ Forbes perceives that Keble misunderstands the last sentence on two counts: 1) Ambrose's teaching about the worship due to Christ's humanity is constant with all of the Fathers, and 2) crucially that Keble fails to observe the distinction which Ambrose makes between, the Apostles and us. Forbes writes, 'The Apostles worshipped Christ's Flesh in the Lord Jesus Himself, which implies that we do not, and so negatives the theory of a real presence. This opposition shows that the expression 'in mysteries' or 'in the mysteries' must be taken (as it so often must) as equivalent to 'in symbol, in figure, in type'.⁷³⁶ Forbes thinks that the passages from Theodoret and Ambrose are identical in meaning, so he says that Ambrose's meaning is, '... the Apostles worshipped the reality of Christ's body, and that we (of course with a lesser degree of honour) do homage to its mystery or symbol'.⁷³⁷

3) St. Augustine, *On the Psalms, Ps. 99, v.9.*: In the centre of a long quotation Keble emphasises the following sentence with italics, 'Therefore also when thou bowest thyself and fallest down to a certain kind of earth, do not as it were contemplate the earth, but that Holy One Whose footstool what thou adorest is; for *on account of Him* thou adorest it; wherefore having said "Worship His footstool", he adds, "For He is holy". Who is holy? He *in honour of Whom* thou adorest His footstool. And when thou adorest *Him* see that thou do not in thought remain in the flesh and be not made alive in the Spirit'.⁷³⁸ As with the two previous passages, Forbes analyses this one as not meaning what Keble purports it to mean. First, bowing down to a 'certain kind of earth' indicated that the Latin Christians of North Africa knelt to receive Holy Communion, and the ambiguity of the phrase was due to reticence to be too explicit about the Eucharist publicly (the *Disciplina Arcana*). Second, Forbes observes that Augustine explicitly denies that honour is due to the consecrated bread and wine ('earth') for itself, but for His sake whose footstool it is. This would have been the perfect moment for Keble to mention that Christ is present 'in, with, or under' the Sacrament, but he does not. 'But of this there is not a trace in S. Augustine—nothing going beyond the maxim we have already so often quoted that an honour is paid to an

⁷³⁵ Ibid., p. 283; Forbes is quoting Keble's translation of Ambrose, with Keble's italics.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., p. 284.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 284.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., p. 284.

image on account of its archetype'.⁷³⁹ Third, in a quotation coming later in the passage, ('Ye are not going to eat this Body which ye *see*, nor drink that Blood which My crucifers are going to shed. I have delivered to you a sacrament; spiritually understood it will make you alive'.) Keble seems to indicate that the 'only difference' between our Lord's real Body and what we receive in the Eucharist consisted in the manner of its presence. Forbes quotes, "'The very Body (he [Keble] paraphrases it), but not subject to the senses". But this is inconsistent with the following clause [of Augustine's] "Nor are ye to drink that Blood which my crucifiers are going to shed", which plainly shows that the word "Sacrament" in this passage is used in the sense it always bears in this Father, "A sacred sign of an absent thing". Lastly, Forbes says, '...in the voluminous writings of S. Augustine this passage stands alone. In the ten folio volumes which have been preserved, there is no passage except this one, in which speaking of the Eucharist by itself he uses the word *adore*... May we not gather from this, that in spite of the reverence which he paid to the consecrated symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood, he realised so thoroughly that they were the means and not the object of adoration...'.⁷⁴⁰

4) St Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis V.*, 22. : Keble's use of this passage turns on his translation of the phrase 'προσκυνησεως και σεβάσματος.' 'Mr. Keble's translation gives *adoration* instead of *worship* and *religious ceremonial* instead of *homage*. His comment is as follows: "The word rendered 'religious ceremonial' appears especially to be limited to that kind of worship which acknowledges a peculiar presence of Deity. That and 'adoration' taken together, *seem nearly* equivalent to *latria* in its definite theological meaning". The caution of the last clause renders it almost unnecessary to examine the passage further'.⁷⁴¹ To Forbes the phrase 'seem nearly' is a give-away that Keble is unwilling to assert his point on this ground. He writes, 'We should be glad to have some authorities for the meaning he gives to the word we translate 'homage' [σεβάσματος]. In the original it is derived from the same root as the word used for Augustus...and that use of it must have been familiar to S. Cyril and his hearers. ...the meaning of the passage simply is ... to communicate with a reverence similar in outward gesture to that with which we approach a person

⁷³⁹ Ibid., p. 285.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 285.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p. 287.

in high authority. ‘By way of’ or ‘after the manner of’ seems to point out the comparison. To tell a person that he is to communicate reverently, does not necessitate an act of supreme devotion’.⁷⁴² The phrase ‘προσκυνήσεως και σεβάσματος’, is translated as ‘worship and reverence’, by both F. L. Cross⁷⁴³ and by E. H. Gifford⁷⁴⁴ which would appear to confirm Forbes’ assertions concerning Keble’s translation.

Forbes then produces three types of authority which deal with 1) veneration of the Body and Blood of Christ in relation to the appurtenances of the celebration of the Eucharist; 2) worship as applied to the ceremonies before the coming of Christ; and 3) ‘adoration’ due to persons as well as the Holy Things. On his first type, Forbes quotes a passage from the letter of St. Jerome to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria. This brief passage makes it clear, without further comment that ‘the sacred cups and veils and other things which pertain to the Lord’s passion (a title of the holy Eucharist)...are to be venerated with the same majesty as His Body and Blood’.⁷⁴⁵ On the second type, Forbes produces a passage from St. Augustine, comparing the ‘signs’ under the Mosaic law, in which one did ‘not venerate that which was visible and transitory, but rather that to which all such things be referred...’ with the ‘...“few signs” that the Lord and the apostolic discipline have delivered to us, such as the sacrament of baptism and the celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord, which each one who receives them recognises ...to what they have been referred, so as to venerate them not in carnal slavery but with a spiritual liberty’.⁷⁴⁶ The third type contains two forceful passages. These deal with the change that takes place in us by our union with Christ in Baptism. The first, from St. Fulgentius is very clear: ‘By the gift of love bestowed upon us, that we should be in truth what we mystically celebrate in the sacrifice’.⁷⁴⁷ The second passage is a long quotation from St Athanasius, the crux of which is, ‘For because of our relationship to His Body we too have become God’s temple and in consequence are made God’s sons, so that even in us the Lord is now

⁷⁴² Ibid., p. 287.

⁷⁴³ St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, Cross, F. L., trans., ed., Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1986, pp. 38 (Greek), 79 (English).

⁷⁴⁴ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. VII, ‘S. Cyril of Jerusalem: Catechetical Lectures’, E. H. Gifford, trans., ed., p. 156.

⁷⁴⁵ Forbes, G.H., op. cit., p. 288.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 288.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 288.

worshipped and beholders report, as the Apostle says, that God is in them of a truth.—1 Cor. 14. 25; S. Athanas. c. Arian'.⁷⁴⁸ Forbes sees this as a significant passage, because in his mind, St. Athanasius' 'In us the Lord is now worshipped' balances exactly with the phrase, 'We adore Christ in mysteries' of St. Ambrose.

It is plain that Forbes appreciates the connection between Baptism and the Eucharist: by the Holy Spirit, Christ dwells in us, and we are made one with Him, by participating in His Death and Resurrection. In the Eucharist, we make the memorial sacrifice, pleading Christ's once for all sacrifice before the Holy Trinity, not to worship the material of the sacrifice, but precisely, by it, transformed by the Holy Spirit into the Body and Blood of Christ, to be sustained in the life into which we have been baptized. To underscore this point Forbes refers to two further passages, one from St. Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood* (IV. 4.) where 'immediately after mentioning the reverence which the angels pay to the Body and Blood of Christ upon the altars, he speaks of them as rendering a similar homage and service to souls of departed Christians, on account of their union with the common Lord of Angels and men'.⁷⁴⁹

The next section of Forbes' argument deals with Keble's treatment of the image-breaking Council of Constantinople in 754. Again he charges Keble with getting his authority, the decree of the Council (quoted at length), exactly wrong. Keble states, 'that they worshipped that Body *in, or with, or under the Bread*, because of the Godhead with which it is inseparably united. ...and that they could not worship the bread,—that would be mere idolatry,—and therefore Christ would not have his memorial formed in a likeness of Him...[because] they considered all this as connected with the doctrine of the Incarnation in such a sense, that worshipping Christ's Humanity as specially *present under* any other image would cause confusion in that doctrine'.⁷⁵⁰ Forbes responds, 'The doctrine of the council is very plain. ...Evidently the Council meant that if worship were paid to what is lying on the altar, *idolatry would have crept in*. ...We are not much called upon to defend the image-worshippers, but in common fairness... we never understood that they maintained that

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 289.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 289.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 290.

Christ's Manhood was present under their images or pictures'.⁷⁵¹ Indeed Forbes perceives Keble not only to draw precisely the opposite meaning from the image-breaking Council of Constantinople of 754, but also to do the exactly the same with the writing of St. John of Damascus, the ablest of the icon supporting Fathers. Keble writes, 'their very mistakes being made in their eagerness to glorify the sacrament (that of the Eucharist, we presume) as much as they could, it is needless to seek testimonies in favour of adoring the Inward Part of it from them.–p.111'.⁷⁵² Forbes is unwilling to take such an easy assurance from Keble, and produces a long passage from St. John of Damascus (de Imag. 1., 14, 16) in which St. John is perfectly clear that the worship of *latria* is due to God alone, now including to the human body of the Lord, even though created matter, it is now united 'unchangeably' with the Godhead, and is the only matter to be so worshipped. 'All *other* matter [which pertains to salvation]...I honour and have in reverence as being full of divine energy and grace. [after naming the Cross, Golgotha, the Sepulchre, the liturgical Gospel book, he asks] is not the life bearing table which supplies to us the bread of life matter? Is not the gold and silver of which crosses and patens and chalices are made, matter? Is not (before all these) *the Body and Blood of Our Lord* matter? Either take away the veneration and worship of all these or yield to the Church's tradition the worship of pictures also'.⁷⁵³ Forbes demonstrates that St. John of Damascus not only does not hold the opinions about the Eucharist attributed to the pro-image party by Keble, but also that the iconophiles do not believe Christ to be substantially present under the picture or within the picture. The 'image-worshippers' were not idolaters. 'It will not be difficult to show that so far from this being the case, it was the special note by which the 'image-worshippers' tried to distinguish their practice from that of heathen idolatry'.⁷⁵⁴

Forbes then produces a selection of quotations from Minutius Felix, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, Arnobius, and Tertullian, each discussing the nature of heathen idolatry. The characteristic idea that each of the above authorities expresses is that the heathen believed that the god or spirit dwelt, or was shut up, or contained within the

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p. 290.

⁷⁵² Ibid., p. 291.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., p. 292. Forbes also notes at this point that although St. John of Damascus refuses the use of the terms 'image' or 'figure' for the Body and Blood of Christ, yet he does make a distinction between them and Christ's own body.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 292.

idol. This was precisely what the ‘image-worshippers’ did not believe. Forbes turns to the Council of Trent, for evidence:

‘Images are to be venerated, not from a belief that any divinity or power is present in them, nor because anything is to be asked from them, nor is any confidence to be placed in them, as was done of old by the heathen; but, because the honour which is paid to them is referred to the originals which they represent; so that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and bend the knee, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear’. (Sess. 25)⁷⁵⁵

It is here that Forbes delivers his most devastating comment against Keble and the Adorationists, ‘Now we would ask our readers to compare this with the view which the present Adorationist school take of the Holy Eucharist, and say whether even in the judgement of the image-worshippers, they are not liable to the charge of heathen idolatry. For do they not tell us that the “out-ward part” after the consecration is an image of the “inward part” the living Christ, which is present within it?’⁷⁵⁶ The appearances of God to the Patriarchs, to Joshua, and even the *shekinah* that appeared above the mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies, were all images of the Holy Trinity, and were to be worshipped as such. The consecrated bread and wine are not images of the Holy Trinity, of God himself, but only (in the sense of nothing other than) of the Body and Blood of Christ, which are not to be worshipped with *latria*, and may not be adored.⁷⁵⁷ This effectively brings to a conclusion one part of the argument thus far.

Now this would seem to raise a problem about the indissoluble union between the Godhead of the Son and his human body in the incarnate person of Jesus Christ, the *ἀδιαρέτως* of the Chalcedonian Definition, but Forbes is quite clear that the consecrated bread and wine are not the physical Body and Blood, but the efficacious symbols of them. Forbes uses an unusual analogy for illustration. Using the distinction between body and soul, he compares the image of the soul of St. Augustine (for example) which one can meet in his writings, so that one can come to feel one knows him, to the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. ‘When a person acquainted with his general style and way of handling subjects is reading for the first

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 294.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 294.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 295.

time a genuine treatise of his, he will every now and then be tempted to exclaim, “This is S. Augustine himself!”...during S. Augustine’s life the benefits [of] personal intercourse were confined to a...limited number of persons, but that now the image of his soul has been indefinitely multiplied [in his writings, it] reaches in a greater or lesser degree over the of the Catholic Church’.⁷⁵⁸ The comparison between the soul of St. Augustine and the Body and Blood of Christ is, to Forbes, clear and serves to illustrate the uniform language of the Fathers who on the one hand speak of the indissolubility of the two natures of Christ Himself, yet on the other hand speak only of the Eucharist as His Body and Blood, ‘and did not pay them the adoration which they would have unhesitatingly paid to our Saviour, if He had Himself appeared to them’.⁷⁵⁹ This point is also illustrative of the subtlety of Forbes’ understanding of the transformation that takes place in the offered gifts in the Eucharist. As something of the personality of St. Augustine and the ways of his thought are communicated by his writings, so in the Eucharist, by the image, type, symbol, memorial and sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the efficacious power of his saving Death and Resurrection. Yet, as he wrote in *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, Part II*, ‘but by consecration they become not merely the symbol, type, etc. of His Body and Blood, but in very truth they are made the Body and Blood, the very Body and Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ’.⁷⁶⁰ (John Forbes of Corse wrote in exactly the same vein, ‘As therefore the breaking that takes place in the Eucharist is the Body of Christ dying on the Cross; in the same manner also, that which is called the Body of Christ, is that very true body of Christ which was taken of the Virgin Mary, and broken for us on the Cross. Christ himself indeed is immolated in that celebration, yet not in himself, but in Sacrament. These two, ‘in himself’, and ‘in Sacrament’ Augustine opposes to one another in Epistle 23. So also, what is given to us in the Supper under the species of bread is the very Body of Christ, not in himself, but in Sacrament; that is, in the Sacrament of that very Body’.⁷⁶¹)

The final thrust in this conclusion is Forbes’ suggestion that *adorationism* is suggestive of Eutychianism, because the claim that Christ’s glorified Body can be present in many places at once, is contrary both to Biblical and Patristic teaching that

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 296.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 296.

⁷⁶⁰ Forbes, G. H., *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, Part II*, p. 184.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 136—137.

the Lord's glorified body is still a human body consubstantial with ours. By ascribing to the Lord's Body 'a power of substantial presence in many places at the same time, (which according to the Fathers) is a prerogative [belonging to God alone] which does not belong even to created spirits, much less to bodies'.⁷⁶²

At this point the argument shifts to the second theme of this essay, the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. Forbes quotes the means for defining a sacrifice set down by St. Augustine (On the Holy Trinity, 4. 19). 'In every sacrifice four things are to be considered, [1] to whom it is offered, [2] by whom it is offered, [3] what is offered, [4] for what it is offered'.⁷⁶³ These questions in St. Augustine's treatise deal with the sacrifice of our Lord's death on the Cross, but lead directly to issues of import upon the Eucharist, as the eucharistic sacrifice is the efficacious representation and memorial of the Cross.

The first question is, to whom was the sacrifice of the Cross offered, and consequently to whom is the memorial representation of the Cross offered? This question arises from Keble's statement, with careful qualification, that, '...in the economy of our redemption, each person of the Trinity shall have his own work therein...e.g. in the mystery of the Altar...the Holy Ghost prepares the Sacrifice, the Son offers it, and the Father receives it.—pp.114,5'.⁷⁶⁴ Forbes acknowledges that Keble had covered the possibility of misunderstanding reasonably well, but takes great exception to another 'Adorationist' tract, unidentified, which he quotes, in which the same teaching is so crudely put as in effect to divide the Son from the Father. Quoting St. Irenaeus, the unnamed author writes, '... the Word is the Church's Eucharistic Sacrifice'.⁷⁶⁵ This Forbes sees as even worse than the Arians. (The quote from St. Irenaeus is dismissed as a false reading by a Benedictine editor with a doctrinal axe to grind, and refers his readers to a more substantial treatment of the very passage from St. Irenaeus in *The Christian Sacrifice* §517.) The point at issue is, to whom was Jesus' self-offering offered, and by implication to whom is our eucharistic oblation offered? The answer to Forbes is unequivocal. Not to any Person of the Holy Trinity as distinct from any

⁷⁶² Ibid., p. 296. Forbes gave some attention to this subject. In *The Christian Sacrifice*, §286–288, he summons the evidence of a number of Fathers to his propositions that a body must have spatial dimension and cannot be ubiquitous.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., p. 300.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 297.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 297.

other of the Persons, but to the Holy Trinity Who is one God. Forbes writes, ‘According to the Catholic faith, so great is the oneness of the three Persons of the Godhead that every sacrifice, that of the Cross included, is really offered to God the Holy Trinity. So that, so far from God the Word constituting our sacrifice by which we propitiate a superior Deity, He is Himself, along with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the God whom we honour by our gifts’.⁷⁶⁶ This is indeed a bold statement, however Forbes’ supporting passages, from St. Cyprian, St Augustine, St. Ambrose, and Theodoret, two prayers one from the Roman Liturgy, and one from the Ephesine Liturgy, and a long anti-Arian passage from St. Fulgentius, all of which attest to his assertion. The passage from Theodoret is explicit, ‘But this Man offered His own Body, Himself being both priest and sacrifice; and as God along with the Father received the gift.—in c. 7 Heb. 5. 27’.⁷⁶⁷ Finally he turns to the Scottish Liturgy where he observes that on Trinity Sunday the text of the Preface omits the words ‘Holy Father’ to read, ‘O Lord, Almighty, Everlasting God’, demonstrating that although addressed to the Father normally, the intention is to imply the Holy Trinity.⁷⁶⁸

Forbes then addresses the third of the four questions St. Augustine asks, ‘what is offered. This aspect of Forbes’ study is closely related to much that has gone before, and it would seem to be a finely balanced opinion that Forbes is putting forward. He begins more tentatively than is his habit, by first asking the question, “Was then the sacrifice of the Cross (for we must begin with that) ‘the incarnate being of the Son’, ‘the Word’, or was it the Body and Blood which he had taken from the Blessed Virgin?” This question he does not himself answer, but gives four pages in *point 8* type of passages from a wide range of the Fathers (many of the citations of a particular Father will contain several passages culled from different works), Procopius, Ivo Carnotensis, Venerable Bede, Theophylact, St. Leo the Great, Theodoret, and St. Fulgentius. There are four quotations from St. Cyril of Alexandria, the last two of which Forbes stops to notice:

‘But He being as God superior to sin, offered Himself and became our high-priest, being as men, said to minister, and sacrificing to the Father His own Body’.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 298.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 298.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 299.

(or. 2 ad Reginas de recta fide n. 43) Again; ‘He Himself [the Son of God]’ therefore became High-priest in His manhood, although as God, He receives the sacrifices of all [men.] He Himself is in his Flesh the Victim; Himself according to the power of his Godhead is He Who is propitiated for our sins. There is therefore one Lord Jesus Christ (ib.11)’.⁷⁶⁹

Forbes makes the point from two quotations from St. Cyril, that there is a distinction, even an opposition between Christ as man sacrificing, (that is Christ in life at the Last Supper offering the bread and wine as the memorials of his death, and offering himself to the Father as the true sacrifice,) and Christ being sacrificed as to His Body, (that is his body on the cross after death, having been sacrificed), ‘which excludes the idea that Body or Flesh are synecdoche for His manhood’.⁷⁷⁰ He then adduces passages from St. Augustine, St Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St Athanasius, St. Hilary of Potiers, and Origen. Each of these Fathers writes that Christ offered his Body, or his Body and Blood, or his Flesh, in similar vein to the two passages from Cyril of Alexandria, the second of which says, ‘He himself in His Flesh the Victim; Himself according to the power of his Godhead is He who is propitiated for our sins...’.⁷⁷¹ These passages do suggest the distinction, although they do not overtly make it. The point that Forbes is seeking to establish is that the sacrifice on the Cross, that is, what actually died, was his physical body, shedding its blood, and that it was the death of his body that was the propitiatory offering. Forbes presents again as many authorities where the same idea is presented by implication, but he comments that he brought forward only those passages where the word ‘sacrifice’ is used.

The idea that Christ’s body and blood in death, and not as risen and glorified, are what is on the Altar, is at the centre of the doctrine that Forbes puts forward in the first part of his study. What is not present on the altar is the total manhood of Christ, but his Body and Blood only, or the effective symbols of them, as he frequently adds. The point of the instituted eucharistic sacrifice ‘is to enable us to plead before God the sacrifice of the death of Christ by offering the appointed symbols of his crucified

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 301.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 301.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., p. 301.

Body and shed Blood and to have communion with him by partaking of that sacrifice'.⁷⁷² Forbes says that the true and Patristic theology of the sacrifice is thrown into confusion if it is asserted that what we receive is the whole, glorified manhood of Jesus, body and soul. In opposition to Keble, Pusey, and the 'Adorationists', noting that 'it is notoriously difficult to prove a negative' he puts forward the following three propositions concerning the Patristic basis for his own stance:

1. That of the many hundreds of passages in which the Fathers speak of the Eucharist there is not one in which they teach that the bread is the Body of Christ or the wine His Blood as glorified since His resurrection.

2. Nor as living.

3. (As a consequence of this,) that there is not a single passage which teaches that our Lord's human soul is present or received in the Eucharist'.⁷⁷³

Forbes then produces four passages from St. Chrysostom which speak of Christ as slain upon the altar, and one from St. Gregory of Nyssa (Sermon on the Resurrection of Christ) in which St. Gregory speaks of the necessity for the Lamb to be killed in order to be eaten, and therefore Christ's Sacrifice was already complete when he offered His Body at the Last Supper, 'for the Body of the Victim would not have been fit for being eaten if it was alive'.⁷⁷⁴ To Forbes these quotations are in themselves conclusive, as he offers no further comment at the end of his collection.

The doctrine of the eucharistic gifts becoming, by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them, the dead body and the shed blood of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, as the one true sacrifice, offered by the incarnate Son, as man, and received by the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, as the one God, is one of the principal recurring ideas through out this article of Forbes' in which he has considered many aspects at some length, but there are yet a few more things to say that are given some consideration in the last few pages.

The idea of the human soul of Jesus in relation to the Eucharist is one that has appeared as an aspect of the doctrines of either Transubstantiation or

⁷⁷² Ibid., p. 304.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., p. 305.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 305.

Consubstantiation (as presented in the doctrines of Pusey, Keble or their colleagues and followers), as Jesus Christ being present in the totality of his glorified humanity, both his Body and his Soul. That Christ's soul is present was incompatible with Forbes' understanding, because at death the human soul departs the body, and His human soul, in union with his divine Person, descended into Hell to declare His Resurrection to the dead. This same idea is present both in Rattray's *Christian Covenant*, 'It is from this text [Lev. 24:7. LXX] that the Fathers and the ancient Liturgies take the word *προκειμενα*, "set or lying in open view before the Lord," so frequently used by them concerning the *δωρα*, or gifts, even the eucharistical bread and cup',⁷⁷⁵ and in John Forbes 'and thus setting forth the Passion of his Son [in the eucharistic bread and cup]...can be said in a manner to offer to God Christ immolated in his Passion, or his very obedience and his bloody immolation'.⁷⁷⁶ Moreover the function of the soul in human life, to Forbes is affect—joy, sorrow, anger, etc.; to assume such affect in the consecrated gifts is ridiculous. What is offered in the Eucharist is the Body and Blood as dead and crucified.⁷⁷⁷

Forbes next wishes to address Keble's assertion that Christ is the true offering, which he has addressed once already, but this time with a slightly different angle. Keble asserts that the bread and wine were but 'vessels', as Christ, by the hands of the priest, offers his Body and Blood to the Father, as in Heaven He appears before Him now in continual commemoration His death on the Cross.⁷⁷⁸ Forbes makes several points in refutation: 1) The gifts offered are not the Body and Blood of Christ, but bread and wine, which become the Body and Blood of Christ; 2) The one who offers the gifts is not Christ, nor the priest *in persona Christi*, but the priest as representing the Church, the regenerate people of God who are the Body of Christ; and 3) The Intercession of Christ is not a continuation of his Sacrifice on the Cross, because he has sat down, and completed his Sacrifice, therefore the Eucharist is not a participation in an eternal offering by Christ of His Body and Blood to the Father in Heaven. In Forbes's understanding, to assert that the glorified person of Jesus Christ is present in the consecrated gifts is wholly to overthrow the idea of the eucharistic sacrifice.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁵ Rattray, Thomas, *The Christian Covenant*, footnote r., p. 16.

⁷⁷⁶ Low, W. L., op. cit., p. 150.

⁷⁷⁷ Forbes, G. H., op. cit., p. 306.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 307, quoting Keble, *Eucharistical Adoration*, p. 70.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 306.

In order to investigate Keble's assertion, Forbes devotes the last several pages of his critique to asking the questions, 'what is a sacrifice? and, what precisely is offered in the Eucharist?' For a sacrifice to take place, something has to be surrendered to God for His honour or propitiation. In the absolute sense, everything belongs to God, but in the created order, he has given to us many things to keep as for our own without offence. A sacrifice therefore, is the voluntary act of self-denial, which when we have offered our gift, it has passed out of our hands into God's keeping. The one example that Forbes suggests is time. No stipulated amount of time is required of us; the length of time we spend in prayer, study, good works, or worship, is a voluntary sacrifice to God. He begins with a sentence in support from St. Augustine, "A true sacrifice is every work which is performed that we may inhere in a holy association with God". (The City of God, 10. 1. 6). And continues, 'From God's side, He may if He chooses, either keep our gift, as with the burnt sacrifices of the Old Testament, which were wholly consumed, or He may return our gift to us with a blessing. The principal such sacrifice was the Christ's self-oblation on the Cross, in which our Lord not only received back his life, but he also received it with the blessing of eternal life for His people. If the sacrifice or offering is Christ himself, He cannot be *our* offering. His offering of himself was personal and voluntary, and His offering is complete. The archetype of the eucharistic sacrifice is the Cross. As Christ offered himself and received not only life, like the widow of Nain's son (who did not at that time see corruption), nor only eternal life for himself, but also eternal life for us and glorification for himself, and at the last for us as well, so in the Eucharist, in obedience, we offer not one gift, Christ, but we offer of our life in the two gifts, bread and wine [that there are two gifts, and not one gift, Christ, is vital to Forbes' argument⁷⁸⁰] to God, that by the descent of the Holy Spirit they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, we may receive them (both) to eternal life. Apposite evidence is then produced from the Prayer of Oblation in the Scottish Liturgy... "Wherefore...O Lord and Heavenly Father, we thine humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee..." and from a number of other ancient liturgies, the Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, the Clementine and Ethiopic

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 307.

Liturgies, and the Mozarabic Missal'.⁷⁸¹ Forbes then turns to a group of prayers, which ask God's blessing upon the gifts that they may convey grace and blessing to the communicants, and which Keble himself used to press his doctrinal point of view. Forbes writes, 'It is sad to be obliged to produce against Mr. Keble the very same *catena* of passages from the Fathers which we have been accustomed to use against those ultra-Protestants who (like him) gainsay the material Christian sacrifice. But we must not be restrained. . . from asserting in the plainest terms, that the Early Church "always and everywhere and by all",...constantly maintained that a material sacrifice of bread and wine was offered on material altars by duly-commissioned priests'.⁷⁸² The distinction that Forbes is making is simple. For Keble to maintain that in every Eucharist Jesus Christ is truly the Priest, and is also the offered gift, is to remove the Eucharist from the concrete and material world of human life into an unseen, immaterial, spiritual world which humans do not inhabit. What is offered as a sacrifice is material of this creation, bread and wine, as the types and symbols of Christ's death; what is also offered to God is the lives of those present at the Eucharist, 'And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee', as the Scottish Liturgy states.

The final point, Forbes makes, before drawing this exhaustive critique to a close concerns the relationship between the Intercession of Christ before the Father and the Eucharist. Keble, as with some of the older English High Church theologians, such as Jeremy Taylor,⁷⁸³ draws a connection between the Eucharist below, and our Lord's Heavenly intercession. This Forbes rejects. Engaging in some biblical exegesis, he examines Hebrews 10:11 to find that Christ has sat down. The sacrifice of the Cross is final and absolute. He sits now in glory, having 'obtained for Himself the exaltation of his human nature...His sacrifice being "thoroughly finished" (peracti) as S. Augustine (20. c. Faust. c. 18) expresses it, no longer...offering any sacrifice, except as being the head of the church, Who through her appointed priests offers to God through out the whole world, the sacrifice of bread and wine'.⁷⁸⁴ He would read verse 12 not, 'after

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 306–307.

⁷⁸² Ibid., p. 310.

⁷⁸³ Mc Adoo, H. R., *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor*, Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1988, pp. 65–66.

⁷⁸⁴ Forbes, G. H., op. cit., p. 312.

he had offered one sacrifice for sins *for ever*, sat down on the right hand of God', but 'after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, *for ever* sat down on the right hand of God', 'But even if they [the words *for ever*] are joined with the preceding word *sacrifice* they would merely speak of its perpetual efficacy, not of a continuous act of oblation. Forbes is careful to note that for the offering of Christ to be continuous, would require a transposition of words as well as a change of tense in the participle from 'having offered' to 'offering'.

This leads Forbes to a peculiarity of the Scottish Liturgy, which in common with many ancient Eastern Liturgies, places the intercessory petitions following the Consecration. Turning to St. Cyril of Jerusalem he quotes, 'When the spiritual sacrifice has been perfected, we beseech God over that sacrifice of propitiation'.⁷⁸⁵ Forbes offers the rationale that as Christ, having once for all offered his bloody sacrifice upon the cross now pleads the merit of it on our behalf, so we now, having offered the unbloody, memorial sacrifice plead the merits of his sacrifice for all sorts and condition of men.⁷⁸⁶

Then at the very last Forbes returns to the questions quoted from St. Augustine earlier about what constitutes a sacrifice. This time to the question, 'By whom is it offered?' but this question is left unanswered, except to assert again against Keble, that Christ himself is not the priest of every Eucharist. Like much of his work, there is no real conclusion, only a brief restatement of his anxieties about the appearance of the alien ideas in his native Church.⁷⁸⁷

Conclusion

George Hay Forbes' acknowledged 'meticulous accuracy',⁷⁸⁸ can be relied upon, through his very considerable knowledge and scholarship, to give an accurate reading both of the ancient Fathers and of the eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy. His two reviews examined above expose clearly the fallacies of the new 'Real Presence'

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 312; *Mystagogical Catechesis* 5. 8.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 312.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 313.

⁷⁸⁸ Cross, F. L. and Livingstone, E. A., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 'Forbes, George Hay', p. 522.

theology espoused by Pusey and Keble. (Forbes' attack was directed as much against Lutheran and Roman Catholic ideas of the 'Real Presence' as it was against Anglican ones). As one of the principal features of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, it was a dangerous adversary of the eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy. George Forbes' approach to his material is forensic, admitting nothing but solid evidence, carefully and minutely weighed and ruthlessly applied to the assertions of his opponents to expose the facts of the teachings of Fathers on the relevant questions about the Eucharist.

As far as the eucharistic doctrine of the doctrine of the Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice set in the Introduction, the following quotation from an article Forbes' in *The Panoply* sums up his thought in a sentence, 'The Christian Sacrifice is the Lord's Supper, in which as the Lord himself has told us, we 'show forth' his death before the Father. As in prayer we pray "through Jesus Christ our Lord", meaning that it is only through his atoning death and sacrifice that we expect to get what we ask for, so in the Lord's Supper, we pray not with mere words, but with things set forth before God—the appointed tokens and memorials of the Body and Blood of Christ by laying bread and wine upon his table. ...He has bidden us both in word and deed to plead and urge before him the atonement on Mt. Calvary...' ⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁹ Forbes G. H., 'The Christian Sacrifice', *The Panoply*, Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, undated, vol. I, p. 45.

Chapter V Conclusion

Part I

1) The Introduction to this thesis asserted first, that in the tradition of Scottish Episcopacy, both in the periods of establishment and disestablishment, those who wrote on the Eucharist taught a common doctrine that continued unwavering for about two hundred and fifty years, from the days of the Aberdeen Doctors in the 1620s and 30s down to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Reviewing briefly the material covered, one can see that there exists a consistent strain of eucharistic doctrine in each of the writers discussed in this study. Although there are differences of emphasis, and as one might say that although they speak with slightly different accents, they are all speaking the same theological language. They are all articulating the doctrine of the Eucharist as the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice.

In the two earliest works considered in this thesis, both written in the 1630s, *de Eucharistia* of John Forbes' of Corse *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, and *de Sacramento Eucharistiae* of Bishop William Forbes' *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae*, the doctrine of these two men has been demonstrated to be the same. The two men come from differing theological backgrounds. William Forbes from what one can determine had always held to the catholic viewpoint of the Church Fathers. John Forbes of Corse, as Grub suggests, had begun from a point of view much more in line with the Calvinist orthodoxy of the period, 'His opinions...underwent a gradual change as his studies in the writings of the Fathers drew him more towards the model of the ancient Church...'. But by their respective studies of the ancient Fathers of the Church the two men espoused one doctrine of the Eucharist expressed in very similar terms.

Perhaps the most striking point is their respective discussions of the nature of the eucharistic Sacrifice. William Forbes with out hesitation asserts that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, 'that not all the properties of a sacrifice are properly and really preserved; but by way of commemoration and representation of that which was performed once for all...'. John Forbes says that 'improperly and by metonymy the Eucharist can be called a sacrifice, from the thought of the true and proper sacrifice which Christ

offered... for us, of which the remembrance and commemoration is celebrated in the Eucharist; ...properly and truly it is a sacrament commemorative of that sacrifice, but improperly and by metonymy of the thing signified...it is called a sacrifice on the same basis'. Their descriptions of the sacrifice in the Eucharist are strikingly similar.

James Sibbald, the other of the Aberdeen Doctors included in this study, left no treatise, but only several sermons from which to determine his opinions on the doctrine. His admiration for William Forbes, mentioned briefly in his Funeral Sermon for Patrick Forbes, and his possession of a manuscript copy of William Forbes' *Considerationes Modestae* suggests that he would have been in agreement with William Forbes' doctrine. He, does not use the terms 'commemorative' or 'representative' to describe the eucharistic sacrifice, but his discussion of the Eucharist is that it is the 'sacrifice of Christians' and is 'the sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, everywhere vehemently urged in the New Testament. Our Blessed Lord did institute the blessed sacrament of his body and blood giving thanks, and for this end that we may give thanks to God, as for all his benefits, so especially for that of our Redemption'. That is, that the offering of bread and wine, linked with the Old Testament thank-offering, the meal offering and the libation of wine, is the means not only of receiving the benefits of redemption, but also 'it preserveth the benefits we have received, and procureth the increase of them'.

James Wedderburn, the putative author of the eucharistic liturgy in the Scottish 1637 Prayer Book, put together a liturgical text which can be read as exhibiting the doctrine of Eucharist as the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice. It describes the Eucharist as the 'perpetual memory of his precious death...until his coming again...', as 'the memorial...thy son hath willed us to make...', and as the 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'. The *Epiclesis* prays that the Holy Spirit 'bless and sanctify...these... gifts...of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy...Son; ...that we, receiving them according to...Jesus Christ's institution...may be partakers of...his...body and blood...'. The bread and wine are offered as the memorials of the saving death of Christ, and by the operation of the Holy Spirit, they become the body and blood of Christ, conveying to the partakers the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

Even though Henry Scougal left behind only a small body of work, he did leave a sermon in which he discusses the Eucharist. In it he puts forward a clear and simply presented review of eucharistic doctrine, in accordance with the ‘Aberdeen school’. He presents the Eucharist as the memorial of the death of Christ, by [Christ’s] own ordinance, ‘...our blessed Saviour having offered up himself on the altar of the cross, as a propitiation for the sins of men, did substitute these symbols in place of his body and blood, that we feasting on them might get an interest in that sacrifice...’. and suggests in the same sentence the propitiatory or applicative character of the Eucharist. Scougal’s striking statement that in the Eucharist one sees, ‘the only begotten son of God suffering for the sins of the world; the Lord of Glory hanging between two thieves...’, suggests at once the sacrificial, propitiatory, and intercessory character of the Eucharist. His vivid sermon ends with a long quotation from Chrysostom, which recapitulates many of his points.

The work of the academic episcopalian writers of the seventeenth century laid the foundation of the continuing tradition of Scottish Episcopacy as Sinclair Snow asserts,⁷⁹⁰ and as documentary evidence shows (i.e., Thomas Rattray’s owning a copy of John Forbes’ of Corse *Omnia Opera*). The eucharistic tradition of Scottish Episcopacy in the difficult years following disestablishment was bolstered by the work of many English authors who were of the same theological temper, such as Bishop Bull, and John Johnson of Cranbrook, but undeniably the eighteenth century Scottish writers remained faithful in every regard to the spirit and character of the Scottish writers of the seventeenth century.

The work of the eighteenth writers was predominantly liturgical with Rattray’s work on the Liturgy of St. James as published by J. A. Fabricius, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, and the appearance of Robert Forbes’ text for the Scottish Liturgy in 1764. It is the opinion of this writer that Rattray’s *Ancient Liturgy* was the precipitating factor in both the bringing to pass the text of the 1764 Scottish Liturgy, via William Falconar’s text of 1755, and of its subsequent acceptance. Both Rattray’s English *Order* and the 1764 Liturgy have been demonstrated to exemplify both structural conformity to the *anaphoras* of the ancient Greek liturgies, and doctrinal

⁷⁹⁰ Snow, W. G. S., op. cit., pp. 161—172. (Snow spends an entire chapter delineating the influence of Bishop Patrick Forbes and his period as Bishop of Aberdeen.)

adherence to the doctrine of the Eucharist as the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice.

The early nineteenth century writers, John Skinner and Alexander Jolly were at pains to make a case for both Scottish Episcopalian eucharistic doctrine and practice, as being having been held, if not practiced, in the Church of England since the Reformation, with the enumeration of many authors as evidence. In one point in particular, the structure of the Prayer of Consecration of the Scottish Liturgy, they were determined to prove was not 'symbolising with Popery', an accusation which Skinner records. They set out to demonstrate that the Scottish Liturgy was strictly faithful to the practice of the ancient church in the 'Greek sequence' of the Words of Institution, the Prayer of Oblation, and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, or *Epiclesis*, followed by the eucharistic intercession, the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, in which the faithful departed were specifically prayed for. Rather than the Scottish Episcopalians 'symbolising with Popery', it was, they argued, the Roman Church which had diverged from the ancient tradition in her rite and theology.

Later in the century, the tone changes completely. George Hay Forbes is almost a lone voice struggling to be heard in maintaining and articulating the old Scots Episcopalian tradition, against the powerful impact of Anglicisation, the political impulse for the Scottish Episcopal Church to confirm more and more to the Church of England, of which his own bishop, Charles Wordsworth was the prime mover, and of the Oxford Movement, of which the chief Scottish exponent was his own brother, Bishop A. P. Forbes. George Hay Forbes, more powerfully in the two book reviews against E. B. Pusey and John Keble than in his three volume work, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, set out the very clearly the traditional eucharistic doctrine of 'our Scottish Doctors'.

2) It was also asserted in the introduction 'that the doctrine they espoused and articulated both theologically and liturgically was derived from their reading of the Fathers of the Church'. Without reviewing again each writer examined, one can now present as a fact their reliance upon the teachings of the Church Fathers as the sole basis for their doctrine. For instance, William Forbes who summons many authors, often roughly contemporary with himself, for examples of sound (or unsound)

doctrine, insists that all right doctrine must agree with the teaching of the Fathers. Quoting Spalatensis, Forbes rejects the Protestant explanation of the word ‘spiritually’ as meaning metaphysical and intellectual, as have not ‘attained to the mind of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures and the Fathers’.⁷⁹¹ The goal of ‘attaining the mind the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures and the Fathers’ is consistently evident in all of the writers examined in this thesis from the Aberdeen Doctors down to George Hay Forbes.

The one possible exception that could be claimed against the assertion above is final chapter in John Forbes’ *de Eucharistia, cap. XXII*, ‘A Compendium of John Calvin’s Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Eucharist’. Forbes devotes this chapter to commenting on several sections of the section 17 of Book IV of Calvin’s *Institutes*. In this he does not depart from his adherence to the teaching of the Fathers. It was William Forbes who affirmed that in the *Institutes* that Calvin spoke of the Eucharist in the language of the Fathers’ teaching. William Forbes wrote, ‘How religiously, how reverently and agreeably to the phraseology of the Fathers does... Calvin seem to speak in other parts of his writings [the *Institutes*, as opposed to the *de Coena Domini* which he was criticising] about this most august mystery’.⁷⁹² Therefore in effect, and by the judgement of Bishop William Forbes, John Forbes’ contemporary, against whom no such exception could be placed, the possible exception does not stand.

This thesis has sought to identify the Scottish Episcopalian theological tradition that continued from the 1620s with the teaching of the Aberdeen Doctors, down to last quarter of the nineteenth century with the publications of George Hay Forbes. And it has sought to determine that this tradition is a wholly native Scots tradition, ‘our native traditional theology’ as George Hay Forbes called it, and that it was in harmony with, but not dependent upon English theological movements, (i.e. Andrewes and his followers) or other national theological movements (i.e., the French ‘Oblationists’), and to assert that this theological tradition was the sole theological tradition in Scots Episcopacy from the early seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was submerged by the advent of the Oxford Movement and the increasing Anglicisation of the Scottish Episcopal Church. This tradition gives the lie to the

⁷⁹¹ Forbes, William, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 387. (John Forbes of Corse quotes *Institutes*, Chapter 17: 7, 10, 32, 5.)

prevalent conception that The Scottish Episcopal Church is identical with the Church of England in that it is an intellectual federation of diverse theological strains from 'Laudian' to Calvinist to Latitudinarian.

Appendix:
The Liturgical Texts

The Order for the Administration of
The Lord's Supper or Holy
Communion

The Scottish *Prayer Book*, 1637

The text of the *Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper* from the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 has been copied from Professor Gordon Donaldson's *Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (1954) by permission of his estate.

The Order of the Administration of the
LORD'S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION

So many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Presbyter or Curate over night, or else in the morning afore the beginning of Morning Prayer, or immediately after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious evil-liver, so that the Church by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed: the Presbyter or Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him in any wise not to presume to come to the Lord's Table until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life, that the Church may thereby be satisfied, which afore was offended; and that he have recompensed the parties whom he hath done wrong unto, or at the least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do as soon as he conveniently may.

The same order shall the Presbyter or Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table until he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance be content to forgive from the bottom of his heart all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended, and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his frowardness and malice: the Presbyter or Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

The holy Table, having at the Communion time a carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church, where the Presbyter, standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect following for due preparation.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid:

Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly all the TEN COMMANDMENTS: the People all the while kneeling, and asking God's mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said Commandment.

God spake these words and said, I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of *any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God *am* a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold *him* guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work. But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the Lord thy God: *in it* thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not kill.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts, etc.

Presbyter. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbour's.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, and the Collect of the day; the Presbyter standing up, and saying,

Let us pray.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon thy holy Catholic Church: and in this particular Church in which we live so rule the heart of thy chosen servant *Charles*, our King and Governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey

dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies which shall hereafter be set forth by common authority.

After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Presbyter or Curate shall declare unto the People whether there be any Holy-days, or Fasting-days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying (for the Offertory) one or more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion, according to the length or shortness of the time that the people are offering.

And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord: and Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5.

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering. Exod. xxv. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty: every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. Deut. xvi. 16.

David blessed the Lord before all the congregation: and said, Blessed *be* thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, *is* the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all *that is* in the heaven and in the earth, *is thine*: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour *come* of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of my heart I have willingly offered all these things.

And now have I seen with joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. 1 Chron. xxix. 10, etc.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his Name: bring an offering, and come into his courts. Psal. xcvi. 8.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal. Matt. vi. 19, 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Matt. vii. 12.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into it: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, *even* all her living. Mark xii. 41 to 44.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 1 Cor. ix. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? 1 Cor. ix. 11.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

He which soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully, shall reap bountifully. Every man, according as he purposeth in his heart, *so let him give*; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Gal. vi. 6, 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy: that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his Name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. Heb. vi. 10.

To do good, and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Heb. xiii. 16.

While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the Offertory, the Deacon or (if no such be present) one of the Churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the People there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

Almighty and everliving God, which by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully (*to accept our alms, and*) to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord. And grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save

If there be no alms given to the poor, then shall the words (*of accepting our alms*) be left out unsaid.

and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and specially thy servant *Charles* our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole Council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Presbyters, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. [And we commend especially unto thy merciful

When there is no Communion, these words thus inclosed [] are to be left out.

goodness, the congregation which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ.] And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments; that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Then shall follow this Exhortation at certain times when the Presbyter or Curate shall see the People negligent to come to the Holy Communion.

We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's Supper; unto the which in God's behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself. Ye know how grievous and unkind a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down, and yet they which be called (without any cause) most unthankfully refuse to come. Which of you in such a case would not be moved? Who would not think a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherefore, most dearly beloved in Christ, take ye good heed, lest ye, withdrawing yourselves from this holy Supper, provoke God's indignation against you. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business: but such excuses be not so easily accepted and allowed before God. If any man say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore am afraid to come: wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? When God calleth you, be ye not ashamed to say, You will not come? When you should return to God, will you excuse yourself, and say that you be not ready? Consider earnestly with yourselves, how little such feigned excuses shall avail before God. They that refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of that heavenly feast. I for my part am here present, and according to mine office, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf, I exhort you as you love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this holy Communion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to offer up himself by death upon the cross for our salvation: even so it is our duty to celebrate and receive the holy Communion

together in the remembrance of his death and sacrifice, as he himself commanded. Now, if you will in no wise thus do, consider with yourselves how great injury you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same. And whereas you offend God so grievously in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness you will not add any more: which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be not partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God? Truly, it is a great unthankfulness to say Nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will not receive this holy Sacrament which is offered unto them. I pray you, what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take ye, and eat; Take and drink ye all of this; Do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance, shall ye hear these words? What will this be else, but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the testament of Christ? Wherefore rather than ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with yourselves, from whom ye depart. Ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall, by God's grace, return to a better mind: for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions, while we shall receive the holy Communion.

And sometime shall this be said also, at the discretion of the
Presbyter or Curate.

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's

word, as by the holy Sacrament of his blessed Body and Blood: the which being so comfortable a thing to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily: my duty is to exhort you to consider the dignity of the holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof; and so to search and examine your own consciences, as you should come holy and clean to a most godly and heavenly feast, so that in no wise you come but in the marriage-garment required of God in holy Scripture, and so come and be received as worthy partakers of such a heavenly Table. The way and means thereto is, first to examine your lives and conversation by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewail your own sinful lives, and confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such, as be not only against God, but also against your neighbours: then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them, ready to make restitution and satisfaction according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other, and likewise being ready to forgive other that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand: for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your damnation. And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you, which by the means aforesaid cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel, then let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned Presbyter or Minister of God's word, and open his grief; that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved, and that by the ministry of God's word he may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.

Then shall the Presbyter say this Exhortation.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians: how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we be one with Christ, and Christ with us:) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we be guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour: we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body: we kindle God's wrath against us: we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, bewail your sins, and come not to this holy table: lest, after the taking of that holy sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entered into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your sins past: have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men: so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man: who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners, which lay in darkness and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only

Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say to them that come to receive the holy Communion, this invitation.

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, make your humble confession to Almighty God before this congregation here gathered together in his holy Name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings: the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter, or the Bishop (being present), stand up, and, turning himself to the people, pronounce the Absolution, as followeth.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter also say,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Matt. xi. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son: that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. John iii. 16.

Hear also what S. Paul saith:

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i. 15.

Hear also what S. John saith:

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

After which the Presbyter shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Presbyter. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any especially appointed: or else immediately shall follow,

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, etc.

PROPER PREFACES

Upon Christmas Day, and seven days after.

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as on this day for us: who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man of the substance of the blessed virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon Easter Day, and seven days after.

But chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon the Ascension Day, and seven days after.

Through thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord: according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down this day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving them both the gift of divers languages, and

also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations: whereby we are brought out of darkness and error into the clear light, and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Upon the Feast of Trinity only.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, and everlasting God. Which art one God, one Lord, not one only Person, but three Persons in one substance: for that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with Angels, etc.

After which Prefaces shall follow immediately this Doxology.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

Then the Presbyter, standing up, shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth. But then, during the time of Consecration, he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most

dearly beloved Son; so that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: Who, in the night that he was betrayed, *took bread*, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper, he *took the cup*, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

At these words [*took bread*] the Presbyter that officiates is to take the paten in his hand.

At these words [*took the cup*] he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon so much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to consecrate.

Immediately after shall be said this Memorial or Prayer of Oblation, as followeth.

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus

Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice: yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter say:

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father, which art in heaven [*etc.*]. For thine is the kingdom [*etc.*]. Amen.

Then shall the Presbyter, kneeling down at God's board, say in the name of all them that shall communicate, this Collect of humble access to the holy Communion, as followeth.

We do not presume to come to this thy table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons (if any be there present), that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the bread to others, he shall say this benediction:

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the party receiving shall say, *Amen.*

And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the party receiving shall say, *Amen*.

When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporal, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this Collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.

Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and be also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son: we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Then shall be said or sung, *Gloria in excelsis*, in English as followeth.

Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the

world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us: for thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Presbyter (or Bishop, if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.

The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

After the Divine Service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Churchwardens: whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity; the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that church, or the public relief of their poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Churchwardens.

COLLECTS TO BE SAID AFTER THE OFFERTORY, when there is no Communion; every such day one or more. And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning and Evening Prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the Presbyter or Minister.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both our hearts and bodies in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that through thy most

mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day with our outward ears may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us, for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, which hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's Name: We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us, that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Upon the Holy-days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the Homily, concluding with the general Prayer (*For the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth*), and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

And there shall be no public celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a sufficient number to communicate with the Presbyter, according to his discretion.

The ORDER
for celebrating
the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist

*The Ancient Liturgy
of the Church of Jerusalem, 1744*

The text of the ORDER for Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist has been copied from Bishop Thomas Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* (1744).

The ORDER for celebrating the Sacrifice of the HOLY EUCHARIST.

NONE but the * Faithful are to be present at this Office. And if any of these shall fall into any Crime for which he ought to do Penance, the Priest, having Knowledge thereof, shall prohibit him from approaching the holy Altar, until he have performed the same.

Likewise if the Priest shall perceive any Enmity or Hatred betwixt any of them, he shall not suffer them to be Partakers of the holy Eucharist, until he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the Parties so at Variance be content to forgive, from the Bottom of his Heart, all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for all that he himself hath offended; and the other will not be persuaded to a Reconciliation; the Priest in that Case ought to admit the Person thus willing to be reconciled, and not him that is obstinate. Provided that the Priest so repelling any, as is specified in this or the next precedent Paragraph, shall be obliged to give an Account of the same to the Bishop, within fourteen Days after at the farthest.

The Altar shall stand at the East end of the Church or Chapel: And at the time of celebrating the holy Eucharist shall have a fair white linen Cloth upon it.

Before the Service begin the † Deacon shall prepare so much Bread, Wine, and Water as he judgeth convenient; laying the Bread in the Paten, or in some decent Thing provided for that purpose; and putting the Wine into the Chalice, or into Flagons provided also for that Use; and the Water into some other proper Vessel: And shall place them upon the

* Note, The Word Faithful is taken here in the primitive Sense, in opposition not only to Hearers and Unbelievers, but also to Catechumens and Penitents, and to all Hereticks and Schismatics.

† Note, If there be no Deacon, what is in this Office ordered to be performed by him must be done by the Priest himself.

Prothesis, and cover them with a fair white linen Cloth.

¶ At the Beginning of the Eucharistick Service, the Priest standing at the Altar, and the People with their Faces towards it: [The Deacon shall bring † Water to the Priest, who shall wash his Hands therein, saying,

I will wash my Hands in Innocency,
and so will I compass thine Altar,
O Lord.

Then] The Deacon, being turned to the People, shall say with a loud Voice,

Let none of those who ought not to join in this Service stay.

Let none have ought against any one.

Let none come in Hypocrisy.

* [Salute one another with the holy Kifs.

And let the Clergy salute the Bishop, or officiating Priest; and the Laity one another, the Men the Men, and the Women the Women.

Then the Priest being turned to the People shall say,

The Peace of God be with you all.

Answ. And with thy Spirit.

Then the Deacon shall say,

Let us present our Offerings to the Lord with Reverence and godly Fear.

‡ This as it is an ancient, so is a very innocent and significant Ceremony: But where it cannot conveniently and decently be done, it may be omitted.

* Note, This is not to be used but in such Churches or Chapels as are so ordered as that the Men and Women sit separate, as they ought to do. As to the Antiquity of it, there can be no question, since we find it so frequently mentioned in the Scriptures themselves.

Q

Then

Then † [shall the People kneel, and] † “ The
 “ Priest shall begin the Offertory, turning himself to
 “ the People, and saying one or more of these Sen-
 “ tences following, as he thinketh most convenient
 “ in his Discretion †.

“ In Proceſs of Time it came to paſs,
 “ that *Cain* brought of the Fruit of
 “ the Ground an Offering unto the
 “ Lord; and *Abel* he alſo brought of
 “ the Firſtlings of his Flock, and of
 “ the Fat thereof: And the Lord had
 “ reſpect unto *Abel* and to his Offer-
 “ ing, but unto *Cain* and to his Offer-
 “ ing he had not reſpect. *Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5.*

“ Speak unto the Children of *Iſrael*,
 “ that they bring me an Offering: of
 “ every Man that giveth it willingly
 “ with his Heart, ye ſhall take my
 “ Offering. *Ex. xxv. 2.*

“ They ſhall not appear before the
 “ Lord empty: Every Man ſhall give
 “ as he is able, according to the Bleſſ-
 “ ing of the Lord your God, which
 “ he hath given you. *Deut. xvi. 16:*

“ Give unto the Lord the Glory
 “ due unto his Name: Bring an Of-
 “ fering, and come into his Courts.
 “ *Pſal. xcvi. 8.*

“ If thou bring thy Gift to the Al-
 “ tar, and there remembreſt that thy

† Note, That on all Lord's Days, and during all
 the Time between Eaſter and Pentecoſt, the Faithful
 are not to kneel, but to ſtand at Prayer, in memory
 of our Lord's Reſurrection: See *Tertul. de Coron. c. 3.*
Con. Nic. 1. can. 20. and *Beverige's* Notes upon it.

† Note, Theſe Sentences of the Offertory, which
 are not in *Lit. Ja.* or any other of the ancient Litur-
 gies (and are therefore included within theſe “ ”
 Marks) but are taken chiefly from the Liturgy com-
 poſed for the Uſe of the Church of *Scotland*, and
 printed at *Edinb. An. 1637.* are inſerted here as be-
 ing very proper to ſtir up the People to offer willing-
 ly with a devout Heart.

¶ Note, In *Lit. 1. Edw. VI.* the Sentences for
 the Offertory are directed to be ſung by the Clerks.

“ Brother hath ought againſt thee:
 “ Leave there thy Gift before the Al-
 “ tar, and go thy way, firſt be re-
 “ conciled to thy Brother, and then
 “ come and offer thy Gift. *Matt. v.*
 “ 23, 24.

“ ¶ Lay not up for yourſelves
 “ Treasures upon Earth, where Moth
 “ and Ruſt doth corrupt, and where
 “ Thieves do break through and ſteal:
 “ But lay up for yourſelves Treasures
 “ in Heaven, where neither Moth nor
 “ Ruſt doth corrupt, and where Thieves
 “ do not break through nor ſteal.
 “ *Matt. vi. 19, 20.*

“ He who ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall
 “ reap ſparingly: And he who ſoweth
 “ bountifully, ſhall reap bountifully.
 “ Every Man as he purpoſes in his
 “ Heart, ſo let him give, not grudg-
 “ ingly, or of neceſſity: for God loveth
 “ a chearful Giver. *2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.*

“ Jeſus ſat over againſt the Trea-
 “ ſury, and beheld how the People
 “ caſt Money into the Treasury; and
 “ many that were rich caſt in much:
 “ And there came a certain poor Wi-
 “ dow, and ſhe threw in two Mites,
 “ which make a Farthing. And he
 “ called unto him his Diſciples, and
 “ ſaith unto them, Verily I ſay unto
 “ you, that this poor Widow hath caſt
 “ more in than all they who have caſt
 “ into the Treasury. *Mark xii. 41,*
 “ 42, 43.

“ ¶ Who goeth a Warfare at any
 “ time at his own Charges? Who
 “ planteth a Vineyard, and eateth not
 “ of the Fruit thereof? Or who ſeed-

“ eth

“ eth a Flock, and eateth not of the
“ Milk of the Flock? 1 *Cor.* ix. 7.

“ If we have sown unto you spiri-
“ tual Things, is it a great matter if
“ we shall reap your carnal Things?
“ 1 *Cor.* ix. 11.

“ Do ye not know, that they who
“ minister about holy Things, live of
“ the Things of the Temple? And
“ they who wait at the Altar, are
“ Partakers with the Altar? Even so
“ hath the Lord ordained, that they
“ who preach the Gospel, should live
“ of the Gospel. 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14.

“ Let him that is taught in the
“ Word, communicate unto him that
“ teacheth in all good Things. Be not
“ deceived, God is not mocked; for
“ whatsoever a Man soweth, that shall
“ he also reap. *Gal.* vi. 6, 7.

“ ¶ Charge them that are rich in
“ this World that they be not high-
“ minded, nor trust in uncertain
“ Riches, but in the living God, who
“ giveth us richly all Things to enjoy:
“ That they do good, that they be
“ rich in good Works, ready to distri-
“ bute, willing to communicate, lay-
“ ing up in store for themselves a good
“ Foundation against the time to come,
“ that they may lay hold on eternal
“ Life. 1 *Tim.* vi. 17, 18, 19.

“ God is not unrighteous, to forget
“ your Work and Labour of Love, which
“ ye have shewed toward his Name,
“ in that ye have ministered to the
“ Saints, and do minister. *Heb.* vi. 10.

“ Whilst these Sentences are reading” the Deacon,
or (if there be no Deacon) any other fit Person appointed for that Purpose, shall receive the free-will

Offerings of the People, in a decent Basin provided for that purpose. And that no one may neglect to come to the holy Eucharist, by reason of having but little to give, the Person who collects the Offerings shall cover the Basin with a fair white linen Cloth, so that neither he himself, nor any other may see or know what any particular Person offers. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said Basin with the Oblations therein, and deliver it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Altar, “ saying, Blessed be thou, O
“ Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine,
“ O Lord, is the Greatness, and the
“ Power, and the Glory, and the Ma-
“ jesty; for all that is in the Heaven
“ and in the Earth is thine: All things
“ come of Thee; and of thine own do
“ we give unto Thee.”

Then shall the Deacon go to the Prothesis, and having mixed the Wine and Water, he shall bring the Bread and mixed Wine to the Priest, who shall reverently place them upon the Altar.

Then the Priest having first prayed secretly for a short Space, shall turn to the People, and signing himself with the Sign * of the Cross upon the Forehead, shall say,



† The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the

* They must be great Strangers to Antiquity who do not know that the Sign of the Cross was used by the primitive Christians from the apostolical Age downward, not only in the sacred Mysteries of Religion, but even in the ordinary Occurrences of Life. See *Tertul. de Coron. c. 3. ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 5. de Resur. Carn. c. 8. S. Cyprian. Ep. 73. S. Cyril. Catech. 4. §. 10. Catech. 13. §. 18. S. Basil. de Sp. Sanct. c. 27. Chrysost. Hom. 55. in Matth. Lactan. de Mort. Persec. c. 10. &c.* And no serious and judicious Christian, who founds his Belief on rational Evidence, can disregard, far less oppose the venerable Usages universally received in the first and purest Ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, and which the Catholick Church could not then have been so agreed in, had they not been undoubtedly derived from apostolical Tradition.

† In *Lit. Ya.* it is The Love of the Father, the Grace of the Son, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

People.

And with thy Spirit.

Priest.

Lift up your Hearts.

Peop. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Pr. Let us give Thanks unto the Lord.

Peop. It is meet and right so to do.

Then the Priest shall turn to the Altar, and say,

It is very meet, right, and our bounden Duty to praise Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, to give Thanks unto Thee, the Maker of all Creatures visible and invisible, the Treasure of † all" good Things; the Fountain of Life and Immortality; the God and Governor of the Universe: To whom the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens sing Praise, with all their Hosts: The Sun and Moon, and the whole Choir of Stars: The Earth and Sea, and all Things that are in them: The Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, and tremendous Powers: The many-eyed Cherubim, and the Seraphim with six Wings, who with twain cover their Faces, and with twain their Feet, and with twain they fly, crying one to another with never-ceasing Voices, and uninterrupted Shouts of Praise, and saying,

Here the People shall join with the Priest, and say,

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of * Sabbath, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory.

Hosanna in the Highest: Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord; Hosanna in the Highest.

† In *Lit. Ja.* eternal. * i. e. Hosts, or Armies.

Then the Priest shall say,

Holy art thou, O eternal King, and the Giver of all Holiness: Holy is thine only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou madest the Worlds: Holy also is thy holy Spirit, who searcheth all Things, even the Depths of Thee, O God. Holy art Thou, who rulest over all, almighty and good God, terrible, yet full of Compassion: But especially indulgent to the Workmanship of thy own Hands; for thou didst make Man, formed out of the Earth, after thy own Image, and graciously gavest him the Enjoyment of Paradise: And when he had lost his Happiness by transgressing thy Commandment, thou of thy Goodness didst not despise nor abandon him; but didst discipline him as a merciful Father, and train him up by the Pedagogy of the Law and the prophets: And last of all thou didst send thine own only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the World, that by his Coming he might renew thy Image in us: Who descended from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*, conversed with Mankind, and directed his whole Dispensation to our Salvation. And when the Hour was come, that he who had no Sin, was to suffer a voluntary and life-giving Death upon the Cross for us Sinners, in the same Night that he was betrayed, or rather offered up himself for the Life and Salvation of the World, taking * Bread in-
to his holy and immaculate Hands, looking up to Hea-

* Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his Hands.

ven and presenting it to Thee his God and Father, he gave Thanks, sanctified,

^b And here ^{and} brake it, and gave to break the Bread. it to his Disciples, saying

^c And here ^{Take, eat,} THIS IS MY BO+DY which is broken and given for you: For the Remission of Sins.

In like manner after Supper he took

^d Here he is ^{the} Cup, and having ^{*} to take the Chalice into his Hands. mixed it of Wine and Water he gave Thanks, sanctified,

and blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this,

^e And here ^{THIS} IS MY BLO+OD of the New Testament, which is shed and given for you and for many, for the Remission of Sins. Do this in Remembrance of me.

Wherefore in Commemoration of his life-giving Passion, salutary Cross, Death, Burial, and Resurrection from the Dead on the third Day, his Ascension in into Heaven, and Sitting at the right Hand of Thee his God and Father, and † looking for" his second glorious and terrible Advent, when he shall come again with Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead, and shall render to every one according to his Works, we Sinners offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice:

* The Testimonies of the Mixture of Water and Wine in the Eucharist are so many, and so early, as plainly prove it to be an apostolical Practice and Tradition, and consequently derived from Christ himself. See *Just. M. Apol.* 1. p. 125, 128, 131. *Iren.* 1. iv. c. 57. 1. v. c. 2. *Clem. Alex. Pæd.* 1. ii. c. 2. *Cyprian.* Ep. 63. *Con. Carth.* 3. can. 24. *Con. Aurel.* 4. can. 4. *Lit. Clem. Mar. Bas. &c.*

† This is added from *Lit. Mar.*

Beseeching Thee, that thou wouldst not deal with us after our Sins, nor reward us after our Iniquities; but according to thy Clemency and ineffable Love to Mankind overlooking and blotting out the Hand-writing that is against us thy Servants, wouldst grant us thy heavenly and eternal good Things; for thy People and thine Inheritance make their Supplications unto Thee: Have Mercy upon us, O Lord God, Almighty Father, have Mercy upon us according to thy great Mercy, and send down thy holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Gifts which are here set before Thee, that by his Descent upon them, he may make this ^a Bread the holy BO+DY of thy Christ, and this ^b Cup the precious BLO+OD of thy Christ; that they may be to all who partake of them, for the Sanctification of Soul and Body, for bringing forth the Fruit of good Works, for Remission of Sins, and for Life everlasting.

We offer to Thee, O Lord, for thy holy Catholick and Apostolick Church throughout the whole World; do thou now also plentifully furnish her with the rich Gifts of thy holy Spirit.

Remember, O Lord, the holy Bishops in the same, [especially thy Servant N. our Bishop] * endow them with Wisdom, and fill them with the holy Ghost" † that they may" rightly divide the Word of thy Truth.

* This is added from *Lit. Clem.*

† In *Lit. Ja.* who.

* Remember,

* Remember, O Lord, according to the Multitude of thy Mercies and Compassions, me thy unworthy and unprofitable Servant, and all the Presbyters and Deacons who compass thy holy Altar, grant to those an unblameable Presbyterate, and preserve these unspotted in their Ministry, and purchase for them good Degrees.

† Remember, O Lord, all Kings and Princes whom thou hast appointed to reign upon Earth, and especially thy Servant our King, and all in Authority; establish their Kingdoms in Peace, and incline their Hearts to be favourable to thy Church, that in their Tranquillity we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty.

Remember, O Lord, this City [or, this Diocese], and every City and Country, with all the Faithful that dwell in them; preserve them in Peace and Safety.

Remember, O Lord, our Christian Brethren that travel by Sea or by Land, or are in foreign Countries; that are in Chains or Imprisonment; that are in Captivity or Banishment ‡ or in hard Slavery.

Remember, O Lord, those that are sick or diseased, [especially—] and such as are infested with unclean Spirits; and make haste to heal and deliver them.

* This Petition which in *Lit. Ja.* comes in afterwards, is inserted in this Place, that the Prayers for the Clergy may all come together as in *Lit. Clem.*

† The Petition, which is wanting in *Lit. Ja.* is here supplied from the other Liturgies.

‡ In *Lit. Ja.* is added here, in the Mines, under Torture.

Remember, O Lord, every Christian Soul under Affliction, or Calamity, and who stand in need of thy divine Mercy and Help.

Remember also the Conversion of those that are in Error,

* [Remember, O Lord, the Catechumens, and perfect them in the Faith.]

* [Remember, O Lord, our Brethren who are in the State of Penance, accept their Repentance, and forgive both them and us whatever Offences we have committed against Thee.]

Remember, O Lord, those who † minister to us for thy holy Name's Sake.

Remember all, O Lord, for good: Have Mercy upon all, O Lord; be reconciled to us all: Settle the Flocks of thy People in Peace: Remove all Scandals: Make Wars to cease: Put a stop to the Violence of Heresies: ‡ Heal the Schisms of the Churches:” And grant us thy Peace and Love, O God, our Saviour, and the Hope of all the Ends of the Earth.

Remember, O Lord, *to grant us* temperate Weather, moderate Showers, pleasant Dews, and Plenty of the Fruits of the Earth; and *to bless* the whole Circle of the Year with thy Goodness: For the Eyes of all hope in Thee, and thou givest them Food in due Season; thou openest thy Hand and fillest every living Creature with thy gracious Bounty.

* These two Petitions are added from *Lit. Clem.* and are only to be said when there are any Catechumens, or Penitents.

† In *Lit. Ja.* is added here, Labour and.

‡ This is added from *Lit. Bas.*

Remember, O Lord, all who bring forth Fruit and do good Works in thy holy Churches, and who are mindful of the Poor: The Widows, Orphans, Strangers, and indigent Persons; and all who desire to be remembered in our Prayers.

Vouchsafe also, O Lord, to remember those who have this Day offered these Oblations at thy holy Altar, and for whom, * or for what Ends" every one has offered, or has in his Thoughts, [and those whose Names we have lately read before Thee.]

† And grant that we may all find Mercy and Favour, with all thy Saints, who from the Beginning of the World have pleased Thee in their several Generations, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and every just Spirit made perfect in the Faith of thy Christ, [particularly N. whom we this Day commemorate.]

‡ Here the Priest shall pause a while, he and the People secretly recommending those departed whom each thinks proper.

And then the Priest shall go on as follows,

Remember, O Lord, the God of Spirits and of all Flesh, those whom we have remembered, and those also whom we have not remembered from righteous *Abel* even unto this Day: Do thou give them || Rest in the Re-

* This is added from *Lit. Bas.*

† Here the Petition which is inserted above p. 118. col. 2. with this * Mark comes in, in *Lit. Ja.*

‡ Of old the Deacon read the Names contained in the Diptychs; instead of which this Rubrick is inserted.

§ Prayers for the Dead, especially at the holy Altar, is so very early a Practice of the primitive Church, that undoubtedly it must have been derived from apostolical Tradition. See *Tertul. de Caron. c. 3.*

gion of the Living, in the Bosoms of our holy Fathers *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Jacob*, whence Sorrow, Grief, and Lamentation are banished away, where the Light of thy Countenance visits, and shines continually; † And vouchsafe to bring them to thy heavenly Kingdom." And dispose the End of our Lives, O Lord, in Peace, that they may be Christian, well pleasing to Thee, and free from Sin; gathering us with thine Elect: Through thy only begotten Son, our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for he alone appeared without Sin upon the Earth; through whom, and with whom, Thou art blessed and glorified, together with thy Holy Spirit, now and ever, World without end.

And all the People shall say with a loud Voice.

Amen.

Then shall the Priest turn to the People, and say, Peace be with you all.

de Monog. c. 10. de Exhort. Cass. c. 11. Cypr. Ep. 1, 12, 39. Orig. 1. 9. in Rom. xii. Arnob. 1. 4. p. 152. Cyril, Myst. Catech. 5. §. 6. &c. and all the ancient Liturgies. It is founded on that plain Scripture-Doctrine of an intermediate State betwixt Death and the Resurrection; and that the Righteous are not to receive their Crown of Reward (*2 Tim. iv. 8.*) nor to enter into the Joy of their Lord in the Kingdom of Heaven, till the Resurrection and Judgment (*Matth. xxv. 19, 20-31-34.*) And that though they are to be judged according to their Works, yet there is Mercy to be found of the Lord in that Day, (*2 Tim. i. 18.*) else if God should enter into strict Judgment with his Servants, no Man could be justified in his Sight. This Prayer here is not to be so understood as if none of those here commemorated were as yet in Rest in the Region of the Living; but as an Acknowledgment that their present Happiness is the free Gift of God, not due to their Nature or their Merit; to congratulate the same; and to wish the Increase of it; and the final Consummation of their Bliss at the last Day.

† These Words, which it is probable have been casually omitted in *Lit. Ja.* are here added from *Lit. Mar.*

¶ *insw.*

Anfw. And with thy Spirit.

Then shall the Deacon say,

Let us again and again pray to the Lord.

Let us pray for the Gifts which are offered to the Lord God; that the Lord our God, receiving them upon his heavenly Altar for a sweet-smelling Savour, would send down upon us the divine Grace, and the Gift of his holy Spirit.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy *.

Deac. Let us pray for the Tranquillity of the whole World: And for the Peace of the holy Churches of God.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

† Deac. Let us pray for the whole Episcopate, for all the Presbyters and Deacons in Christ, and for the whole Body of the Church; that the Lord would keep and preserve them all.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

† Deac. Let us pray for Kings and all in Authority; that our Affairs may be in Peace.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

Deac. Let us pray for those who have this Day offered these Gifts, and for whom, † or for what Ends" every one has offered; or has in his Thoughts, and for all the People that stand about the Altar; for the Remission of our Sins, and the Propitiation of our Souls.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

Deac. Let us pray for every Soul that is in Affliction or Calamity, and

* Note, The Deacon is to pause a little after every Response, to allow the People time for short Ejaculations,

† These two Petitions are added from *Lit. Clem.*

‡ This is added from *Lit. Bas.* as above, p. 119. §. 2.

stands in need of the Mercy and Help of God: For the Conversion of those that are in Error: For Health to the Sick: For Deliverance to the Captives: And for * Rest to our Fathers and Brethren who have gone before us.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

Deac. Let us all earnestly say, Lord have Mercy.

Anfw. Lord have Mercy.

Then shall the Priest say,

Vouchsafe us, O Lord, thou Lover of Men, with Freedom, without Condemnation, and with a pure Conscience, to call upon Thee, the holy God who art in the Heavens, as our Father, and say,

Here the People shall join with the Priest.

Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into Temptation: But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Then shall the Priest turn to the People, and say, Peace be with you all.

Anfw. And with thy Spirit.

Deacon.

Let us bow down our Heads unto the Lord.

Anfw. To Thee, O Lord.

Then the Priest turning to the Altar, shall say,

We thy Servants, O Lord, bow down our Necks to Thee, before thy

* *Rev.* vi. 9, 10, 11. *Isa.* xxvi. 20. *Clem. Rom.* Ep. 1. c. 50. 4 *Esdr.* iv. 35, 36. *Heb.* iv. *Barnab.* Ep. c. 15. *Iren.* l. v. c. 30. p. 450. col. 2. and c. 33. p. 454. col. 1. 2 *Thess.* 1. 7.

holy

holy Altar, in Expectation of thy rich Mercies: Send down upon us, O Lord, thine abundant Grace and Benediction; and sanctify our Souls and Bodies, that we may be made worthy to be Communicants and Partakers of thy holy Mysteries, for the Remission of our Sins, and for Life everlasting: For to Thee, our God, belongs Adoration and Glory, and to thy only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

Then the Priest turning to the People, shall say,

Grace be with you all.

Answ. And with thy Spirit.

Deacon.

Let us attend in the Fear of God,

Priest.

• Holy Things for holy Persons.

People.

There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father, to whom be Glory for ever.

Then shall the Priest receive the Eucharist in both Kinds himself: And then proceed to deliver the same in like manner to other Priests and Deacons, if any be present, in order, into their Hands.

And when he receiveth, or delivereth the Sacrament of the Body, he shall say,

* The Body of Christ,

And the Person receiving shall say,

Amen.

And when he receiveth, or delivereth the Cup, he shall say,

* The Blood of Christ.

And the Person receiving shall say,

Amen.

After all the Clergy have communicated, the officiating Priest, or according to his Direction, any, or all of the Priests, or Deacons there present, shall administer the Eucharist in both Kinds to the People, in order, into their Hands, according to the Form above prescribed.

* See *Cyrl. Myst. Catech.* v. §. 18, 19. comp. with *Lit. Clem.*

Whilst the Faithful are communicating, *Psalms xxxiv.* and *cxlv.* may be sung.

When all have communicated, what remaineth of the consecrated Elements shall be reverently placed upon the Altar, and covered with a fair linen Cloth.

Then the Deacon, being turned to the People, shall say,

Let us give Thanks to God that he hath vouchsafed to make us Partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, for Remission of Sins, and for Life everlasting. And let us pray to him that he would keep us unblameable, as he is good and a Lover of Men.

Then the Priest, standing before the Altar, shall say,

O God, who of thy great and inexpressible Love to Man, dost condescend to the Weakness of thy Servants; We give Thanks to Thee, that thou hast vouchsafed to make us Partakers of this heavenly Table: Let not the receiving of thy unspotted Mysteries be to the Condemnation of us Sinners; but keep us, good God, in the Sanctification of thy holy Spirit; that being made holy, we may obtain a Part and Inheritance with all thy Saints, who have pleased Thee from the Beginning of the World; through the Mercies of thy only begotten Son, our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom, and thy holy Spirit, Thou art blessed, now and for ever, World without end. Amen.

Then the Deacon, being turned to the People, shall say,

Let us bow down our Heads to the Lord.

Then the Priest shall say the following Benediction, the People bowing their Heads.

O God, great and wonderful, look upon thy Servants, who bow down

R their

their Necks unto Thee: Stretch forth thy powerful Hand, full of Blessings, and bless thy People. Preserve thine Inheritance, that we may continually glorify Thee, for ever, the only living and true God: For to Thee, O Father, belongs Glory, Honour, Adoration, and Thanksgiving; and to thy Son; and holy Spirit, now and ever.

And all the People shall answer,
Amen.

Then, after a Pause, the Deacon shall say to the People,

Depart in Peace.

The holy Eucharist shall be celebrated on every Sunday, and on every other Festival at least for which a proper Epistle and Gospel are appointed: And every Priest shall then either administer or receive the same, except he be hindered by some urgent and reasonable Cause; or cannot get two Persons to communicate with him: For there shall be no Celebration of the Eucharist, except two Persons at least communicate with the Priest.

And to the end that all the Faithful may constantly frequent it, every Priest shall diligently inform the People of the Nature and Importance of this holy Mystery; and inculcate upon them the great Advantage and Necessity of frequent Communion. He shall

also exhort them not to neglect coming often to God's Altar, because they have but little to give at the Offertory; for he shall instruct them, that provided they frequent the Christian Sacrifice, their Offering will be accepted by God, though it be never so little, if it be given according to their Abilities, with a cheerful and devout Heart.

The Priest shall always consecrate more than is necessary for the Communicants; and he shall carefully reserve so much of the consecrated Elements as shall serve for the Use of the Sick, or other Persons who for any urgent Cause cannot come to the publick Service.

And if, after that, any of the consecrated Elements remain, the officiating Priest, with other Priests and Deacons, if any be present, and with such other of the Communicants as he shall call unto him, shall reverently receive them. Always observing that some of the consecrated Elements be constantly reserved in the Vestry, or some other convenient Place in the Church, under a safe Lock, in case of any sudden Emergency, wherein they may be wanted. But he shall take Care that they never be too long kept, but renewed from Time to Time.

The Money given at the Offertory, being the free-will Offerings of the People to God, and solemnly devoted to him; the Priest shall take so much out of it as will defray the Charge of the Bread and Wine: And the remainder he shall keep, or part of it, or dispose of it, or part of it, to pious or charitable Uses, according to the Direction of the Bishop.

F I N I S.



The Scottish Liturgy, 1764

The text of the Scottish Liturgy, 1764 has been copied from Bishop John Dowden's *The Scottish Communion Office of 1764* (posthumous ed.1922).

¶ *The Exhortation.*¹

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians ; how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament, (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood ; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us ; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us) ; so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily ; for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour ; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body ; we kindle God's wrath

¹ From this to the end of the Office is a reprint of the 8vo edition, 'The Communion-Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament. Edinburgh : Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head. MDCCLXIV.'

against us ; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord ; repent you truly for your sins past ; have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour ; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men : so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And, above all things, ye must give humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us, he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Presbyter, or Deacon, shall say,*

Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear.

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall begin the offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion, according to the length or shortness of the time that the people are offering.*

IN process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering : but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. *Gen. iv. 3. 4.*

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an

offering : of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering. *Exod.* xxv. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty. Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. *Deut.* xvi. 16. 17.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name : bring an offering, and come into his courts. *Psal.* xcvi. 8.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal : but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. *Matth.* vi. 19. 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven : but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Matth.* vii. 21.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into it : and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance : but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living. *Mark* xii. 41. 42. 43. 44.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges ? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof ? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock ? *1 Cor.* ix. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things ? *1 Cor.* ix. 11.

Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple ? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar ? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. *1 Cor.* ix. 13. 14.

He who soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly : and he who soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give ;

not grudgingly, or of necessity : for God loveth a chearful giver. *2 Cor.* ix. 6. 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived ; God is not mocked : for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. *Gal.* vi. 6. 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy : That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate ; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. *1 Tim.* vi. 17. 18. 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. *Heb.* vi. 10.

To do good, and to communicate, forget not ; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. *Heb.* xiii. 16.

¶ *While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon, or (if no such be present) some other fit person, shall receive the devotions of the people there present, in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason, with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter ; who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy table, saying,*

BLESSED be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty : for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine : thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all : both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. *Amen.*

¶ *And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lord's table ; and shall say,*

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Presbyter. Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Presbyter. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, * [holy Father], Almighty, everlasting God. * These words (holy Father) must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.

¶ *Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time, if there be any especially appointed; or else immediately shall follow,*

Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Proper Prefaces.*

¶ *Upon Christmas-day, and seven days after.*

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born * [as on this day] for us, who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with angels, &c. * During the seven days after Christmas, say, as at this time.

¶ *Upon Easter-day, and seven days after.*

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: For he is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Ascension-day, and seven days after.*

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; who, after his most glorious resurrection, manifestly appeared to all his apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down * [as on this day] from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, * During the six days after Whitsunday, say, as at this time.

giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkness and error, into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *Upon the feast of Trinity only.*

WHO art one God, one Lord; not one only person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *After which prefaces shall follow immediately this doxology.*

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen.

¶ *Then the Presbyter standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth.*

ALL glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetual memorial of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again.

(a) *Here the Presbyter is to take the paten in his hands:*

(b) *And here to break the Bread:*

(c) *And here to lay his hands upon all the Bread.*

(d) *Here he is to take the Cup into his hand:*

For, in the night that he was betrayed, (a) he took bread; and when he had given thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) **THIS IS MY BODY**, which is given for you: **DO** this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (d) he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying,

Drink ye all of this, for (e) THIS IS MY BLOOD, of the new testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins: DO this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

(e) And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.

WHEREFORE, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty, with these thy holy gifts, WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son. And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole church) may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we humbly offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee, beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences,

The Oblation.

The Invocation.

through Jesus our Lord : by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church.*¹

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men ; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty ; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord : and grant that all they that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed : and grant unto his whole council and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments : and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their

¹ The italics here are an error, and I have corrected it in the reprints which have appeared under my editorship.

labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations : most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience. to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter say,*

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

OUR Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall say to them that come to receive the holy communion, this invitation.*

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways ; Draw near, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort ; and make your humble confession to Almighty God.

¶ *Then shall this general confession be made, by the people, along with the Presbyter ; he first kneeling down.*

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men ; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty ; provoking most justly

thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter, or the Bishop (being present), stand up, and, turning himself to the people, pronounce the absolution, as followeth.*

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who, of his great mercy, hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them who with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter also say,*

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. *Matth. xi. 28.*

God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. *John iii. 16.*

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. *1 Tim. i. 15.*

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins. *1 John ii. 1. 2.*

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter, turning him to the altar, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall communicate, this collect of humble access to the holy communion, as followeth.*

WE do not presume to come to this thy holy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much

as to gather up the crumbs under thy table : But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his most sacred body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (if there be any present), and after to the people, in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to others, he shall say,*

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.*

¶ *And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.*

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.*

¶ *If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Presbyter is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed, beginning at the words, All glory be to thee, &c. and ending with the words, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.*

¶ *When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say,*

Having now received the precious body and blood of Christ, let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries ; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions ; and that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

¶ *Then the Presbyter shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have

duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. We now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast commanded us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall be said or sung, Gloria in excelsis, as followeth.*

GLORY be to God in the highest, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Presbyter, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart, with this blessing.*

THE peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

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