

not because they are exciting, but because they bear witness to a Christianity that is content with the rum lot that the Church, the communion of saints, is and must be. This rather low-key approach does, I fear, make for a rather dull book. One's pulse only quickens enough to raise a scholarly eyebrow—over, for instance, Tugwell's enthusiasm for early dates: only with St Ignatius (over two-thirds way through the book) do we advance beyond AD 70 (though Tugwell's footnotes are more cautious: in small print he seems to accept the conventional 90's date for Clement, which ought to pull Hermas into the 90's too).

Fr Tugwell devotes most space to Hermas (two chapters). It is only recently that Hermas has attracted much attention, but in the last few years both Robin Lane Fox and Peter Brown have been drawn to him. Tugwell seems unaware of this, which is a pity, as a rather more colourful figure emerges from their pages than from his. On Ignatius, Tugwell succumbs to the English weakness for thinking that his seemingly extravagant language about his own martyrdom must find its explanation in Ignatius' personal psychology and situation (which is all conjecture). It seems to me that Jewish apocalyptic and its understanding of martyrdom make much more sense of Ignatius, and remove the need for guesswork: the links between his letters and 4 Maccabees seem almost demonstrable. Martyrdom attracts Tugwell's attention very little: neither in the case of Ignatius nor—very surprisingly—in that of St Polycarp. He has nothing to say about the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* except to note a 'small point of interest': the use of the term 'catholic church'. But there are, I would have thought, some rather large points of interest, not least the extraordinary eucharistic echoes of Polycarp's prayer as he waits for the pyre to be kindled. Ignatius also casts his coming martyrdom in eucharistic terms. None of this seems to interest Tugwell. Nor has he anything much to say about the germs of Christian dogma found in their writings.

Despite all this, Fr Tugwell's book is one of the few books on the Apostolic Fathers (the only one in English I can think of) that treats them as Christians worth trying to understand, rather than the literary equivalent of archaeological remains. But it need not have been so dull.

ANDREW LOUTH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLICAN LITURGY 1662—1980 by R.C.D. Jasper. *SPCK*. 1989. Pp 384. £19.95.

The title of this book is misleading in more ways than one. Firstly, it implies that there is but one Anglican liturgy, whose development has been a steady progress from a 'given' in 1662 through to the present day. In fact, Prayer Book revision in the Church of England, reacting against the theological nadir of 1552 with the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, began at the first possible moment, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I in 1559, and in the following hundred years various subtle but significant alterations marked a definite shift away from the Cranmerian ethos. It is at this point that Dr Jasper takes up the story, and thus misses the opportunity to make clear that 1662 was in fact a point of

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arrest in the swing of the pendulum already begun—an arrest which, in the interest of secular politics and the maintenance of the Establishment, held the natural development of liturgy in the Church of England in check for three hundred years. When, after various tentative moves in the early part of this century, the check was finally removed, the consequent explosion of pent-up energy led to the rapid and often ill-digested proliferation of forms of public worship which culminated in the appearance of the *Alternative Service Book* of 1980.

The second part of this book is a detailed and meticulous autobiographical account of this revision process by one who was intimately concerned with it, first as a member, and latterly as chairman, of the Church of England Liturgical Commission—an account which is generally acknowledged by those closer to the events recorded than the present reviewer to be a masterpiece of clarity and accuracy. But herein is the second point on which the title is misleading: over a third of the book is taken up solely with the events of a mere quarter-century in two provinces only of the Anglican churches world-wide—a typical example, one might think, of English ecclesiastical imperialism. This would perhaps not matter so much if ASB had emerged as the crown of Anglican liturgical revision, directly rooted in its predecessor of 1662 as the title implies. But the truth is far otherwise. In the first part of his book Dr Jasper gives considerable and well-merited attention to earlier moves towards liturgical revision, both within the Church of England and, more fruitfully, among those also in the Anglican tradition, such as the Scottish and English Non-Jurors, who, not bound by the Act of Uniformity which imposed the 1662 Book, produced alternative liturgies which owed their inspiration to a much wider range of sources than was available to Cranmer and his associates a century earlier. The liturgical/patristic studies of the Caroline Divines were paralleled by those of their continental contemporaries such as Mabillon and Martène: in both cases any immediate effect on liturgical development was stifled for political rather than religious reasons, but, as Dr Jasper makes clear, the liturgical legacy of the Caroline Divines was inherited not by the 1662 English tradition, but by the Scottish-American tradition of their Prayer Books of 1764 and 1789 respectively, and it is this tradition rather than that of 1662 which has influenced virtually all modern Anglican rites, including the English *Alternative Service Book* of 1980.

Dr Jasper's account of the workings of the Church of England Liturgical Commission is an illuminating description of how liturgy written by a committee takes shape, though he deals less fully with its handling by that 300-odd strong revision committee, the General Synod of the Church of England, and some of the extraordinary anomalies, insertions and omissions which resulted. It is interesting to compare his account of this process with a book such as Enrico Mazza's *Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, which has no such blow-by-blow record on which to draw, and, valuable though it is for its analyses, has to fall back on surmise and speculation for the reasons and the processes by which these prayers emerged as they did. All is made plain in Dr Jasper's book, and in his description of the concessions and omissions made in the interest of inglorious comprehensiveness, he reveals a lowest-common-

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denominator approach to liturgical revision which compares unfavourably with that of churches with a less dispersed doctrinal basis. In the Episcopal Church of the USA, for instance, as indicated in Marion Hatchett's *Commentary on the American Prayer Book* (New York 1980), a more coherent theological base, a more thorough scholarly preparation and a culture in which formal English is still valued resulted in a work of distinctively Anglican liturgy which, with certain specific exceptions, is far more satisfactory both in its theology and its prose than the ASB. The same could also be said of the Anglican South African Prayer Book which appeared in 1989, and indeed of other recent Anglican revisions.

The Church of England is now beginning to gear up for a revision of the Alternative Service Book itself: Dr Jasper's book will be invaluable not only to all those involved in this task, but also to anyone to whom the processes of liturgical reform and development are of importance and concern.

JILL PINNOCK

NATURAL RELIGION AND THE NATURE OF RELIGION, THE LEGACY OF DEISM, by Peter Byrne *Routledge, 1989, pp. 271.*

'Deism', that peculiarly British invention that the French borrowed and developed, is a colonizer's version of religion. It begins in an effort to read the cultures of the American Indian and the African Negro, to set them in comparison with the form of Judaeo-Christian tradition approved by decent middle-class folk. Prospero, an Italian nobleman with a liking for the superstitious arts and their attendant sprites, had had no time for Setebos; and servants, Stephano the butler and his like, had enslaved Caliban. But Toland and Tindal and the rest of the bourgeois deists listened to the stories of red and black Gods and learnt something of their own religion. They concluded that the differences between all existing religions and the range of stories of divinities were the results of peccative priestcraft. The one God had originally declared one 'natural' way of acknowledging and forwarding His divine order. Dr Byrne, in his most useful gloss on 'deism', is concerned not much with story-tellings, but rather with 'the emergence of a standpoint which offers on the one hand, a negative critique of claims for the uniqueness and divine character of any revealed religion (including Christianity), and, on the other, a positive affirmation that a religion founded on reason and nature is sufficient for salvation'.

Dr Byrne provides a helpful account of both historical criticism of actual religions and epistemological criticism of ideal religion. Employing these two instruments, Toland, who was said, by those who had no love for him or Rome, to be the illegitimate son of an Irish priest, got rid of 'mystery'. A reasonable man would find out the clarity of truth. Tindal found that truth by going behind to establish that sort of 'Christianity' which, being proffered to Adam, was 'as old as the Creation'. The more reductionist Morgan, opposing true, natural, religion to every revelation, was able to insist that each 'religion of the hierarchy' must be false. He was a rough enough debater for my not objecting to his death-date being the single mis-stated fact I noted in Dr Byrne's careful history of these people.

The argument about the religion of first times, about Eden, and then