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Editorial

Reports on the forms of service to be used in the ex-Anglican Ordinariates have appeared in *Faith & Worship* on a couple of occasions during the last three years (See nos.72 and 75). Our 'reporter', Dr C.D. Heath, reviews the recently-published *Missal* later in this issue. It is, as he says, a 'significant liturgical event', that the Roman Catholic Church has authorised 'a recognisably Anglican Eucharistic rite in the language of the Book of Common Prayer'—and that Roman Catholics who are not members of the Ordinariate will be free to attend celebrations of the Mass using this rite.

During the period in which Ordinariate services drawing on 'the Anglican liturgical and spiritual patrimony' have been taking shape other English-speaking Roman Catholics have (since 2011) been using a new translation of the Mass. This development was also noted in *Faith & Worship* (no.64), where it was observed that, though the language was still 'modern', the new wording had moved closer to that of the Book of Common Prayer in several of the common texts (e.g. in the *Gloria*, the *Sanctus* and the Creeds), and away from the ecumenically-agreed English versions of the twentieth century. As Andrew Davison observed in his address to the Prayer Book Society Conference (printed below) the new translation 'would have been considerably stronger if the translators had been willing to follow Anglican models, since the Prayer Book tradition is surely the gold standard for how to translate'.

Perhaps some of them would have liked to—it certainly would have been consistent with the guidance they were following in *Lituturgiam Authenticam*, which set forth 'the principles of translation to be followed in future translations'.[1] There it was explicitly stated that there can be

> [a] gradual development, in each vernacular, of a sacred style that will come to be recognised as proper to liturgical language. Thus it may happen that a certain manner of speech which has come to be considered somewhat obsolete in daily usage may continue to be maintained in the liturgical context.

In English this 'sacred style' already existed—if it had been used when the first English translation of the New Order of the Mass was made in

1 For details see *Faith & Worship* 64, pp.3-4.

1969-70 a new translation would not have been needed.

That traditional liturgical language was not used was the result of the confluence of two movements which were in principle quite distinct—on the one hand the liturgical movement and its desire to recover the authentic 'shape' of the Eucharist, and on the other the movement from traditional to 'modern' language.

The first of these was much the older—on the liturgiological side it was an attempt to discover, and make common, the 'primitive' form of the Eucharist. The ensuing convergence between various Western rites was certainly an ecumenical achievement—albeit one that no longer seems to enjoy scholarly support. In short, it was a twentieth-century invention.[2] But it did not require, or at first envisage, modernisation of language—the many translations of ancient liturgies in Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy*, for example, are all in Cranmerian English.[3] The point is nicely captured by the description of one Roman Catholic liturgical scholar who 'was plainly excited . . . at the prospect of the reform of the liturgy, which he said would soon be so changed as to be almost entirely acceptable to us all. I think he was envisaging a vernacular version in the style of Cranmer'.[4]

The desire to modernise liturgical *language*, on the other hand, was of much more recent origin: a child of the sixties.[5] But it happened that the publication of the *Novus Ordo Missae*, and the issuing of permissions to translate it into the vernacular, coincided with work by the Church of England's Liturgical Commission on the first modern language services—and here too there was an ecumenical dimension through the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) and the Joint Liturgical Group. The new services which then swept the board amongst English-speaking Anglicans and Roman Catholics were therefore convergent in both shape and language. Ordinary worshippers were largely unaware of these background developments and experienced a 'double whammy'.

In the Church of England the result has been that parishes may now choose between two different 'shapes' of the Eucharist and two different liturgical styles—each shape being available in both modern

2 Hippolytus' 'Apostolic Tradition', on which Gregory Dix laid such stress, is no longer thought to be a 'pure Western rite of the third century'. The whole story 'warns against investing too heavily in scholarly findings and fads' (Bryan D.Spinks, 'Gregory Dix and Reformation Liturgy' in *Reformed and Catholic: Essays in Honour of Peter Toon*, Ed.Roberta Bayer (Eugene, Oregon 2012),p.92. See also the discussion in *Faith and Worship* 57, pp.2-5.

3 As, of course, were translations for the laity of the old Tridentine Mass.

4 Donald Gray, *Ronald Jasper: His Life, His Work and the ASB* (1997), p.83.

5 See Peter Toon and Louis Tarsatino, *Neither Archaic Nor Obsolete* (2003).

and traditional language.[6] The significance of the Ordinariate rite is that Roman Catholics, on however small a scale, now have a similar choice. When we consider that the Orthodox Divine Liturgy seems most often, when celebrated in English, to use the traditional register[7] it seems fair to say that traditional liturgical language is maintaining a place in worship and has certainly not been eliminated as some perhaps hoped it would be. The 'liturgical revolution' seems to have run out of steam—if it continues it is in forms which take it outside fixed liturgy altogether. Is it time for a counter-revolution?

* * * * *

Since the appearance of the last issue the death has been announced of my predecessor A.C.Capey, who edited *Faith & Worship* for sixteen years between 1986 and 2002. His highly distinctive editorials—characterised by variety of attack, irony, mordant wit and a gift for deadly quotation—were often, quite rightly, highly topical, but one is reprinted in this issue in tribute. It concerns Ronald Jasper, who played so notable a part in the history briefly sketched above.

John Scrivener

6 The Church of England gathers much information about what goes on in parishes but choice of service is not one of the things enquired about. Church websites are not always forthcoming about the forms of service in use.

7 The picture is complex and one would welcome more information, but versions of the great Orthodox rites available on the internet seem invariably to use traditional language. Those English-speaking congregations using a 'Western Rite' apparently adapt either the Sarum Use (using thee and thou) or the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.

Three Addresses from the Annual Conference

Why It Matters How We Say It: Form and Content in the Language and Practice of Worship

ANDREW DAVISON

The way we say things—their form—is significant and content-bearing. Consequently, how it is that we conduct our life of communal prayer is not some secondary question, a mere overlay; it is itself profoundly theological, and an expression of what we believe. Writing for this journal, my subject in this essay is primarily the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Let me add, however, from the onset, that larger questions are at play here, and particularly the question as to whether our Church considers itself to be a liturgical church at all. The larger discussion to be had about 'how we pray', the larger question of *form* today, is whether many of our churches pray liturgically at all. The Prayer Book Society deserves praise for defending and promoting the Prayer Book but I urge its members not to suppose that the people most in need of its persuasion are those who use *Common Worship* instead. The greater task is to defend the very idea of liturgy itself, the idea of having a set and authorised liturgy, of using 'forms of service'[1] (in anything like the way that the phrase has previously been meant), and ones that are 'reverent and seemly'.[2]

Form and Content

In 2010, I wrote a book with Alison Milbank. Called *For the Parish: A Critique of Fresh Expressions*, it was a response to the report that was setting the running in the Church of England at the time: *Mission-shaped Church*. That document was foundational in proposing that the Church of England (alongside other Churches) should invest heavily in 'Fresh Expressions

1 Declaration of Assent, Canons of the Church of England, C 15.1.
2 Canons, B 5.3.

of Church'. These are local outreach initiatives of such flexibility that their parameters have be set out as basically as this:

> an UP dimension in connectedness to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit—a Holy church; an IN dimension in fellowship and community—a Christian community that is at one; an OUT dimension in mission, broadly defined—an Apostolic church; an OF dimension—being part of the whole body of Christ, round the world and in history—a Catholic church.[3]

I was responsible for the first half of *For the Parish*, where I drew attention to various problems in the report and what it proposed, problems that lay on the border between theology and philosophy. My fundamental conviction was that the authors of the report, and its defense of the 'Fresh Expressions' proposal as it stood, were working on the basis of an underlying philosophical mistake in supposing that 'the forms of the Church are one thing and its inner reality is another'.[4] That sadly game-changing report crystallised the sense—quite widespread in Evangelical circles—that form and content are only peripherally connected at most, and are therefore easily disentangled. The report quotes a phrase from the Lausanne Haslev Consulation with approval: that there are many (alas), 'who still fuse the meaning and forms of the Gospel'.[5] The framers of that Evangelical Lausanne report, and the writers of *Mission-shaped Church* after them, lament that anyone could be so foolish as to fuse form and meaning. Alison and I are among the number of those who do. We are in good company.

The report is based on the assumption that the Church can take an endless number forms: the same Church, but expressed in innumerable different ways. The imperative is to make the Church accessible to the surrounding culture, and in saying so, little attention is given to what might be lost as well as gained. The forms that a church might take, including the way it prays and worships, are like so much outward clothing (a common metaphor in this report). The 'outward forms' of a church are seen as one thing, and its inner message or identity, as another. One floats free from the other, so the forms may as well be chosen pragmatically.

3 https://www.freshexpressions.org.uk/guide/about/proper, accessed 22.12.15.

4 *For the Parish* (2010), p.1

5 *For the Parish*, p. 21, quoting *Report of the Lausanne Haslev Consultation: Contextualization Revisited* (1997, https://www.lausanne.org/content/gospel-contextualisation-revisited, accessed 28.12.2015).

I will leave it to you, if you wish to follow our arguments about the relation of form and content in the life and worship of the Church, to consult the book. The reader will also find various worked examples. In the first half of the book, one of my two principle practical examples of the historic entanglement of form and content in the life of the Church, and why it matters, concerned the diversity of our congregations.[6] While a parish church may be less than fully representative of the demographic of its locality, while wishing to be so, Fresh Expressions are typically homogeneous by design. The other main example relates to working with the givenness of the liturgy, as opposed to constructing liturgy from scratch.[7] This will be one of the main topics of my discussion below. A third example, which Alison discussed as much as I did, is the way in which the faith re-orientates our sense of time, not least with the significance of Sunday as the day of the Resurrection.[8]

That is to point to problems with the *Mission-shaped Church* report and the forms of church life it envisages and supports. I do so because those arguments stand behind why it is that I am writing here about the relation of form and content in the liturgy. I should say, however, that I am all for mission and, further still, that I am happy with almost anything that advocates of Fresh Expressions might propose as mission initiatives. The point is simply that most of them are just that—mission initiatives—rather than local churches. The local church ('the visible Church of Christ'), in the words of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, is 'a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.'[9] The criticism that Alison and I put forward is not that Fresh Expressions should not happen—far from it—but rather that in many cases, and probably the considerable majority, they should not be considered to be local churches, churches suitable for mature Christians, but rather as mission initiatives, ideally coming out of an existing and enduring local church, or group of local churches.

Liturgical Register

With that as background, the first point I want to make about 'why it matters how we say it'—how we worship—concerns the idea of *register*.

6 Chapter 4.
7 Chapter 5.
8 Chapter 8 in particular.
9 Article 19.

It matters how we say things because alongside *what* we say, the register in which we speak conveys and signifies, symbolizes and proclaims.

I expect that this point will come naturally to members of the Prayer Book Society, so I will not labour it. One angle would be to point out how liturgy can bear witness to mystery and the numinous. Alternatively, we might simply say that in approaching the Almighty our words are worthy of the utmost attention: attention to every word, and how every word works with every other. Register, style and quality of prose matter. We should want to pay the sort of attention to the words we use in worship that, for instance, a journalist pays to the words of an article, or an advertising executive pays to the construction of the words that are aimed—very skillfully—at selling something. Indeed, do we not want to pay *more* attention to the words we address to God than someone pays to words that urge us to buy an ice cream?

If concerns about register deal with the *dignity* of our words as we address them to God, the other point I want to make here is about *depth*. This applies not so much to thinking about the liturgy as words that we address to God, but rather to viewing the liturgy as also consisting of words addressed to us, either directly (as with certain exhortations, such as the one calling upon us to confess our sins), or indirectly, in that the whole of what we say in worship, including the words we address to God, are deliberately there to be 'overheard' by us. The sense should be that what we hear in this way transforms us—as intercessors, penitents, worshipperss—even though that is not the only way we want to say that prayer, for instance, is efficacious.

This perspective on why it matters 'how we say what we say' can be illustrated by a comparison between two broad approaches to the church service. For one, which is increasingly in vogue today, the highest stylistic aspiration is to the virtue of 'transparency'. This is the 'what you see is what you get' approach to the time spent together in church. It may well treat every service as basically evangelistic, where one aims to say simply and clearly the one important thing that you think the gospel boils down to (since, by and large, for those who hold this view of worship, the gospel does indeed boil down easily to a single message). It likely also puts a premium on presenting the faith as a series of propositions to be assented to.

There are virtues in transparency, up to a point, but I want to contrast that vision of transparency, as the ideal 'form' that worship takes, with

another. Rather than supposing that one can present the whole of the faith in one go, this supposes instead that the faith is broad and expansive, something from which one learns, and by which one is enfolded, over the long run. Understanding and appreciation, commitment and transformation develop over time. Moreover, while commitment—the assent of the will to what one is coming to understand—is important in that list, this approach probably does not see the Christian life as primarily about assent to propositions, with which you can be presented and challenged to accept, but rather as a long-term project for the reconfiguration of the whole of life. Finally, again by way of contrast with the first approach, rather than seeing every service as primarily evangelistic, this understanding of the life of the Church may make a distinction between the milk of the gospel and strong meat for the mature—although that may be the least important aspect of what I am talking about here, since this large canvass, long term approach to worship is not without its converting power, in the evangelistic sense.

Why, then, does register matter? Because of dignity and of depth: because of dignity in addressing God, and because of the question as to whether we see the business of worshipping together as something basically transparent, and propositional (and—from my perspective—rather shallow), or as something with such depth that it can only be appreciated as something that unfolds over time. On that second view, we might also note, the experience of worshipping God will slowly transform us and our practices into a different way of living *bodily*: this is a way of worshipping that teaches us to kneel, to stand, to bow, to trace the sign of the cross and so on (depending on how expressively liturgical your church might be).

I might add, in concluding this section, that seeking for paradigmatic transparency is particularly unhelpful when it comes to liturgical responses to tragedy and grief. Reflecting on the many funerals that I have taken, and the happily rather fewer that I have attended in the congregation, I am convinced that a sense of depth, and of layeredness of meaning, is useful and appropriate, while a transparent, what-you-see-is-what-you-get directness, which makes all sorts of theological claims starkly—for all they may well be true—is less helpful. As a theologian, certainly, the theological message that we proclaim at funerals matters to me, but I also recognise that on such occasions the form of the liturgy is as meaningful as the statements that it makes directly and in words. A

funeral or other response to grief or tragedy is a liturgical *event*, and one for which—I may add—many rightly reach for the Prayer Book.

Roman Catholic Parallels: Latin and the New English Translation of the Mass

Before moving on from this question of register, and how that communicates—*how* as well as *what*—I will make two more brief points. The first is to note, perhaps rather in passing, that a similar set of questions is currently playing out among our Roman Catholic brothers and sisters when it comes to the relation of liturgical form and content, both in terms of their new English translation of the Mass, published in 2010, and in terms of a reviving interest in the use of Latin.

The relevance of the Latin case is clear, even though members of the Prayer Book Society might want to stand upon the principle of liturgy in the vernacular. The fact is that people, and especially young people, are turning back to the Mass in Latin, and they are doing so because of what that language means in terms of the relation of form and content. This form for the words expresses the continuity of the rite with the earliest days of the Church, and it points to the geographical universality of the church, since the Latin text is the definitive text in the Roman Catholic Church, which might, on that basis, be celebrated anywhere.

Beyond that sense of an extension into the past and around the world, there is also something about the use of Latin that delivers the Mass from the travail of banality to which it has sometimes been subjected in recent decades. Delivered in its original tongue, it sounds again like something that might matter. Similarly, participation takes fresh effort, and one is quite obviously not being presented with something that could be understood perfectly in one go. The liturgy is not 'so immediately or readily "consumable"' in this form, as Elizabeth Powell has put it, commenting on the artist, poet and theologian David Jones: a 'delay in processing the words directs attention to the patterns of the liturgy and to its dramatic unfolding; it must be lived into.'[10]

We find a further parallel to our concerns in the new English translation of the Roman Eucharistic Rite and the decision to let the particular content of various prayers take priority over an overweening concern for accessibility. In the translation published in 1973, the variegated glory of the (often Augustinian) theology of the ancient collects was

10 PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge. Submitted 2015.

frequently sandpapered down, to give something that took no effort to comprehend but which, conversely, said rather little. To propose that these 'translations' of the collects often resembled the following—'God you are good, help us to be good to one another. Amen.'—would not always be so much of a parody. The new 2010 translation tends instead to preserve the extent of the theological detail, even though that might take a little effort to follow. The same can be said of decisions over vocabulary. The content of the Latin has been favoured, even if a concept there is now foreign.[11] I heard from someone who was involved with the work of translation about a debate over a word meaning 'bountiful': *largitas*. One camp held that 'bounty' was such an unknown word, and perhaps even such an unknown concept, that one had responsibly to substitute some other idea or word. The alternative camp held that bounty is at the heart of a gospel that is to do with grace, and that if the word or even the concept is unfamiliar, then it is part of the evangelical work of the liturgy to present it: to announce God's bounty, to teach it. I am with the latter group.

In general, I think that the new translation is rather a mess, and would have been considerable stronger if the translators had been willing to follow Anglican models, since the Prayer Book tradition is surely the gold standard for how to translate Western theological ideas into dignified English.[12] All the same, while the new translation is hardly a masterpiece *as a translation*, the translators surely took the right decision in not following an inflated concern for transparency at all costs.

Literacy

Members of the Prayer Book Society will, no doubt, warm to most of what I have said so far. However, we must also think about the present day situation concerning literacy. I mean what I say about the significance of *mystery* in liturgy, but without wanting people to be completely *mystified*. I mean what I say about *depth*, but I would not want people to encounter the liturgy as something completely *unfathomable*.

Here we could do with better data on which to make a judgement. I observe a clear and considerable revival of interest today in the Prayer Book, among younger people for instance, but I do not know

11 I discuss this in 'Christian Reason and Christian Community', in Andrew Davison (ed.), *Imaginative Apologetics: Theology, Philosophy and the Catholic Tradition* (2010), p. 22.

12 Why say that Christ 'in a similar way' took the cup after supper, when one can say 'likewise', a term that does all the necessary work without drawing attention to itself?

whether that is a phenomenon to be observed only among those who are particularly highly educated. I do know that we need not associate comprehension of the Prayer Book, even love for it, with a prolonged education, *per se*. My maternal grandmother was a Prayer Book Christian, and she left school at the age of fifteen. That said, education in the 1920s and 30s was aimed at helping people to understand the Prayer Book if it was aimed at anything, and she had the advantage of being schooled in the Prayer Book in church from an early age. A good proportion of the population today, even if they remain in education until the age of sixteen, or I dare say twenty-one, will not be as literate as she was.

This may, perhaps, be a useful area of research for the Prayer Book Society: both for research as to whether poor literacy does or does not preclude engagement with the Prayer Book, and then in work to form resources that might help people to get the most out of the Prayer Book, if their levels of literacy are not high. Of course, such resources are not likely to be best produced in only a written form. All of this belongs, of course, within a wider concern not simply about 'Prayer Book literacy' but about literacy in general.

Time

I have spoken about register: about dignity and depth. The other main heading under which I want to discuss why it is important how we say things concerns *time*. I take my points of departure here from the past, the present, and the future. My basic contention is that part of what a particular form of speaking means—and let us here concentrate on what a particular form of praying means—is how we appreciate it as related to its use in the past, elsewhere in the present, and in the future.

The principles, or dynamics, of depth and dignity, which I have already discussed, would apply to any rite with the necessary characteristics, whether it was drawn up in the sixteenth century or yesterday. All the same, the point here is that using an inherited liturgy is *not* the same as using one drawn up yesterday, even if they were both to have equal merits in theology and literary quality. It matters how we say what we say, and praying with an old form bears witness to the continuity of the faith down the ages. We are holding out, in this way, an obvious example of living within a Christian *tradition*: within what has been 'passed on' to us.

There are caveats to explore here. The first is to revisit that point about 'equal merits in theology and literary quality.' That would face us with the question as to whether the Prayer Book rites *are* always theologically

unimpeachable. I would be the first person to uphold the importance of salvation from sin within the Christian theological picture, for instance, but the criticism has to be taken seriously that the Prayer Book Communion Service (for instance) focuses on sin to a frankly unbalanced extent. A second point for discussion, since we are taking about the enormous value of bearing witness to a historical tradition, would concern Prayer Book *reform* as something that can render liturgy *even more historical*. I have celebrated the Eucharist using the 1662 Book of Common Prayer as it stands on most Sundays for the past four years, but given my choice I would use a version that put its elements back in the ancient order: the *Gloria* towards the beginning, and the prayer of oblation after the words of institution, before reception of Communion, for instance. Here, the same principle of reverence for the tradition that leads me to respect the Prayer Book compels me to want to see it brought back into line with the ancient pattern of the West.

Before moving on from this consideration of how the Prayer Book is meaningful in its witness to the past, I want to add that there is something of immense import for the spiritual life in working with something that is *given* to us. There is a whole chapter on this in *For the Parish*, entitled 'Fresh Expressions: The Flight from Tradition'. In the Church of England today we are seeing swathes of the Church turning from the idea of living with, working with, and praying with what we are *given*. Every service is something to be dreamt up 'creatively' from scratch.

Concerning this, I will limit myself to two comments. The first is that this turn from 'the given' inevitably places the emphasis on *us*, and therefore less on God. I remember being told at theological college by one exponent of this approach to worship that the 'therapeutic process' of 'devising a liturgy together' was at least as useful and central to the business of worship as then going on to 'perform' it. In contrast, the 'given' liturgy, to which we submit ourselves, is far more obviously an offering to God, rather than a performance, and it habitually serves to direct our attention to Father, Son and Holy Spirit, rather than focusing on the worshipper, so as to allow him to examine his psyche.

The second, related point is that in working with what we receive, we expose ourselves to the wisdom and judgement of the past. With what we might call 'made-up worship', we explore what we want to explore; with received liturgy, we are provoked by something that comes to us from beyond us.

In this, I should add, I do not think that we should too easily cede the mantle of 'creativity' to those whose attitude to the givenness of the liturgical tradition is primarily one either of rejection, or of taking what they wish and discarding the rest. In my experience, working with that which is given to you, working with that which you have not chosen or dreamt up for yourself as a starting point, is a phenomenal spur to creativity. The classic example here is the lectionary, so much part of our liturgical life. The lectionary presents us with something given, something to work with, something from beyond our own choice, which provokes us. Indeed, whether we live by the lectionary or not is a good litmus test to distinguish between the two approaches to worship and the Christian life under contrast in this paper. Here, I might underline again, the tussle is not so much between supporters of 1662 versus the world (or, at least, versus the rest of the Church of England), but between those who subscribe to the principle that our church is a liturgical church and those who give little place or have little sympathy for liturgy at all.

Turning to *the present*, my point is not simply that an inherited Prayer Book binds us into one with our fellow Christians from the past (or perhaps we should say that it gives ample and eloquent witness to the fact that *we are bound* together with them in Christ's body of the Church), but also that a common rite bears witness to our unity with other Christians whose 'present' time we share. It binds us to others around the country and indeed 'how we say it', if we keep to the broad 'Prayer Book tradition' of liturgical forms and language, also bears witness to our union with Anglican Christians around the world, and in a broader sense, with all liturgically-formed Christians. We might remember here that the etymology of religion is in *re-ligare*: to bind or connect. Queen Elizabeth I knew that, as I imagine does her current namesake, and so did a master of my college, Matthew Parker.

The royal reference there is worth a further comment. Part of the value of a culturally canonical rite is that it bears witness to the union and equality of all people before God. The best that the Church of England's liturgical tradition can produce for the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge at their wedding is also right for Jim and Elizabeth down our street. (I will leave the question to another day as to whether it ought not also to be open to Susan and Elizabeth.) The best that is open for William and Catherine of Cambridge is also open to any ordinary person. That, surely,

is a central part of how it is that 'the way in which we pray'—how we say it—matters. Part of the value of the use of the Prayer Book in public and national settings is that it offers a standard of excellence, which is then also open to everyone, in their local and particular situation.

The final temporal point concerns the future: why it matters how we pray what we pray, because of its relation to the future. This might seem like the least promising of all angles to explore in a paper for the journal of the Prayer Book Society. Does this group, detractors might ask, and even some of your admirers, not have a focus on the past rather than on the future? Any such assumption would be incorrect, and not least because you stand not only and simply for an *old* rite but also for a *stable* rite. One of the huge benefits of a stable rite, in turn, is that what we encounter and participate in now instructs us for the future.

Here I think of the example, once again, of my maternal grandmother. I do not have her own Prayer Book, unfortunately. I do not know where it went when she died. I can be confident, however, that although her family was poor, she possessed a Prayer Book from at least the time of her confirmation. That one book may have remained with her over the course of her life, or she may have owned successive copies. The point is that it did not change. When she was given that Book at confirmation, she had in her hands the rite by which she had been baptised, the rite by which she would be married, and the rite by which she would expect to be buried, as indeed she was, because I conducted the service and I followed her wishes. That is a far from negligible consequence of having an enduring Prayer Book: it is the good of having a stable rite, one into which we can be inducted for life, one that does not change under us. I spoke to an American friend earlier in the year about the prospect of the revision of the Prayer Book of the US Episcopal Church in the next few years. He commented that Prayer Book revision should never be visited on anyone twice in a lifetime. A deep and transformative sort of liturgical formation was possible for my grandmother because she had a book in her hands, throughout her life—and especially throughout her earlier life—containing her Baptism rite, the Confirmation service, the Eucharist, and the words with which I would eventually conduct her funeral.

I will grant that the tradition of subsequent liturgical revisions beyond the Prayer Book has not been completely mercurial. Similarly, future mutations of *Common Worship* will not be entirely different from that rite

today, but they will not be the same either. Someone who follows a changing rite cannot know, far in advance, the words with which she will be buried, as my grandmother could. That is another reason why it matters how we say it, and whether we change how we say it, and by how much.

I said that the Prayer Book was 'in my grandmother's hands', and I used those words advisedly. Here is another point of enormous significance about the Book of Common Prayer: it is truly a matter of common prayer; it is the possession, the patrimony of the whole people of God. Notice that *Common Worship* simply is not like that. It cannot be in anyone's *hands*: there are too many books for anyone to hold in her hands all at once. Even the parts that most bear upon the direct experience of one person over the course of a life (the rites of passage, for instance, that I mentioned above), are not collected into one volume, nor could they be, since our liturgy now possesses so much variety that the allowable options fill book after book, and there is no one agreed form of service.

This seems to me one of the more subtle ways, but also one of the most important ways, in which liturgical development since the Prayer Book, and really only in the last thirty-five or so years, has profoundly changed the 'way in which we say it'. The emphasis is now on expansive variety and choice, and while that gives us all sorts of rich seasonal provision, for instance, I am inclined to think that it has gone far too far. We do not have common prayer any more, the variation is so great. Yes, there is commonality in the *structure*, but that is far more of a delight or matter of significance to the liturgist than it is to the ordinary Christian. Moreover, if this expansion is in size, and has rendered *physically* impossible the prospect of placing even a minimally comprehensive book in the hands of the people, it has also taken the liturgy 'out of the hands of the people' in the metaphorical sense. The liturgy as envisaged in the multiplied books of *Common Worship* is no longer the common possession of the whole people of God; it is out of their hands and in the hands of liturgical technicians, those who know how to pick their way through the options.

Conclusion

In all of this, we cannot be complacent. Faced with a perceived but problematic choice between liturgical dignity and evangelistic zeal, I expect that bishops are going to choose evangelistic zeal; Parochial Church Councils might also do so. We cannot sit at ease with the

observation that ninety-five percent of the population are not in church on Sunday. We will be there when they need us, we think, and that is a great thing, but it is not enough.

If the Church has to choose between the caricature of a noble, liturgical, and traditional decline and a vapid, non-liturgical, too-much-made-up promised boom for the Church of England, it will choose the latter. The point is to question that caricature, and to show that nobility, liturgy and tradition are not inevitably linked to numerical decline, or even its main cause: for my part, I place that squarely on the shoulders of the dismal and unorthodox, apologetic (in the wrong sense) and spineless theology that gripped the Church of England for perhaps thirty-five years from the 1960s onwards—and which is happily so comprehensively behind us, at least among almost everyone under the age of forty or so.

It matters how we say what we say, and not least how we pray what we pray. That message will only be taken seriously if liturgical Christians demonstrate that a commitment to noble, traditional liturgy is compatible with outreach. Similarly, we might remember that the Evangelical tradition of the Church of England, which is ploughing this anti-liturgical furrow, has historically been a tradition of dignified, unfussy liturgy, even if that tradition is now so largely sold for a mess of pottage. That suggests to me that efforts to commend liturgy to Evangelicals are likewise of the first importance.

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The Legal and Constitutional Position of the Book of Common Prayer

PAUL BENFIELD

I was contacted some months ago by your chairman who asked me if I would speak at this conference in the place of the original speaker who, for good reason, had to back out. He had been asked to speak on the legal and constitutional aspects of the Book of Common Prayer and I was immediately attracted to that area and so accepted the invitation. Whether or not what I say would have had any similarity to what he might have said we shall never know but I hope I can interest you this morning and also entertain with some amusing quotations.

My starting point is the Act of Uniformity 1662. There were, of course, earlier Acts of Uniformity which authorised the earlier English prayer books, but for over 300 years the 1662 Act was the governing law for public worship in the Church of England. By that Act it was enacted

> That all and singuler Ministers in any Cathedrall Collegiate or Parish Church or Chappell or other place of Publique Worship within this Realme of England Dominion of Wales and Town of Berwick upon Tweed shall be bound to say and use the Morning Prayer Evening Prayer Celebrac[i]on and Administrac[i]on of both the Sacraments and all other the Publique and Co[m]mon Prayer in such order and forme as is menc[i]oned in the said Booke annexed and joyned to this present Act and entituled The Booke of Co[m]mon Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England togeather with the Psalter or Psalmes of David pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches and the forme or manner of making ordaining and consecrating of Bishops Preists & Deacons. And that the Morning and Evening Prayers therein contained shall upon every Lords day and upon all other dayes and occasions and att the times therein appointed be openly and solemnly read by all and every Minister or Curate in every Church Chappell or other place of Publique Worshipp within this Realme of England and places aforesaid.

Section 23 provided that the Bishops of Hereford, St David's, St Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff should cause the Book of Common Prayer to be translated into the Welsh Tongue for use in places in their dioceses where Welsh was commonly used or spoken.

It was not until the late Nineteenth Century that any changes were permitted to the services in the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer Book (Table of Lessons) Act 1871 substituted a new table of lessons. The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act 1872 allowed more substantial alterations. This Act permitted a shorter form of Morning and Evening Prayer on weekdays, allowed additional services to be authorised by the ordinary on special occasions and the use of Morning Prayer, the Litany and Communion as separate services and in varying order. It also permitted sermons or lectures to be given without the common prayers or services authorised by the Prayer Book having been previously read.

The Burial Laws Amendment Act, 1880 section 13 enacted that:

> It shall be lawful for any minister in Holy Orders of the Church of England authorised to perform the burial service, in any case where the Office for the Burial of the Dead according to the rites of the Church of England may not be used, and in any other case at the request of the relative, friend or legal representative having the charge of or being responsible for the burial of the deceased, to use at the burial such service, consisting of prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer and portions of Holy Scripture, as may be prescribed or approved of by the Ordinary.

The Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919 gave to the Church Assembly power to pass measures which, once they had been approved by parliament and received the royal assent, had the force and effect of an Act of Parliament. It was now for the Church to initiate any desired changes to its liturgy and this it first did by the Revised Table of Lessons Measure 1922 which allowed a revised table of lessons to be used at the discretion of the minister. The more substantial changes proposed by the Draft Prayer Book Measures of 1927 and 1928 were rejected by Parliament and so did not become law. Much has been written about the controversy about the 'Deposited Book' and I will not go into that now.

So, in law, the position remained as it had been after the three Nineteenth Century Acts. But in July 1929 the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a resolution in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury which stated that 'in the present emergency and until other order be taken', in

view of the approval given by the Convocations to 'the proposals for deviations from and additions to the Book of 1662, as set forth in the Book of 1928', the bishops could not 'regard as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England the use of such additions or deviations as fall within the limits of these proposals'. The resolution was passed by 23 votes to 4.

There thus developed a situation where the bishops were not enforcing the law on public worship. Law and practice became separated.

Incidentally, I recently came across a pew edition of the BCP in my church which has printed at the front a table of lessons 'revised by order of the Convocations of Canterbury and York and authorised by resolutions of both Convocations at the sessions of October 1955.' It is not clear to me by what authority the Convocations could make changes which should have needed a Measure approved by the Church Assembly and Parliament. When I have the time I will look up the proceedings of the convocations to see what they thought they were doing.

In the 1960s a series of measures made changes to the law of worship. The most significant was the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure 1965 which gave power to the Convocations and House of Laity to authorise experimental services if they achieved a two thirds majority in each house. Those services could be authorised for a period of up to seven years with a further extension for one more period of seven years. Under this Measure, much of the 1928 Prayer Book was authorised as Alternative Services (Series One). There followed Series Two and Series Three and many of us will remember the little booklets which contained those services. The Measure also permitted the minister to make changes which were not of substantial importance in any service, including those in the Book of Common Prayer.

Other measure passed in the 1960s allowed different versions of the Bible to be used in BCP services and permitted lay people to read the epistle and gospel. But the Act of Uniformity remained as the foundation of the law of worship and the Book of Common Prayer remained the norm, despite the many alternative services which were authorised.

Although the provisions in the 1965 measure would have allowed experimental services to be authorised until 1979, there was felt to be a need to provide a permanent solution to the law of worship in the Church of England and so it was that the Draft Worship and Doctrine measure was born. It was the fact that this draft measure would repeal the

Act of Uniformity 1662 which caused alarm in many quarters because people thought it signalled the end of the Book of Common Prayer as the standard of worship and doctrine in the Church of England. In fact the measure specifically provided that the powers given to the General Synod to authorise forms of service by canon had to be exercised in such a way as to ensure that the forms of service contained in the Book of Common Prayer continued to be available for use in the Church of England.

The BCP Action Group was formed and it issued a leaflet which read:

> Now is the hour to save the Book of Common Prayer
>
> The BCP Action Group is anxious that YOU should know of the effect of the Church of England (Worship and Doctrine) Measure 1974 which is due for Final Approval by the General Synod in February 1974, prior to presentation to Parliament will:
>
>> Repeal the Act of Uniformity 1662 which gives the Book of Common Prayer its legal primacy, official character, statutory generality and formal sanction…
>>
>> Empower the General Synod to deprive the Book of Common Prayer of its present status and authority and so will leave the Church without a standard and accepted form of worship and doctrine…
>>
>> Leave the forms of service in the Book of Common Prayer with no more status than the latest experiment and indeed their position will not be fully entrenched but provided for "by canon"
>>
>> Give the General Synod (whose House of Laity is directly chosen by less than 3% of the laity) sweeping and legally unchallengeable power to determine forms of worship and doctrine.

Whilst those seeking to save the Book of Common Prayer were no doubt well-intentioned and enthusiastic, it was unfortunate that their arguments were not always based on fact or law. The draft measure did not 'leave the Book of Common Prayer with no more status than the latest experiment' or provided for 'by canon'. Only a new measure could alter the services in the Book of Common Prayer. The failure to appreciate this fact made it easier for the proponents of the draft measure to dismiss

all the arguments of the Prayer Book Action Group. As we shall see later, it was the provisions in the Measure concerning the safeguarding of doctrine which were more problematic.

The Draft Measure was passed by the General Synod in February 1974 in the House of Bishops 34 to 0, in the House of Clergy 170 to 2 and in the House of Laity 140 to 8. This did not stop the activities of those opposed to the Measure. Papers from the time of Archbishop Michael Ramsey in Lambeth Palace Library make fascinating reading and throw light on the arguments surrounding the passing of the measure.

> On 18th March 1974 the Bishop of London wrote as follows to the Archbishop of Canterbury
>
> I think you may like to know that I received on Friday evening a deputation from the Book of Common Prayer Action Group and discussed their problems with them for an hour and three quarters. The group consisted of Mr Trefusis, the Chairman; Mr Kilminster, who comes from a parish in Hatch End, a gentleman from a parish in the Liverpool Diocese and Prebendary Heatherington, the Vicar of St Barnabas Ealing. The three laymen were middle aged, prosperous looking businessmen. Prebendary Heatherington is an elderly courteous old-fashioned High Churchman upon whom, as he told us, Bishop Winnington-Ingram and Bishop Montgommery-Campbell had laid a solemn obligation to ensure that the Book of Common Prayer would be protected. Rather surprisingly, he brought the meeting to an end by saying that he must return to his parish in order to conduct Lenten devotions before the Stations of the Cross.
>
> ....
>
> The only time that I got slightly heated in the discussion was when I pointed out to him that he had a copy of the Measure and that he really ought to inform himself of the various provisions of it before producing the sort of documents which had been sent to members of Synod and elsewhere.
>
> After this long discussion, I came to the conclusion that the problem so far as they are concerned is not a constitutional or legal problem, but a pastoral problem. It became apparent that these devoted members of the Church of England were in parishes where the

> clergy, generally young men, have shown a lack of sensitivity to their spiritual desires and needs and have ruthlessly told them that they are going to have the new services and not 1662, whether they like it or not.

He went on to suggest that the Archbishop write to the bishops. The Archbishop took up this suggestion and wrote on 5th April 1974

> I am sure it will be helpful if the Bishops make it plain that they have regard for the feelings of those who want the 1662 services, and are ready to curb the ardour of the clergy who exceed what is lawful in their pressing of the cause of new services.

The responses from the bishops indicated that they were generally not aware of the problem. There is an interesting one from Graham Leonard at Truro who analyses the situation fully and is worried by Synod having the final say on doctrine. Ramsey answers this by saying it is for the Bishops to be the guardian of doctrine under the procedures and this is far better than the present state of affairs which puts parliament in the position of doctrinal arbiter, for example in the case of a Prayer Book brought to it for sanction.

The Measure was considered by the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament on Wednesday 26th June 1974. A note from Derek Pattinson, the Secretary General of the General Synod, to the Archbishop the next day reads

> The proceedings tended to be laborious and tedious with the Committee boggling at unimportant trifles. One hurdle which they took some time to clear was the fact that the decision as to what form of Baptism should be used lies between the parents and the minister and not the PCC. They found it difficult to grasp why this was not a negation of the democratic principle which involves the consent of the Parochial Church Council.
>
> The sticking point came in the last paragraph which refers to the passing of the measure as expedient. Lord Clitheroe firmly said that they must have further discussion as to whether this is so or not, so they adjourned.

The Committee met again the following Tuesday. A further note from Derek Pattinson indicated that the Committee had resolved in favour of the Measure. 'Something like 14 out of the 17 present were fully in

favour.'

The Measure then had to be debated by both houses of Parliament. It had been hoped that it could be considered by the House of Commons before the Summer recess, but a printing strike at Her Majesty's Stationary Office meant that the relevant papers could not be made available. There was a General Election in October, the second of 1974, causing further delay.

Meanwhile the pressure against the Measure continued. Mr AW Benn MP wrote to the Archbishop's Chaplain enclosing a letter from a worried constituent. The Earl of Stradbroke wrote to Mr HHA Whitworth, a lay assistant at Lambeth Palace, on 11th November. In a note to the Archbishop Mr Whitworth says that the noble Earl's ignorance seems to be invincible. 'Communication, by which he sets such store, is a two way process, after all.'

The need to debate Rhodesia in order to renew sanctions caused further delay. The Measure was debated by the House of Lords on 14th November 1974, Michael Ramsey's 70th birthday and his last day in office. He moved the motion that the Measure should be presented to Her Majesty to receive the Royal Assent. He answered some of the critics of the Measure in these words

> In the Measure the Book of Common Prayer remains as one of the Church's standards of doctrine. This, affirmed already in the existing Canons, is reaffirmed within the Measure. Furthermore, it is laid down that in any parish where the PCC desires that a service of the 1662 Book shall be used then it shall be used. What if the PCC and the parish priest disagree in what they want? In the original draft of the Measure the Bishop was to be the arbiter in such a dispute; but in the final draft of the Measure, in order to make the role of the laity strong and unequivocal, it is laid down, as will be seen, that the PCC may insist either on continuing a form which has been in use for the past two years, if it wishes, or on reverting to the 1662 form if it wishes. I believe that this retention of the Prayer Book, both as a standard of doctrine and as a set of forms available when the PCC desires them, is a right means of conserving the identity of the Church to which Parliament is asked to allow the considerable new powers. There were those who wanted something more radical. I believe that this restraint and the proviso is right for the reasons which I have mentioned.
>
> Noble Lords will not be misled by talk about the destruction of the Prayer Book when they notice that the safeguards for its use are

> stronger than they are at present under the 1965 Measure, stronger than they were in the draft Measure appended to the Chadwick Report and stronger than what was proposed when the Measure first came to our General Synod. The place of the Prayer Book in the Church's standards and the availability of the Prayer Book in the parishes when desired will be alterable only if Parliament were to decide to alter it. Cannot we say, therefore, that this Measure offers a right balance between the role of the Church and the role of the State in a continuing partnership?

The Bishop of Durham said nothing can surpass the Book of Common Prayer as the classic statement of what the Church of England is but it belongs to its time.

Earl Waldegrave said:

> If there are differences, and one parish does one thing and another parish does something else, the pressure will mount from the centre that we should settle on some final form of the Series with which we are now experimenting, and then I fear the old versions of the Book of Common Prayer will be relegated to the vestry cupboard, if some busybody does not actually send them away for pulp.

Lord Clitheroe (who had doubted in the Ecclesiastical Committee whether the Measure was expedient having regard to the interests of Her Majesty's subjects) said

> We are not really considering today a single Measure concerning the Church. We are considering two much more important questions. Is the Church of England the Established Church of the Realm whose services are open to all through the Parochial System; or, is the Church of England a small sect of committed Christians, professional and lay? I subscribe to the former point of view and believe that this measure is very divisive, and to me, at any rate, it is a source of sorrow.

Lord Gage answered the point that the General Synod did not really represent the great body of Anglicans by saying that whilst that may be true, he could not understand the implication that Parliament could represent the great body of Anglicans any better.

The House agreed that the Measure should be sent for Royal Assent, without a division after a four hour debate.

The House of Commons debated the measure on 4th December. The Second Church Estates Commissioner, Terry Walker, moved the motion

which, incidentally incorrectly referred to the National Assembly of the Church of England, rather than the General Synod. He assured members that the Church was coming to the end of its experiments in liturgy and that there would not be Series 4,5 and 6.

Mr Geoffrey Pattie, member for Chertsey and Walton and a member of the General Synod said

> The main criticism of this measure is that it would jeopardise the use of the 1662 Prayer Book. Not to mince words, that criticism is a travesty of the truth. The future safeguards for the use of the Prayer Book are stronger than they are under the existing measure. They have been progressively strengthened at every stage of consideration. The Book of Common Prayer is re-affirmed in the measure as one of the Church's standards of doctrine. The Prayer Book remains a legal alternative until a further measure, as the Lord President said, requiring an affirmative resolution of both Houses, has caused it to cease to be so.
>
> If any parish wants to use the Prayer Book and there is a dispute in the parish, the parish must return to the pattern of services that obtained within two of the four previous years, or the congregation can insist on a return to the Prayer Book of 1662. This is a great improvement on the present privileged position of the parish priest. I hope, therefore, that the House will be very clear that the position of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 will be more secure if the measure is passed.

This view was challenged by Mr John Stokes (Halesowen and Stourbridge) who said that if the Measure were passed the Book of Common Prayer would be hardly used in five years and it would have virtually disappeared in ten years. He wished the Book of Common Prayer to be used, as of right, in parish churches, say twice a month.

Mr Ivor Clemitson had been ordained priest in 1958 but had to renounce his orders to stand for Parliament. He was elected Labour MP for Luton East in February 1974 and retained his seat in October 1974. He said

> I am very attached to the Book of Common Prayer. Like other Members I love its language. I also like the confessions in it, which are far more theologically sound than the namby-pamby confessions

in subsequent series. But why 1662? Why not 1552 or, better still, 1549, presuming that we would delete that clause in the litany in the 1549 book which asks the Almighty to deliver us from the Bishop of Rome and all his enormities. I presume that in this ecumenical age we should have to delete such a clause.

I wonder whether the defenders of the 1662 book would agree with all its contents, whether of word or of rubric. For example, the opening of the marriage service tells us in words similar to those used by St. Paul that it is better to marry than to burn. The words are not quite the same, but the message comes over loud and clear. Again, in the same service there is a rubric which tells us that the best man should put on the Book at the appropriate time not only the ring but the fee as well. I wonder if that practice is continued in the church which the hon. Member for Halesowen and Stourbridge regularly attends. Hon. Members may laugh, but in a church in which I served as a curate this rubric was observed and the fee was put on the Book at that point in the service, albeit discreetly enclosed in an envelope.

In a maiden speech John Ryman, the Labour member for Blyth said

I have been sounding out a number of bishops whom I know personally, about this measure. I had the pleasure some years ago of dining with a bishop. He invited me to a club. I think that it was called the Athenaeum. While waiting for my host, I was thumbing through the members' suggestions book and I came across the following, which may interest hon. Members: Last night a Socialist peer dined here. Can't anything be done about this? From talking to bishops, who are far more versed in these matters than I could ever be, my judgment, for what it is worth, is that if this measure is not passed the door will be open for a very strong campaign for Disestablishment.

Ivor Stanbrook Conservative member for Orpington complained that the constitutional position had not been sufficiently considered.

Consider, for example, the fact that Her Majesty the Queen is the Head of the Church, or the supreme governor. At her Coronation she took an oath to maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law. In that solemn moment, she

> was asked: Will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government thereof, as by law established in England? Her Majesty replied: All this I promise to do. How can we now transfer from ourselves—as the Queen in Parliament—the power ultimately to determine the doctrine, worship and government of the Church without causing Her Majesty to break the spirit, if not the substance, of that Oath? Is this a matter of no consequence for the supporters of the measure? Is the Coronation Oath so lightly to be set aside?

Enoch Powell, Ulster Unionist Party member for South Down in speaking against the motion made a vigorous defence of the Prayer Book and feared that the General Synod, in considering future liturgies would be dominated by fashion.

> Those who formed the Prayer Books of 1549—with all its imperfections—and of 1552, and that of 1662, which was carefully and lovingly formed upon the basis of those Edwardian Prayer Books, aimed at what they called comprehension. They aimed at bringing together as far as possible within one formula and one liturgy men of as wide a range as possible of religious feeling and religious instinct. And they succeeded almost beyond belief. It was only a minority which on one side or the other failed to find some sort of a home within that embracing comprehensive formula. In sentence after sentence of the Elizabethan book, which is essentially the 1662 book, one can see how the formulation was designed to accommodate alternative interpretations of those aspects of our religion of which there can be no final interpretation or formulation.
>
> So it succeeded in its initial purpose of being comprehensive. But this comprehensive nature of the Church of England did not desert it through the centuries. It was because the liturgy and the articles of religion, being part of the law of the land, were so difficult to alter, were so near as possible to being permanencies, that in age after age successive waves of thought and religious feeling were nevertheless able to find a place within the Church of England and within its unity. It could accommodate the deism and the philosophy of the eighteenth century. It could accommodate the piety of a Samuel Johnson. Within a few years after Dr. Johnson's death, it was discovered that the 1662 Prayer Book could accommodate both

> Simeon and Pusey, that with its aid the Church of England could discover that it had not lost the best heritage of the Catholic Church, and that it could at the same time be a Church of evangelism.

After a debate lasting over 6 hours the motion was approved by 145 votes to 45 and went on to receive the Royal Assent on 12th December 1974.

Perhaps a greater problem with the Measure than the availability of Prayer Book services (which if Parochial Church Councils wanted they could have, whatever the incumbent said) was Section 4 which concerned the safeguarding of doctrine. This provides that any form of service authorised under canon shall be such as in the opinion of the General Synod is neither contrary to, nor indicative of any departure from, the doctrine of the Church of England in any essential matter. It goes on to say that the final approval by the General Synod of any canon, regulation or form of service shall conclusively determine that the Synod is of such opinion. In other words the Synod must not make any changes which depart from the doctrine of the Church of England, but it decides whether or not what it has decided is a departure from the doctrine of the Church of England. This was the problem noted by the Bishop of Truro in his letter to Michael Ramsey to which I have referred earlier.

Now canon A5 refers to the doctrine of the Church of England. It provides that:

> The doctrine of the Church of England is grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures.
>
> In particular such doctrine is to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and the Ordinal.

So doctrine is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, but Synod can decide what is or is not consistent with that doctrine.

Let us consider what Synod did in connection with women bishops. I am not going in to the question of whether we should or should not have women bishops—there will be different views about that among members of the Prayer Book Society. Amending Canon No. 33 inserted a new paragraph in Canon C2 which reads

> A man or a woman may be consecrated to the office of bishop.

The Canon went on to substitute a new paragraph

> In the forms of service contained in *The Book of Common Prayer* or in the Ordinal words importing the masculine gender in relation to bishops are construed as including the feminine.

Synod must have been of the opinion that those changes were not contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. They could not be because of section 4 of the Worship and Doctrine Measure.

Now if Synod has said that words importing the masculine gender in relation to bishops shall include the feminine, what is to stop it saying the same thing in relation to marriage? Might it not at some stage in the future say that in the marriage service in the Book of Common Prayer words importing the masculine gender shall be construed as including the feminine and words importing the feminine shall be construed as including the masculine? If that were done we could have same sex marriage according to the Book of Common Prayer.

Of course it would be necessary to change Canon B 30. This provides

1. The Church of England affirms, according to our Lord's teaching, that marriage is in its nature a union permanent and lifelong, for better for worse, till death them do part, of one man with one woman, to the exclusion of all others on either side, for the procreation and nurture of children, for the hallowing and right direction of the natural instincts and affections, and for the mutual society, help and comfort which the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity.

2. The teaching of our Lord affirmed by the Church of England is expressed and maintained in the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony contained in *The Book of Common Prayer*.

But Synod would have the legal power to make the necessary changes even though many of us would argue that same sex marriage would be a departure from the doctrine of the Church of England. Such a change would certainly be a change to the doctrine expressed in the Book of Common Prayer and yet by the simple device of construing the masculine as the feminine and *vice versa* Synod could make the change without altering the words in the Book of Common Prayer at all. One has to conclude, therefore, that the Book of Common Prayer is no longer a guardian of the doctrine of the Church of England.

The BCP Action Group of 40 years ago was correct in part when it argued that the Worship and Doctrine Measure would empower the General Synod to deprive the Book of Common Prayer of its present status and authority and so will leave the Church without a standard and accepted form of worship and doctrine. Whilst it was not true as regards forms of worship, it would seem to be true as regards doctrine. It is unfortunate that it did not concentrate as much on doctrine as it did on forms of service.

However, if the Worship and Doctrine Measure had not been passed then the power to determine the doctrine of the Church of England would have remained with Parliament. Given the furore in Parliament over the failure of the women bishops' legislation in November 2012 one can imagine that there would soon have been pressure in Parliament for same sex marriage in church. We can only hope, as Archbishop Michael Ramsey thought, that making the bishops of the Church of England rather than Parliament the guardians of doctrine proves to be sufficient. What is clear is that appealing to the Book of Common Prayer will be of little avail since Synod can interpret it as it sees fit.

(The Revd Paul Benfield SSC is Vicar of Fleetwood in the Diocese of Blackburn and a member of the General Synod. Fr Benfield was formerly a barrister.)

Of Times and Occasions: Continuity and Change in the Prayer Book's Public Past

HANNAH CLEUGH

On Whitsunday 2012, I had an experience that many who worship according to the Book of Common Prayer will recognise: celebrating at an early morning Communion, I began to read the epistle for the day, 'When the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.'[1] I looked up from my book, and saw that an elderly lady sitting near the front was mouthing along to the words of the lesson as I was reading. These were words she knew, had known all her life, and we were worshipping with words that my grandmother, and her grandparents, and theirs, had heard and prayed with down the centuries since the Reformation. I was overwhelmed with a sense of the continuity of the prayer, and of deep rootedness in a tradition. The recent BBC Radio 4 documentary, *What's the point of…the Book of Common Prayer?*, highlighted this sense of continuity and tradition as one of the reasons people hold onto the Prayer Book.[2] It is certainly one of the reasons I love the Prayer Book, and am committed to its continued use.

However, the Prayer Book has not always and only been a book of continuity and tradition. Since its earliest introduction amid the religious revolution of Edward VI's England—leading to rebellion in the West Country when it was first used on Whitsunday 1549—the Book of Common Prayer has been a book for the nation. It has been adapted and augmented, responding to political events, the deaths of kings, the fighting of wars, and to natural phenomena—the weather (good and poor), famine, and plague. It has been a book for the nation and, as such, has helped shape English national, as well as religious, identity. Roger

1 B. Cumings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer. The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*. (Oxford 2011), p. 334. All quotations from the Prayer Book are taken from this edition.

2 The programme, part of a series by Quentin Letts, was broadcast on BBC Radio 4 on 26 August 2015, and can currently be found at http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b066w738.

Scruton, in his autobiography of faith *Our Church: A Personal History of the Church of England* describes the Anglican Church which emerged after the Restoration as 'not simply one community of believers among others: it had become a national way of life.'[3] At the heart of that church down the centuries has been the Prayer Book. In this paper, I want to explore the plural and dynamic nature of the Prayer Book tradition of worship, and consider the ways in which it has been, down the centuries, a book for the nation. The majority of my comments will focus on my own particular area of academic interest, the English Reformation, but I hope to situate those comments in a broader narrative, and then to open up some current questions.

But my starting point is somewhere rather different: in 1859, Parliament reformed the Prayer Book. Under the leadership of Earl Stanhope, Bishop Wilberforce, and Archbishop Sumner, and almost without comment or controversy, the State Prayers were excluded from the established Church's liturgy. Thus the orders for 5th November, the thanksgiving for deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, and 30th January, the commemoration of the execution of Charles I, were jettisoned, leaving only the Accession Day service, issued by royal warrant by each successive monarch, such as that for the present queen, for use on 6th February. The opening rubric to that service is itself testament to changing times.[4]

The reasons behind the 1859 reform lay in the substantial changes experienced by the political nation in the early-mid nineteenth century, specifically the context of Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Act of 1832. These changes, catalysts for John Keble's 1833 Assize Sermon and the Oxford Movement, formed part of a gradual erosion of the sense that England's political nation was Anglican. Already the ties of establishment seemed looser. And in a quiet way, this reform fed into that loosening of the ties: the state and occasional prayers had been key since the Reformation, and instrumental in the formation of English Protestant national identity.

Much of this identity—religious and national—was grounded in a sense of continuity and stability. This continuity was deliberate and self-conscious, rooted in the turmoil which provided the backdrop

3 R. Scruton, *Our Church. A Personal History of the Church of England* (2012), p. 78.

4 A good account of the reform of the state services can be found in A. Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge 2003), chapter 8 'Our own, our royal saint.' Lacey also details the ritualist revival of the cult through the formation in 1894 of the Society of King Charles the Martyr,

to both the 1559 and 1662 versions of the Book of Common Prayer. Elizabeth, ascending the throne after a decade of 'mid-Tudor crisis' and a wildly-swinging pendulum of religious reform, made stability central to both her self-projection and her religious policy. As her courtier Sir Christopher Hatton would comment late in her reign, 'She set her reformation upon a cornerstone, so as to remain constant', and it was her own opposition to continuing religious controversy that rendered futile attempts to further the reformation of the English Church.[5]

This background of conflict and controversy was even more pronounced in 1662. Following two decades of civil war, of the interregnum, the proscription of the Prayer Book, and the execution of a king, stability was at the heart of the Restoration settlement. So the Preface to the Act of Uniformity of 1662:

> Now in regard that nothing conduceth more to the settling of the Peace of this Nation (which is desired of all good men) nor to the honour of our Religion, and the propagation thereof, than an Universal agreement in the Publick Worship of Almighty God.[6]

If Elizabeth's Settlement of 1559 had been intended to put brakes on Protestant reform, that of 1662 was deliberately, self-consciously conservative, designed to emphasise the Restoration Church of England's continuity with its Reformation past. Under the terms of the same Act of Uniformity, 'some Additional Prayers [were added] to the said Book of Common Prayer to be used upon proper and emergent occasions.'[7] These included state prayers, the order for Baptism for use with natives in the plantations, and then also the form of prayers to be used at sea. The changing contexts in which the Prayer Book was used were thus recognised. Primarily, though, this change formalized something which had been a feature of English worship since the mid- sixteenth century, and not for the first time. In the 1552 revision of the Prayer Book, a selection of 'Prayers and Thanksgivings' was included at the end of the Litany, which was appointed to be read on Wednesdays, Fridays, and other appointed days. This admitted a degree of flexibility and discretion, according to local and particular circumstances, so, for instance, there

5 There is a substantial body of literature concerning both the person of Elizabeth and her influence on the development of English Protestantism, but a helpful exploration of this aspect of the 1559 Settlement is found in the final chapter of D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* (2001).

6 Cumings, op. cit. p.195.

7 Ibid. p.194.

was provision to pray for rain, for fair weather, in time of dearth and famine, or in time of war and tumult.

The Prayer Book tradition of worship through the centuries has, though, been much more fluid and plural than the limited discretionary provision added to the 1552 book. Here, I draw closely on the work of my Durham colleague Natalie Mears, and the AHRC-funded project exploring 'National Prayers, Special Worship since the Reformation.'[8] The most important thing to note is that the Book of Common Prayer was not the only vernacular liturgy authorized for public worship in the Church of England, nor was it the only form of prayer that parishes were required to use. This has two implications: first, the experience of public worship in the English parish church through the centuries has been more varied than has sometimes been imagined or assumed; and, second, this challenges our understandings of conformity and non-conformity in worship. Further, the nature of this special worship underlines ways in which public worship was inherently political. Steve Hindle argued that such worship was primarily to be understood as an instrument of social control, but this—whilst an important consideration—is far from the whole story. David Cressy has drawn attention to the ways in which 'bonfires and bells' were used in the decades after the Reformation to help foster a sense of English Protestant national identity, with Elizabeth's accession service (17th November), then the orders of thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada, and deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, being of particular significance in this.[9] Nor were people unaware of what was being done: in Northamptonshire in the 1570s, a man complained of the bells rung for the Queen's accession day—'Must she have ringing for her cheer when on Hallowmass Day they ring not at all?'. Special worship was being used to form England as a Protestant nation, with a calendar configured differently from that of the pre-Reformation church, one in which the particular providences of God were recognised, and the particular call of the nation was celebrated and confirmed.

So what did this worship look like? Between the break with Rome in

8 N. Mears, A. Raffe, P. Williamson and S. Taylor (eds), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation. Volume 1: Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533-1688*, Church of England Record Society, 2013. Mears' essay 'Special Nationwide Worship and the Book of Common Prayer in England, Wales and Ireland, 1533 - 1642' in N. Mears and A. Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham 2013), pp 31- 72 introduces many of the themes of this research, and includes listings of all the special nationwide worship during the time period pp. 58 - 71.

9 D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (1989)

1533 and the outbreak of civil war in 1642, ninety-four particular forms of prayer were issued for use in England and Wales, six in Ireland, and one for England/ Wales and Scotland. These forms of prayer can be divided broadly into two categories: petitionary prayers, services and fasts, and thanksgivings, expressions of gratitude for divine aid. Some of these were very ephemeral, local, and adapted to particular circumstances, whilst others were much broader in their perspective. So, for example, in 1563/4 there was severe plague in London, in response to which prayers and a homily were issued for use in all the city's parishes. This was open-ended, to be used for as long as necessary until the outbreak had passed.

In contrast, some orders were in response to very specific political events: in July 1565, prayers were issued in response to the Ottoman invasion of Malta. Then, between October and December, thanksgiving prayers for the delivery of Malta and other victories over the Ottomans, were published. These occasional forms of prayer thus functioned also as news media, and it is interesting therefore to note that the Bishop of London urged a delay in publishing the thanksgiving until the news received of the Ottoman defeat could be verified:

> Sr, I have received from my L. off Canterburie certeyn advertisements concernynge Malta &c /. I perceive yo wisshe some publicke thankes gevinge to be hadde on Sondaye nexte. / I am off opinion, yt wer good to differre it 8. dayes lenger, and that for 2. cawses. / one is, yt more certeyntie off the uetory [victory] maye be knowen, which by this advertisement semeth to me vncertaynn. / it were lesse inconvenience to differre a weeke, then to make solemne gratulation if the matter hereafter proove vntrue, as in this case off Malta, and the birth off qwene Maries firste sonne hathe hertofore appeared.[10]

Further, these forms of prayer reflect the fact that the Reformation Church of England saw itself as part of something wider, and Prayer Book worship as more than simply liturgy for the nation: amidst the special worship are prayers which reflect an international perspective, including those indicating a particular identification with the Huguenot community in France, as is clear from the prayers produced in 1572 in response to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The Preface to the form

10 Bishop of London to Sir William Cecil 12 October 1565, Mears *et al* (eds), *National Prayers Vol. I* (CERS), p. 88.

reflected anxiety about an international Catholic conspiracy, as people—especially those living in cities and towns—were exhorted 'during this perillous and daungerous tymes of the troubles in Christendome' to 'praye to the mercyfull God, to turne from us of this Realme, and all the reast of Christendome, those plagues and punishmentes, which we and others through our unthankefulnesse and sinful lyues haue derserued.'[11] The inclusion at the end of the order of the Prayer Book collect for use in time of war further emphasises English identification with the Huguenot cause, and also demonstrates the ways in which such special forms of prayer stood in close and dynamic relationship with the text of the Prayer Book itself.

These occasional forms of worship are interesting beyond the texts and theological emphases of the prayers themselves: first, they indicate what was of concern, and so are useful for understanding the social and religious contexts of people in the past. They tell us what people feared, and for what they were thankful, and so offer us insight into the hopes and anxieties of generations past. Second, they tell us that public worship was diverse, and responsive to particular events and issues, that the experience of parish worship in the Church of England did not begin and end with the text of the Prayer Book itself, and that there was some local discretion permitted regarding its use.

This degree of discretion raises questions about how we understand conformity. One of the most difficult things for the church historian is to understand the experience of worship in the past, to get inside the religious experience of people many generations and centuries distant from us.[12] And here, the continuity that the Prayer Book represents can be deceptive—we assume that our experience and their experience are more alike than perhaps they might have been. One such area of uncertainty concerns adherence to these occasional forms of prayer—it is hard to be sure how widely adopted these were, especially outside of London. The forms were issued quickly and cheaply, with significant amounts of material clearly recycled from one order to another. Equally, it is reasonable to suppose that where parishes had the material they continued to use it if appropriate beyond the period for which the form had been officially authorised. The recycled service sheet may not be a wholly new innovation.

11 Mears *et al* (eds), *National Prayers Vol. I* (CERS), p.132.
12 I explore this question at greater length in 'Teaching in Praying Words? Worship and Theology in the Early Modern English Parish' in Mears and Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the Parish Church*, pp. 11-30.

As we think about the Book of Common Prayer in public life it is important to note that these occasional prayers, fasts, and thanksgivings, had a political purpose. This was not solely or simply the social control suggested by Hindle; rather, the political objective was the formation of a collective identity, in which events were interpreted and understood within the new Protestant theological framework. These forms of worship, and the homilies which accompanied them, were in many ways the public statements of the day. Key to understanding them is the recognition that this was a religious landscape in which people were highly conscious of ideas of Providence, of God's particular actions in the life of the nation, and of divine aid and retribution. Alexandra Walsham has drawn attention to the centrality of this doctrine in early modern England, explaining that Puritanism should be understood as being as much 'experimental providentialism' as it was 'experimental predestinarianism', and that among the godly was the widespread view that 'particular providences' constituted 'God's chosen method of communicating with the predestinate élite.'[13] The particular forms of worship—thanksgivings on the one hand, and fasts on the other—reflect these theological emphases. Thus, for instance, when after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth had minted medals which bore the phrase, 'God blew and they were scattered', she was celebrating the particular favourable action of God in the life of the nation.

To conclude, the state and occasional prayers are central to understanding the place of the Prayer Book as a book for the nation. They indicate the ways in which the Prayer Book tradition of worship has always been outward-looking, and responsive to events and situations both at home and abroad. They offer insight into the life of the nation the book was there to serve, and also into the Church of England's understanding of herself as part of the international Protestant family. This is a tradition of worship which values uniformity and continuity, but which has always been fluid, responsive, and sufficiently flexible to reflect particular events and changing circumstances. The considerable liturgical experimentation of the mid-sixteenth century did not end when the ink dried at the bottom of the Act of Uniformity of 1559. Throughout Elizabeth's reign, there were various attempts to reform the Prayer Book further, while the Puritan alternative *Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers* published from 1584/5 demonstrates that within Church

13 A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, (Oxford 1999), p. 15.

and nation people sought to negotiate the Prayer Book according to their particular theological concerns. The significant body of liturgical material issued as occasional forms of prayer should be seen as part of that ongoing conversation about the nature and emphases of English worship in the decades following the break with Rome.

It is interesting, in this connection, to reflect on our present context, and the ways in which the internet, and especially social media, have given fresh expression to this long-standing tradition of occasional prayer. In early September 2015, semi-official prayers were issued on behalf of the Church of England concerning the environment, the refugee crisis, and in thanksgiving for Her Majesty's long reign. Since then prayers have been published in the wake of the Paris terror attacks in November, and the significant flooding experienced by many areas of the country in December. More extensive orders of service were produced in 2012 for parishes to use to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee.[14] These prayers are intended as a means of giving shared liturgical expression to events of importance or matters of anxiety. Given the plurality of worship in the Church of England today, it seems significant that such prayers—with their background in the uniformity of the Prayer Book liturgical tradition—are deemed desirable and useful in resourcing the Church of England to be a church for the nation. The occasional prayers issued in the early decades after the Reformation served exactly this same purpose: they were there to enable the Book of Common Prayer to be—through changing times and on particular occasions—a book for the nation.

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14 These can be accessed at https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/topical-prayers.aspx.

Mark in The Prayer Book

(A sermon preached at the Festival Eucharist of the Blackburn Branch of the Prayer Book Society, 25 April 2015. Eph 4:7-16; John 15:1-11)

MIKE KIRBY

Today is St Mark's day and a time to remember, perhaps, something of St Mark the Evangelist, and the gospel which bears his name—even though, interestingly, the gospel we have in the Prayer Book for this very day is not from St Mark but from St John.

But what of Mark, the Evangelist? The name of Mark was not uncommon in the Roman Empire; it was probably John Mark, if we hold with some theories that the gospel writer was also the Mark written of in the Acts of the Apostles. He was most likely a Jew, but some scholars suggest that his understanding of local geography and Jewish customs and laws is sometimes suspect—so perhaps he wasn't a Palestinian Jew. If he is John Mark, he is mentioned a number of times in the New Testament—most notably in his missional journeys detailed in Acts. For example in Acts 12:25, we hear that 'after completing their mission, Barnabas and Saul returned to Jerusalem and brought with them John, whose other name was Mark'.

In Paul's letter to the Colossians (4:10), we hear that this Mark, active in the first missional work of the early Church, is the cousin of Barnabas. He accompanies his cousin and Paul in the first great mission; a journey beginning in Antioch in Syria in about 44 AD and then continuing to Cyprus; he parts company with Paul and his companions in Perga in Pamphylia and returns to Jerusalem. Mark's journeying eventually brings him back to Paul and they go to Rome together. He is with Paul in his first imprisonment and is there also a disciple of Peter, who goes on to call him 'my son Mark'. In about 130 AD, Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, wrote that Mark was 'an interpreter of Peter'; leading many to consider that his gospel was probably written in about 60-70 AD, based upon Peter's teachings. This makes it likely to be the earliest of the gospels—where source theory deduces that it provided Matthew and Luke with a common account for their gospels. At that time, the context would have been one of extreme suffering and persecution; it

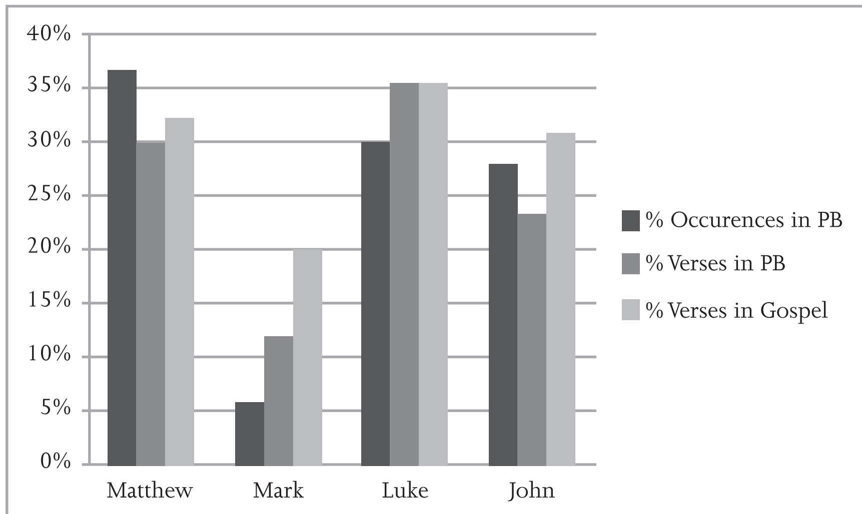
was most likely written for a gentile Christian community experiencing the hardship and cruelty of the emperor Nero in the 60s.

So his writing is based upon Peter's teaching but also possibly on Mark's own memory. For, going back to the time of Jesus' own ministry in Judea, some mention that Mark's family sometimes housed the apostles in Jerusalem and that he himself was a Levite, possibly a minister in the synagogue. Rather uncertainly, some regard Mark as being the young man who followed Jesus after his arrest who, when caught by the guards, ran away naked into the countryside. But, one might say, like that young man, Mark's gospel is brief, fleeting—a writing often described as rushing along headlong and breathless at times; it is the shortest of the four gospels, nearly 40% (by verse) shorter than Luke or Matthew and about 20% shorter than John. But still within all its brevity, it manages to maintain a delightful sharpness and immediacy for the life and work of Jesus, and the good news that Jesus brings.

As I said earlier, it is interesting that today of all days, within the Prayer Book, we don't have an extract from St Mark's Gospel. As you may know I am a scientist, a radiotherapy physicist to be precise, so I like my numbers and scientific analysis. So for fun, I did a little bit of a quick 'back of an envelope' analysis on the Prayer Book itself and the extracts of St Mark that are actually within it—for the different Sundays of the year and the Holy Days and Saints Days. We know that the Prayer Book Calendar invites us into a cycle of readings which allows for a continuous reading of the Scriptures (a *lectio continua*) rather than a selective or piecemeal set of lessons; allowing the New Testament (and so too St Mark's Gospel) to be read in its entirety three times during the year, at Morning and Evening Prayer. But what about the Prayer Book gospels for Holy Communion?

Sadly, considering that St Mark's was most likely the oldest gospel and a source for both Matthew and Luke, St Mark does not feature quite as prominently as the other three gospel writers within the Prayer Book. In terms of occurrences, St Mark is used only twice for Sundays and three times on other occasions – a total of 6% of the total lessons. St Matthew has the most with 37% of the total number, followed by St Luke and St John each with approximately 30%. But examining just the occurrences is perhaps too crude a measure, when the lessons in the prayer book can vary dramatically in length. So, analysing it in terms of verses, as a percentage of the total number of verses in the Prayer Book,

what happens? Well, things become a little more even, with St Mark now representing 12% of the verses. St Luke now takes the top spot with 35%, with 30% for St Matthew and 23% for St John. But, considering the gospels themselves are of varying lengths, perhaps we read a more equal proportion of each gospel within the prayer book? So, as a percentage of the verses in each gospel, the Prayer Book lays before us 20% of St Mark's Gospel, 32% of St Matthew's, 35% of St Luke's and 30% of St John's. So, the statistics show that the representation is a little bit more even when considered that way, and we can see it graphically below.



But quantity is not always quality; and it is interesting to note what readings of St Mark are used. The two Sundays are the 7th and 12th after Trinity when we read about the feeding of the four thousand and the healing of the deaf mute respectively. Beautiful readings, especially when we linger on the beauty of the language within the Book of Common Prayer. For example, we read in the first,

So they did eat, and were filled

A sharp and decisive reflection of the abundance of God's love, so that all may feast at his banquet and be filled to contentment. Or in the second, we can draw a vivid picture of the action of Jesus in his entire ministry when we read

He hath done all things well; he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.

The other three occurrences are for the Ascension and on the Monday and Tuesday before Easter; for these latter two we read great extracts from the gospel, with vivid descriptions of the last supper, the arrest and condemnation of Jesus, and his cruel death on the cross. And perhaps for the elements of Christ's death, the language of the Prayer Book allows us all to truly experience the foot of the cross.

> *And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, eloi, Lama sabachthani? Which is, being interpreted, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? . . . And the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that he so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God.*

And so, perhaps all this, learning about St Mark, his writing as Evangelist, the extracts that we have in the Prayer Book and the beauty of the language in which it is portrayed—all lends itself to fulfil the meaning of the lessons we have heard this morning for St Mark's Day; lessons that we might take home ourselves in being brothers and sisters with St Mark himself. That all of us are given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ—that we all have our individual gifts for our ministry in Christ's name. For through our Baptism and reception of Holy Communion we are one as the body of Christ, with Christ as its head. In the same way too as the branches need the vine off which to feed for its life, we too, like St Mark, abide within Jesus Christ, the true vine, through the nature of reading and learning from the Scriptures, from the Gospels, from the evangelists like St Mark. So that with every re-reading of the gospel passages, God may speak into our hearts afresh and anew as the vinedresser, as the husbandsman—if we allow him to nurture and care for us through the body of Jesus Christ in whom we abide and who abides in us, and if we respond in him by following his commandments. For, like St Mark, we too are those branches, we too can ask what we will and it shall be done unto us, and in so doing, bearing much fruit, shall we glorify our Father which is in heaven.

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A Whig's Interpretation of History

A.C. CAPEY

In the bitterly cold winter of 1657-8, 'the Anglican church was at its last gasp, its services forbidden, its cathedrals desecrated and offered for sale, and its ministers in dens and caves of the earth;[1]in one such den the diarist Evelyn was seized on Christmas morning by armed soldiers. The reference in the Preface to the BCP to 'the late unhappy confusions' which had caused the liturgy 'to be discontinued . . . by undue means, and for mischievous purposes', distil for us the misery which by 1662 its author was 'not willing [there] to remember': today's reader can recover, if he has a mind to do so, the character and force in their context of *mischief*, *confusion* and *undue means*. There were however signs, detectable even in the manner of Evelyn's arrest, that 'Aslan was on the move, had perhaps already landed'.[2] Cromwell's daughter had been married in the proscribed church and according to the proscribed rite. 'In one or two obscure corners of London there were still cellars and upper rooms . . . where the ministers of the banished church . . . read the old Prayer Book to Anglican congregations. These Pepys now began to patronise setting out on a Sunday morning to hear Mr Gunning . . . . read his church's glorious, forbidden liturgy and preach on such subjects as the blessed widowhood of Anne, the mother of the Virgin'. Pepys, who had never 'even seen a surplice choir or heard the sound of organs', was coming to value 'a reasonable and orderly uniformity in church and state'; and Pepys' attitude was representative of a growing distaste for 'the effrontery and vulgar impertinence of . . . the services and extemporary prayers of Commonwealth divines'.[3] 'His Majesty's happy Restoration' may have been secured by individuals with the intelligence to observe the signs and in a position to act decisively, but general and popular support for King and church made it inevitable. By 1662 the author of the Preface could reflect that 'it seemed probable, that, amongst other

1 Arthur Bryant, *King Charles II* (1931)

2 The formulation is C.S. Lewis's in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. A world that has known winter but no Christmas awaits its rescuer, who is heralded by Santa Claus and then the great thaw.

3 Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making* (1947).

things, the use of the liturgy also would return of course', despite the efforts of 'those men who under the late usurped powers had made it a great part of their business to render the people disaffected thereto . . . '

The late Ronald Jasper, by the time he came to write *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*,[4] clearly had no mind to take *mischief* and *confusion* seriously. Not for him the exercise of modish empathy with a generation of exiles and pockets of resistance. His interest lies in charting the progress, as he sees it, from 1662 to 1980. Hence the *development* in his title. It is a peculiarly whiggish word. From our end, having known the worst (to date: there's no doubt worse to come when the synthesizer displaces the organ), it is the philistine-ostrich's word—an optimistic 'positive' gloss on the neutral *change* or the pessimist's *decay*. But to Dr Jasper, who appears to have devoted a large part of his life and career to the dislodgement of Common Prayer, it signifies gradual improvement with the year of attainment ever held in view. The two dates represent not only the two books but a reading of history that uncovers even unconscious intentions to boldly go and, by so going, ultimately to arrive. We can all agree that between the two dates and books is a great gulf fixed. Dr Jasper, however, sure of the object of his journey and *Forward!* being his watchword, writes a tendentious history—writes it backwards, as it were, looking always for signs that what he and his liturgical commission are doing today, yesterday's men were doing, in their own time and their own way, yesterday.

Gareth Bennet, in his preface to *Crockford's* (1987), regrets the current '[discouragement of] any form of denominational history' and the consequent 'weakening of the distinctive character of Anglicanism'. Dr Bennet is 'clear that this weakening . . . is beginning to have its effect on the coherence of the Communion'. Dr Jasper, by contrast, sees the erasure of the distinctively Anglican as an achievement of his own and the ecumenical industry: the Roman Catholic texts incorporated in the ASB (they aren't *called* Roman, of course, lest some churchmen should object) give substance to his claim that 'only a small fraction of the ASB is distinctively and peculiarly "Church of England"'. No two Anglicans could be less alike. Nevertheless, if he hadn't wanted to justify his enterprise in terms of Anglican history, Dr Jasper wouldn't have written Part I of *The Development*; he would have provided just the personal apologia for modern liturgical exercises.

4 R.C.D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy 1662-1980* (1989)

Something of the apologia-attitude rubs off on to the historical survey. The prickly skin of the guildsman shows through—shows that Dr Jasper is not so much a man speaking to men as a professed liturgiologist addressing his fellow ologists. Thus we read that at the Savoy Conference Sheldon 'had little interest in liturgy', whose 'interests [*sic*] were represented by John Cosin [only]'. The observations signify Dr Jasper's axe to grind, not anything historically verifiable or deducible from the use of the word 'liturgy' in the BCP Preface; and they serve to warn us that he will pick up his friends in the most unlikely places. Baxter's *Savoy Liturgy*, described as 'an attempt to harmonise the Genevan liturgical family with that of the Prayer Book, . . . compared favourably with Cranmer's work in 1552'. Already, in the opening pages of his account, we register Dr Jasper's interest and interests, the two elements working against the grain of the history he is nevertheless constrained to write.

To the title's *development* we early learn to add *flexible* as a neutral-commendatory word to describe documents and proposals set against the Book of Common Prayer. Thus the Puritans' 'Exceptions' are said to be 'sufficiently flexible to give ministers freedom in the conduct of worship', while Baxter's liturgy 'made [provision] for flexibility at the discretion of the minister' and so 'provided an alternative form'. Flexibility being of the essence of alternativism, it gradually discards anything neutral in its meaning. The commission set up in 1688 to revise the Prayer Book in order to secure the planned Comprehension ' . . . commendably grasped the important principle that a liturgy should be flexible and should relate to the age in which it is used'; and the Wesley brothers are credited with a 'more flexible approach to prayer' which eventually, along with preaching services, 'became part of established Anglican practice'. Blessed are the flexible.

The assumptions underlying a Whig interpretation of history are not ordinarily so easily recognised, or when recognised put aside, as to make *whiggish* a mere term of abuse. The case against Dr Jasper, however, is that his personal commitment to alternativism leads him to read the past as if the several stages of the past shared his desire to shuffle off the principle of uniformity and were moving towards the kind of variety and flexibility that he values. That such things can be bought only at a price, or that the price may be too high for the health and wealth of the Church, is not a question to engage Dr Jasper. Rather the reverse. The

Convocation Prayer Book of 1879 constituted, he says, ' a step in the right direction towards a better presentation of, and a greater flexibility in, services'; while the Lambeth Conference of 1897 'made a significant step forward . . . [by accepting] that no single book could supply every possible need of worshippers in every variety of local circumstances'. Dr Jasper's predilection for the step forward is reminiscent of the late-Victorian Heyst's 'great stride forward' in Conrad's *Victory*, where it is seen to be a pathetic delusion. For Dr Jasper, however, from his window in the coterie-world of a liturgical committee room, 'what was unfortunate [in 1926] was [the bishops'] lack of liturgical expertise', and there is pleasure (in 1966) in the opportunity for wide-ranging discussions with the [Vatican experts]'; the alteration of the collects (1975) is 'one of the really significant pieces of revision', and family services offer 'wonderful opportunities for creative liturgical work'. Even 'working very much in the dark and [having] to feel our way' represents a form of stepping forward—as it must, the making of Series III being the business in hand.

Dr Jasper has momentary 'misgivings' but no real hesitations. He sees the unfolded history and his own years in committee as all of a piece throughout. The tone and the style change, of course, as he moves on to his own ground: opposition to his doings is in places recorded, though only with the amused, supercilious manner of the expert who has no more respect for the bishops than for the laity, the 'consumer level'; and there is no reference to Richard Fenn's exposure of the manipulation of sampled opinion in the cause of Series III.[5] At the end, when he finds himself driven to admit an important part of the case against the ASB, he is still the Whig, talks of liturgy as a ladder to be climbed, and exhorts us to 'work hard at' the new book to make it easier on the ear and mind. He can't bring himself to admit that his critics should earlier have been taken seriously, or that alternativism has disintegrative consequences which need to be weighed against the restrictions of uniformity. Still less can he afford to invite us, on truly alternative principles, to 'Look here, upon this picture, and on this', lest we be drawn to endorse the civilised preference of Evelyn, Pepys and Cromwell's daughter.

(A.C. Capey was Editor of Faith & Worship from 1986 to 2002. He died in August 2015, aged 83. The article reprinted here first appeared in Faith & Worship 30, *Summer 1991.)*

5 See 'The Questionnaire on Series II', *Faith & Worship* 9.

REVIEWS

Cally Hammond, *The Sound of the Liturgy: How Words Work in Worship*, SPCK 2015, pp. x+192; 9780281069545 (pbk) £19.99, 9780281069552 (eBook) £18.99.

There is a fairly common assumption, which seems to be necessary if the widely-practised do-it-yourself liturgies are to be respected, that the way we worship doesn't matter much. We may all, it is supposed, be doing the same thing though in different ways. Why, on the contrary, style is important in liturgy, how the *what* of what we do may vary with the *how*, is a subject that is surely of interest to Prayer Book Society members. Dr Hammond has a firm grasp of the importance of her subject, and deserves our attention—as well as the attention of the Bishops, the Synod and the Liturgical Commission.[1]

Perhaps the best chapter in *The Sound of the Liturgy*, and certainly the longest, is called 'Posture'. But here we see at once that the author has some trouble in defining her subject, for posture, if one excludes the sound of shoes on floorboards and scraping chairs, is not part of 'the sound of the liturgy', and its contribution to worship cannot come within the scope of the book's subtitle 'how words work'. Dr Hammond tries to meet this objection by claiming that 'Every gesture and posture used in worship . . . encodes worshippers' beliefs about what matters.' (p. 13) If it does, this is a true code, unintelligible without a key, not code in the way language is sometimes said to encode meaning.

The sub-title does cover the question how liturgy should be printed—a topic that it would be rash to belittle, because it has to do with getting the spoken rhythms right; and *that* has more to do with meaning and belief than is usually granted.

Prosody has been part of grammar since classical times and is now claimed as a province of linguistics, which is called the science of language. In prosody, however, there are schools of thought that differ from one another in ways we do not expect in the sciences. Some prosodists including Dr Hammond treat verse metres (like the ancients) in terms of feet; others deny the existence of feet.[2] *Prose* rhythm is a

1 Another book on a closely related subject which should be read is Andrew Davison & Alison Milbank, *For the Parish: a Critique of Fresh Expressions*, 2010.

2 E.g. Richard D. Cureton, *Rhythmic Phrasing in English Verse*, 1992.

subject almost entirely neglected in the last half century—a time when 'literary theory' enjoyed an exponential boom and prose fiction became the most discussed form of literature.

In the context of an important neglected subject it is hardly surprising that a number of Dr Hammond's scansions and observations about the rhythmical shape of prose phrases are controversial in ways that would not be expected in reports of scientific experiment. If they can be coherently challenged, however, we are engaging with a genuine subject, not subjective whims.

Dr Hammond is not the first to notice the frequency of *cursus* forms in English liturgical composition, especially in the Prayer Book and the Coverdale Psalms. The *cursus* is a set, usually limited to three, of cadences, that is, of defined rhythmic patterns for the ends of clauses and periods.[3] When the metrical verse of some of the romance languages, and Church Latin, became accentual rather than quantitative, the prose *cursus* forms too became accentual, and so the commonest, the *planus*, consists of what we can recognise in feet as a dactyl followed by a trochee: stress-unstress-unstress, stress-unstress, tum te te tum te. The use of the *cursus* became a sort of mark of authenticity in papal bulls and correspondence: any document purporting to be from the Papal Curia in which the *cursus* is not practised would be suspect.

It is now the best part of a century since Maurice Croll observed numerous *cursus* forms in the Collects of the Prayer Book, since when one question has been whether they are fully intentional, or just a sort of folk memory of how a Collect should sound, or somewhere in between. There are certainly plenty of them, though the form of the Collect is not rigid and I think Dr Hammond is mistaken to call it 'strict' (p. 152). [4] The *cursus* cadences do not in English occur in a rule-governed way. [5] Many

3 'Periods' not (modern) sentences because a period in classical rhetoric need not be a Chomskyan well-formed sentence, i.e. the kind of syntactic unity that we insist on ending with a full stop. Coverdale's prose Psalms are the main survivor in English of a kind of periodic prose that can be laid out in 'verses' punctuated by colons and commas, but not all the prose verses are also well-formed sentences: e.g. the first two verses of Psalm xcii cannot in modern grammar end with a full stop. Dr Hammond is wrong to call the 'sections' of a periodic sentence by the modern-grammar name 'subordinate clauses' (p. 148 note 86): they need not be governed by the main verb of a complex sentence. Cf. longer discussions in my book *Cranmer's Sentences*.

4 For instance a number of the common-time (Sundays after Trinity) Collects are without the 'honorific address to God'; though according to Dr Hammond this is a 'relatively uncommon' 'subversion of the form'. (p. 153)

5 I touch on the question in my essay 'The Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer' in Prudence Dailey (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer, Past, Present and Future*, Continuum, 2011. My view is that the English liturgists developed an English rhetoric, adapting classical forms to a more monosyllabic language and sometimes, as in the *Benedicite*, regularly alternating *cursus* with forms ending in a stress.

English phrases can be stressed and shaped in a variety of ways. Did she do that? *Did* she do that? Did *she* do that? Did she do *that*? Did she *do* that? In syntactic analysis these are the same question, but the different stress-patterns nevertheless alter the sense. (And by the way 'She did that' can be turned into a question just by different intonation or in writing by the addition of a question mark, 'She did that?') In prose, some *cursus* cadences are more or less inevitable, as when the Lord's Prayer ends with a succession of three *planus* clauses, but because of the commonness of alternative stressings a *cursus* form is sometimes shown to exist when we follow it rather than another available non-*cursus* stress-pattern. The one Dr Hammond made me notice was 'Lord, have mercy upon us.' Any ordinary C of E congregation will phrase this to end in a *planus*: 'm*e*rcy up*on* us'. English permits but certainly does not demand this phrasing. *Upon* is commonly a word of two unstressed syllables (think of place-names) and there is no general reason why it should not be so here. In musical setting, especially of the sixteenth century before some stressings became traditional, the phrase is sometimes stressed 'm*e*rcy upon *us*'. The *planus* shape has, however, captured the collective memory, and it would be odd to give the phrase any other speech-stress. Dr Hammond makes an acute related observation about why priests always begin 'O Lord, open *thou* our lips.' (p. 167)

She is not always so convincing, in part, I shall suggest, because her idea of rhetoric is challengeable. The scansions of verse and of feet in prose are not helped by what I cannot but think the odd practice of scanning not complete lines or phrases but starting with the first stress, or in prose a stress arbitrarily chosen. This makes scansion, whether of verse or the feet to be found in prose, rather like musical notation, where the stress (the beat in the bar) comes immediately after the bar-line; but its first surely very odd effect is to make the notion of iambic verse redundant in English. If a metrical unit must begin with a stress, English verse has to be predominantly trochaic. So in the following lines the 'dominant rhythm' is said by Dr Hammond to be trochaic:

> he lived on earth and went about among us (p. 106)

and

> for ever praising you and saying (p. 106)

and the Prayer-book response

O Lord, make haste to help us

is called a 'trochaic roll' (p. 167) The first of these would (metrically) have raised no eyebrows as a hendecasyllabic blank verse line. I can't believe that Chaucer or Shakespeare or Pope or Wordsworth would have agreed that it is trochaic. As to verse with three syllables to the foot

to crown him with glory and worship

is listed as 'emphatically dactyllic' (p. 172) although it seems to go as repetitions of the *te tum te* formation, that is to say, amphibrachs.[6] As the end of a period it is an enriched *planus*, the *cursus* forms being noticed backwards from the end of the *clausula*, and there the first two feet beginning 'crown' *are* dactyls.

This trochaic / dactyllic scansion is a perhaps minor eccentricity, but the willingness to treat prose more or less as *vers libre* can have worse effects. I suggest that 'for ever praising you and saying' goes better if it is *not* turned into verse by the repetition of feet. To take it as a verse phrase will tend to equalise the stresses instead of giving one stress-peak on *praising*.

The matter becomes important during Dr Hammond's treatment of printing, and the modern practice of printing liturgical prose in lines of different length depending on phrasing, so that a new phrase will be put on a separate line. The idea is that this makes it easier for congregations to catch the rhythms. Whether the lineation actually has this effect may be disputed. Dr Hammond's interesting interpretation is that it is meant to punctuate *per cola et commata* as medieval prose was often punctuated.[7] She remarks that St Jerome initiated this practice 'by abandoning *scriptio continua* in favour of the divisions of sections of Isaiah and Jeremiah *per cola et commata*' (p. 120).[8] Whether the typographers of *Common Worship* were

6 Dr Hammond's list of English feet (p. 98) does include *iamb*, though she never recognises any, but omits *amphibrach*. Her definition of *anapaest* is new to me, for she gives it four syllables, which would make the opening bars of Beethoven's fifth symphony anapaestic. I would call the *te te te tum* foot a sort of paeon.

7 See again my book *Cranmer's Sentences*.

8 I would like to have been told more. Did Jerome reserve verse-like lineation for the more poetic passages and if so was he thinking of specially highly-wrought prose as the best way of imitating Hebrew verse (rather like English translations of the Psalms from the ninth century to Coverdale)? And did anybody imitate Jerome? A vast bulk of medieval prose, Latin or vernacular, was punctuated *per cola et commata* without the divisions being given separate lines (and another vast bulk was not punctuated at all except by the division of words by spaces and sometimes a paragraph mark). I have had the enjoyable experience of inspecting numbers of medieval Latin Bibles from all over Europe, but I don't recall ever seeing prose laid out in lines to draw attention to the colons and commas.

deliberately punctuating *per cola et commata* and at the same time making rhythmic groups more visible by starting new lines for new phrases I have to doubt.

The verse-like lineation of long passages of *Common Worship*, both passages to be spoken by the congregation and passages to be spoken by the officiant, will not work as rhetorical prose unless priests and people are drilled in how to read it. The texts that we *are* used to seeing punctuated by *cola* , namely the Psalms and canticles as they appear in 1662, have each prose 'verse' printed as ordinary prose, as do editions of the 1611 Bible. A congregation seeing passages lineated in the *Common Worship* way will, unless they are taught not to, take them to be 'like verse' and phrase them accordingly. In my experience 'presidents' will read the *Common Worship* passages as metrical verse, because that is what they see in front of them; moreover I need some persuading that this was not what was intended by, for instance, whoever composed Eucharistic Prayer D, which gives us a plethora of metrically regular complete verse lines like this blank verse followed by an iambic tetrameter:

> Almighty God, good father to us all,
> your face is turned towards your world

or what is strongly invited by the tetrameters of Prayer G:

> On the night before he died
> he came to supper with his friends
> and, taking bread, he gave you thanks.[9]

I suggest that these would not be quite as bad if they could be taken as ordinary prose, especially 'On the night before he died,' shaped as a two-beat phrase with stresses only on the assonantal *night* and *died*.

Dr Hammond, however, often notices in prose rhythmic phrases of a metre-like kind, but does not notice that to read metrically may damage the rhythms. She gives an analysis of the Prayer-book Collect for Advent Sunday printed out in verse-like lines and marking *cursus* forms and also what she steadily calls 'rhythm-rhymes', by which strange phrase she seems to mean that repetition of feet which if maintained constitutes metre. Good prose generally avoids lapsing into verse, and it is a weakness if a novelist falls (as they often do) into blank verse; but if two groups of syllables identifiable as feet follow one another we not only have a 'rhythm-rhyme' but something Dr Hammond thinks

9 See my essay 'The Question of Style' in Peter Mullen (ed.) *The Real Common Worship*, 2000.

rhetorically desirable. In this wonderful Collect, which makes a rare drawing together of our looking forward to the Incarnation and to the Second Coming, Dr Hammond points out (p. 150) what she takes to be a succession of five trochees:

came to visit us in great humility

Taken simply this would give a stress-sequence

cáme to vísit ús in gréat humílity

If we are reading in repeated feet, that is, as verse, we would probably also give an at least notional stress to the final *y*. This trochaic reading, I submit, would not be good. Perhaps it could be argued that a stress on *us* is intentional, suggesting 'even us'. I think the focus is better left on the Son. The words go much better as unmetrical prose, following the ancient two two-beat pattern that goes right back to Old English:

cáme to vísit us / in gréat humílity[10]

This would also allow the rhythmic unity beginning with a crescendo of beats very close to each other, 'thy Son Jesus Christ came . . . .' before ending in the not-quite *cursus* cadence of unstressed syllables.

Prose may be expected to go better *as* prose, sometimes complete with cadences, rather than as metrical fragments. Noticing three dactyls in the phrase 'líveth and réigneth with thée and the' Dr Hammond overlooks the *cursus velox* made by the *Common Worship* phrasing, 'thee and the Holy Spirit'. I think the Prayer Book Collects *are* prose and it is not surprising if they go better with prose phrasing, often of two balancing rhythmic units each of two beats, than with the 'rhythm-rhymes' that become inviting with the verse lineation. So I prefer

and pút upón us / the ármour of líght

to Dr Hammond's scansion of two dactyls,

and put up|on us the |armour of |light

and in general I think liturgical prose should be printed as prose is usually printed, but perhaps with more old-style punctuation to point the phrasing as well as the syntax. (This by the way would make a very substantial saving of paper, in some cases more than *one third*! The

10 In feet, which do exist in prose, only not in regular patterns, this would be trochee, dactyl, iamb, iamb, weak iamb.

ordinary edition of *Common Worship* could be reduced from 850 pages to less than 500.)[11]

So by printing out prose in verse-like lines damage can be done as well to the Prayer Book as to modern texts. The Prayer of Humble Access was carefully composed for the single voice of the priest, and works rhythmically to make a more intimate address than the phrases, for instance, of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, through its strings of unstressed syllables like '. . . to come to this thy table O merciful Lord trusting in our own righteousness . . . to gather up the crumbs under thy table . . . .' It is now almost always spoken by the whole congregation, introduced by a versified phrase '*We* do *not* pre*sume*'. If the prayer is lineated in the contemporary fashion, seeing a line written out

> Grant us therefore gracious Lord

how can we not take it as a very regularly trochaic line? *Tum* te *tum* te *tum* te *tum*—which makes it much more stately than it should be. In the same short prayer

> whose property is always to have mercy

becomes (how can it not?) a line of blank verse without gaining anything thereby. Far better to give it the prose shaping of beats on *pro*perty, *al*ways and *mer*cy.

> and our souls washed through his most precious blood

is another blank verse line, quite emphatically regular. The consequent contrastive stress this gives on *our* and *his* is fine, but not the demotion of *souls* to an unstressed syllable. This clause goes much better as two balancing non-metrical phrases, with two successive beats on *souls* and *washed*.

I think the unconvincingness of some of Dr Hammond's remarks arises from a mistaken or incomplete notion of rhetoric, consistent with the very old dress-of-thought fallacy (on which *For the Parish* is good) that style is just a way, quite likely one of many, of clothing an unchanged thought. She does not back up her claim, which sounds strange to me, that 'In the ancient world, rhetoric was the basis of all higher education' and '[T]he term "rhetoric" in ancient times carried none of the negative

11 Dr Hammond discusses serif *vs* sans-serif type but does not remark that a *long* book such as *Common Worship*, or even a long page, in a fairly small sans-serif, is very unusual. Have you ever seen a sans-serif novel? And the mass-circulation newspapers for the most part use serif faces for long articles. Gill Sans is a very good roman face (Gill did not design the italic) but is not suitable in 9pt for a long book.

connotations that it does for us.' (p. 5) This ignores the suspicions of Socrates, who thought rhetoric, the skill of persuasion in language, an enemy of dialectical truth, and so opposed the view of the Sophist Gorgias. According to Wikipedia, Gorgias 'goes to great lengths to exhibit his ability of making an absurd, argumentative position appear stronger. Consequently, each of his works defend [*sic*] positions that are unpopular, paradoxical and even absurd.' (With horrible irony Socrates himself was sentenced to death for making the worse appear the better reason.) Since Plato, *rhetoric* like *sophistry* can be a pejorative term. Be that as it may: Dr Hammond makes the same mistake about rhetoric as Socrates, though unlike Socrates she does not make it the basis of a distrust of rhetoric. She thinks that 'rhetoric (theory) and oratory (practice)' are 'skills' and 'teachable tools available to speakers and writers to effect persuasion'. (p. 93)

The fallacy is to suppose, with both Gorgias and Socrates, that oratory can reliably 'effect persuasion' by skilful use of a set of methods and devices. For Dr Hammond it follows that when the critic notices a rhetorical form the critical work is done. So, for instance, she lists *cursus* forms or 'rhythm-rhymes' and leaves it at that. She does call one *velox* 'lovely' (p. 106: I agree) but that is a rare critical comment. I found the Appendix, 'The Rhythms of the Coverdale Psalter', very interesting—but incomplete because Dr Hammond only lists various rhythmic forms, without comment. I think this leaves off just as we get to the essential question, whether they work. The question cannot be answered within rhetoric, any more than the question whether Wordsworth's blank verse works can be answered within metrics. I can analyse the different kinds of blank verse and still be adrift about whether they are poetry. Rhetoric is notoriously to be found practised by barristers, to this day quite in the tradition of Gorgias, complete with gestures and postures, but it does not always convince and it is not always the most rhetorically-skilled barrister who wins the case.

Dr Hammond writes as if she had nobody to try out her ideas on: *The Sound of the Liturgy* is like a very good doctoral dissertation in the making and without a supervisor. It has much wide-ranging information and a number of good ideas, some of them almost throw-aways, like '[T]he Church persists in trying to impose uniformity of thought and action—while at the same time recklessly destroying the uniformity of language which made worship into "common worship" in the first place.' (p. 40).

But nobody made obvious objections! If this says something about the present state of our liturgical studies, it is a pity there is not more of the sort of community that used to be called a university.

It is good to see contemporary scholars taking 'the sound of the liturgy' seriously. One sign of seriousness is that this is the beginning not the end of a discussion. There is a lot to be done!

Ian Robinson

Divine Worship: The Missal, Catholic Truth Society, 2015. ISBN 9781784690205, £300.

Although unremarked by the outside world, the publication last November of *Divine Worship: The Missal* (for the use of the Ordinariates instituted by Pope Benedict XVI) is a most significant liturgical event. For the first time since the 1662 Book was revised in the newly-independent United States in 1790, a recognisably Anglican eucharistic rite in the language of the Book of Common Prayer has been authorised for world-wide use, even though the authority in question is not Anglican. An account of a service held according to this rite was printed on pages 54-5 of *Faith & Worship* no. 75, to which the reader is referred. This review will concentrate on other aspects of the Missal.

The introductory material insists that this is a form of the Roman Rite, but drawing from the 'Anglican liturgical and spiritual patrimony' (decree of Pope Francis on page 5). Translations and adaptations of the Sarum Use and the Roman Rite have been made since the nineteenth century, but these were private publications by and for Anglicans—this beautifully-presented Altar Missal has, by contrast, official status in those Roman Catholic congregations where it will be used and to which it is, in theory, restricted.

The *structure* of the *Order of Mass* is indeed that of the modern Roman Rite, except from the beginning of the service to the Collect of the Day where it is closer to the traditional order, and in the position of the penitential material. But the *style of the service* is clearly envisaged as being more like the 'old Mass', with rubrical references to 'traditional customs of Anglican Eucharistic worship with respect to orientation, postures,

gestures and manual acts' (page 122) and little Maltese crosses printed at the end of *Gloria*, Creed (in which a genuflection is ordered) and *Sanctus-Benedictus*. In fact the only exclusively Roman features of the basic Order are the old form of the offertory prayers, printed first but alternative to those of the modern rite, the older text of the embolism 'Deliver us...' inserted into the Lord's Prayer—and, of course, the Canon. Otherwise the text is in either the precise words of or consistent with the Book of Common Prayer, and the elements which are peculiar to that Book are fully integrated and at some points actually replace the corresponding parts of the Roman Rite: Collect for Purity, Summary of the Law (American text), Prayer for the Church, Invitation, Confession, 'Absolution', Comfortable Words, Offertory Sentences, Common Preface, Prayer of Humble Access (complete, corporate and also mandatory as it is not in *Common Worship*), 1549 Words of Administration (but no *Amen*), Prayer of Thanksgiving, Blessing (without seasonal variants). The People *may* offer one another a sign of peace, but are not invited to do so.

The Sunday and festal Eucharistic Prayer is a translation of the current form of the Roman Canon, the first to be authorised in 'Prayer Book' English. In its Sarum variant this could be regarded as part of the 'Anglican patrimony', which the ferial alternative, a translation of Roman Prayer II (Hippolytus) can hardly be. This is where an adaptation of 1549 or 1637 would have been welcome, though not to be expected. Perhaps it was not requested. But it may be noted that in the Canon there are inevitable echoes of the Prayer Book Institution Narrative, that three of its phrases and the doxology have passed into the Prayer of Oblation, and that Romans 12.1 is one of the Offertory Sentences.

Five forms of Intercession are provided: two versions of the Prayer for the Church, one adapted from the English book of 1928 and described in *Faith and Worship* no.75, the other from the American Prayer Book of 1979. There are also three litanies, two of American origin, one close to form 4 of *Common Worship;* these may conclude with one of a selection of collects which include the Prayer of St Chrysostom and three of those from the end of the 1662 rite. It is not clear whether choice is restricted to these five forms, which are printed in an appendix instead of in the main text.

Apart from the forms of Intercession, the twelve appendices include the following optional additions and variations, among others:

Cosin's version of *Veni,Creator Spiritus* and the traditional preparatory prayers, for use either in the sacristy or at the foot of the altar, with or without the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* (c.f. 'A Devotion' in the appendix to the 1928 Prayer Book);

the shorter text of the Ten Commandments (adapted to the Vulgate numbering) with their responses, which may replace the Summary of the Law and the *Kyrie;*

the Last Gospel in the 1611 version (not otherwise authorised);

a Litany for use before Mass, kneeling or in procession, derived from the American Prayer Book of 1928. (An adaptation of the 1544/1662 Litany is in the *Customary*—see *Faith & Worship* 72);

Te Deum for use before the Blessing on special occasions of thanksgiving.

In the Propers, the modern Roman Calendar is ingeniously combined with the traditional structure of the Christian Year, with three pre-Lent Sundays and Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity. Except for St. Peter, the Prayer Book Collects are used *on their correct days;* other Collects, with the Secrets and Post-communions, are rather Latinate translations (drawn from unofficial Anglican sources but more characteristic of Cranmer's contemporaries than of Cranmer himself) not of the modern Roman but of the former rite, which is also the source of most of the Introits, Graduals and other chants, using the Coverdale Psalter. The Lessons, which are not indicated, are to be taken from the current three-year Lectionary and read from the Catholic edition of the Revised Standard Version.

Having noted above the absence of the Prayers of Consecration and Oblation, it may be helpful to list here the few other elements of the 1662 rite that are missing from *Divine Worship: The Missal,* some of which are in any case commonly omitted in Anglican practice:

the opening Lord's Prayer (replaced by the Invocation);

the full text of the Ten Commandments (but see above);

the prayers for the Queen (but the Collect of the Accession Service occurs among the Propers);

all but six of the Offertory Sentences (but there are six others, mostly from the 1928 Book);

'militant here in earth';

in the Prayer for Church, the petition for civil authorities (replaced by the 1928 text);

'only' in the last sentence of the same prayer (clearly a deliberate omission, and yet on page15 of the Missal there is a specific reference to 'the Sacrifice of Christ, the sole Mediator');

the Long Exhortation;

'and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort' (necessitated by the position of the Invitation);

'Amen' at the end of *Sanctus;*

the second sentence of each of the Words of Administration;

in the Prayer of Thanksgiving, 'vouchsafe to feed us who have duly received' (replaced by 'feed us in' as in the American Prayer Book of 1979);

the second and third of the six general collects printed at the end of the service.

Some minor weaknesses of the Missal could be mentioned: the bidding 'for the whole state of Christ's Church' introduces only the American version of the Prayer; in the 'English' version, the transposition of the petition for the Clergy has separated it from that for the People, which the American text avoids. After the Comfortable Words seems an odd place to give out notices. A smoother translation of the Canon could have been achieved by adapting the version of Sarum in Proctor and Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* to the current Latin text; while 'chalice' for 'cup' is anachronistic, and 'victim' (for 'offering' or 'sacrifice') too suggestive of passivity (as it is not in 'thou on earth both Priest and Victim in the Eucharistic Feast'). More startling is one small element of the special rites of Holy Week, not otherwise described here, that jars with the expressed appreciation of the 'worthy Anglican liturgical patrimony' (page 120): the Good Friday bidding and prayer for the unity of Christians. In place of the eirenic text of the modern Roman Rite, from which all the others are taken, this for some unfathomable

reason is the older and harsher bidding and prayer for 'those in heresy and schism'. But the thought occurs that the Prayer Book Litany prays for deliverance from such things, and that the bidding and prayer in question are extremely ancient, dating from the fourth or early fifth century, so perhaps to be interpreted in that historical context. Arians?

It was said in *Faith &Worship* 72 (page 45) that 'it would appear that the Book of Common Prayer is more highly regarded [in Rome] than in much of contemporary Anglicanism.' The publication of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, following that of *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, has fully confirmed this impression. Those who value the Prayer Book, however they interpret its Eucharist, may savour the irony of this development and have every reason to feel vindicated. This reviewer (in whose parish the Prayer Book service has not been sung on a Sunday morning since 1967) found the experience of reading the Missal deeply moving, especially page 653 where one finds the 1662 text of the Prayer of Humble Access printed in bold type for congregational recitation, and then turns over to see the finest words ever devised to accompany delivery of the Holy Sacrament. It is of course true that only a small number of Roman Catholic congregations will use this Missal (perhaps thereby following the Prayer Book more closely than some of them did as Anglicans)—some 'mainstream' Catholics, recognising the language of the old bilingual missals, might envy them.

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