TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORSHIP THEOLOGY
IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

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ABSTRACT

TOWARD THE STABILISHMENT OF WORSHIP THEOLOGY IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

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The purpose of this study is to critically analyze the existing problems of worship in the Presbyterian Church of Korea and develop worship theology with biblical, historical and liturgical insights. The biblical foundation for an understanding of worship theology is laid by examining a representative cross section of classic passage and pertinent liturgical tests. A brief sketch is made of the Reformed tradition, especially Calvin and Presbyterian in the British Isles and America. It will also analyze current problems in the worship of the Korean Presbyterian churches, and includes some suggestions for establishment of worship theology in the Presbyterian Church of Korea.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ................................................................................ 1
  Statement of the Problem ...................................................................................... 2
  Statement of Limitations ....................................................................................... 5
  Theoretical Basis for Project ................................................................................ 5
  Statement of Methodology .................................................................................... 6

CHAPTER TWO: THE BIBLICAL BASIS OF WORSHIP THEOLOGY ....................... 9
  A. Worship Theology in the Old Testament .......................................................... 9
     1. Worship in the Patriarchal Period .................................................................. 10
     2. Mosaic Worship and the Exodus .................................................................... 12
     3. Worship from Solomon the Prophets ........................................................... 13
     4. Worship during the Exile ............................................................................ 17
  B. Worship Theology in the New Testament......................................................... 19
     1. Jesus and Worship ....................................................................................... 20
     2. Paul’s Teaching in Worship ......................................................................... 21
     3. Worship of the Synagogue and Temple ...................................................... 24
     4. The Early Christian Worship ........................................................................ 27
     5. Worship Element in the New Testament ..................................................... 31
     6. Jesus as the Centre of Worship .................................................................... 32

CHAPTER THREE: WORSHIP THEOLOGY IN THE REFORMED TRADITION .... 35
  A. A Brief History of Calvin and His Ministry Related to Worship ..................... 36
     1. Reformers before Calvin ............................................................................. 36
     2. Calvin’s Ministry at Geneva ......................................................................... 37
  B. Characteristics of Calvin’s Worship Theology ................................................ 38
     1. God’s Majesty and Human’s Sinfulness ....................................................... 39
     2. Medium Position in the View on Sacraments .............................................. 39
     3. Intimate Connection between Worship and Life ........................................ 40
     4. Atmosphere of Didactic and Somber Worship ............................................ 41
5. Practicalism ........................................................................................ 43
C. Calvin’s Rite ................................................................................................... 44
D. Evaluation of Calvin’s Worship ................................................................. 47

CHAPTER FOUR: A BRIEF HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP ............. 50
A. Presbyterian Worship in the British Isles ................................................. 50
  1. Brief History of the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles ........... 50
  2. Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship in the British Isles ............... 54
  3. Evaluation of Presbyterian Church Worship in the British Isles ...... 57
B. Worship in the America Presbyterian Church ........................................... 59
  1. Brief History of the Early Presbyterian Church in America .......... 59
  2. General Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship in America .......... 61
  3. American Revival Worship ................................................................. 62
  4. Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship after Revival Worship ...... 69

CHAPTER FIVE: WORSHIP THEOLOGY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF
KOREA ............................................................................................ 73
A. Worship Theology of the Early Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea and Its
  Worship ........................................................................................................... 73
    1. Influence of Puritanism ...................................................................... 74
    2. Influence of Pietism and the Revival Movement ............................... 78
    3. Influence of the Theology of Old School and New School ............. 81
B. Nature and Influence of Heathen Religious ............................................... 83
    1. Shamanism and Its Influence ............................................................. 84
    2. Confucianism and Its Influence ......................................................... 86
    3. Buddhism and Its Influence .............................................................. 87
C. Phenomena of Worship in the Presbyterian Church of Korea ............ 89
    1. Prayer ................................................................................................. 89
    2. Hymns .............................................................................................. 90
    3. Preaching .......................................................................................... 92
    4. The Lord’s Supper ............................................................................. 93
CHAPTER SIX: SUGGESTIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF WORSHIP
THEOLOGY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

A. Removal of Influence of Heterogeneous Religious from Worship .......... 95
B. The Balance between Preaching and the Lord’s Supper ......................... 96
C. Worship in and through the Holy Spirit .............................................. 97
D. Worship Encounters God and His Will .............................................. 98
E. Worship through Openness to Sign and Symbols .............................. 99
F. Worship in the Atmosphere of Continuing Contextualization .......... 100

CONCLUSION ................................................................................................. 102

BIBLIOGRAPHY .............................................................................................. 105
The Protestant church in Korea celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1985. During its first century it achieved such astounding growth that one could call it miraculous in the history of the world’s missionary work. Recently however, as the rapid growth in numbers has not continued, the Korean church has become more interested in the qualitative rather than quantitative growth of the Church, in particular, in its liturgy.

For more than one hundred years the Korean church worshiped according to the forms and traditions introduced by the missionaries. These worship forms reflected the “non-liturgical” or “Puritan” patterns that prevailed in the Presbyterian Churches in the United States at the end of the 19th century. These worship forms are largely attributable to a serious dearth of theological insight and liturgical sense in the Korean church community. It is common today to see an overemphasis on the sermon, neglect of the Lord’s Supper, egoistic individualism, and ostentatious rituals without piety. These are far from the Reformed tradition. Rather we should emphasize the importance of public worship with a true sense of consciousness of its theological foundation.
The aim of this study is to discover and describe the origins of Korean Presbyterian worship in order to indicate future directions for the reform of the worship of these churches.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This project focuses on the formation of worship in Presbyterian Church in Korea. The goals of the study include the examination of the early liturgical documents which missionaries introduced and published in Korea, the development of early Korean Presbyterian worship, and theological analysis of the early liturgical documents and introductions. The study asks: “What liturgical traditions did Presbyterian missionaries introduce into Korea?” “How did the early Korean Presbyterian liturgies develop?”, and “How did the Korean patterns of worship compare to other, especially American, forms of Presbyterian worship?” These questions are approached by a historical and theological examination of Korean worship.

Even though the first Korean Presbyterian worship service was held outside of Korea, the history of the Presbyterian Church in Korea began in the fall of 1884, when the first resident Presbyterian missionary, Horace N. Allen, a physician, came to Korea. Many missionaries followed him and the seed of the Gospel began to be sown there by them. Since then, the growth of the Korean Presbyterian Church, in both the number

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2 On Easter Day in 1885, Rev. Horace G. Underwood (Presbyterian, Northern) and Henry G.
and size of its congregations, has generally been recognized as the most remarkable in Asia.

Recently however, as the rapid growth in numbers has not continued, the Korean church has become more interested in the qualitative rather than quantitative growth of the Church, in particular, in its liturgy.

Since 1980, traditional Korean Presbyterian worship has been informed by the “Liturgical Movement” in Korea led by Chang-Bok Chung, a professor of Practical Theology at the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary in Seoul, Korea, and Kun-Won Park, a professor at Hanshin University. Their efforts can be summarized in three ways: (1) recovery of the specifically Reformed or Calvinist tradition, as distinct from the Puritan tradition, such as including of the Lord’s Supper more frequently in the Sunday Worship Service, and the introduction of a Lectionary system for preaching;

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3 Chung introduced the Common Lectionary System in 1984 and has been publishing *A Handbook for Preaching and Worship* based on the lectionary system every year since then.

4 Park introduced and translated the *Lima Liturgy, and Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* into Korean.


6 Tong Ho Cho, *Sungmanchan yebae* [Liturgy of Lord’s Supper], (Seoul: Grace Publisher, 1995).

(2) interest in ecumenical worship as exemplified by the Lima liturgy\(^8\) and the production of creative liturgies,\(^9\) and (3) concern for the contextualization of Christian worship in Korea, including the Christian acceptance of certain forms of traditional ancestor veneration\(^10\) and incorporation of Korean festivals into the church calendar.\(^11\)

However, in spite of these attempted reforms of Korean Presbyterian worship, many critics have noted that the supporting arguments for reform seem to have a weak foundation. Scholars of liturgy in Korea have rarely based their arguments for reform of Korean worship on thoroughgoing historical research tradition introduced by Presbyterian missionaries. Naturally, without a thorough understanding of the early Korean liturgies on the one hand, and of the rich Reformed tradition of worship behind them in Scotland and on the Continent on the other, one can not successfully argue the need for reform of the Korean liturgies. However contrasted these two “moments” in Reformed worship, knowledge of each is necessary in order to contextualize contemporary calls for the renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship.

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\(^8\) Kun Won Park, *Lima Yesikseo* [Lima Liturgy], (Seoul: Kyohoe hyobuihoe, 1987).


\(^10\) Sun Ha Yu, *Kidokkyo yebae wa Yigyo chesa* [Christian Worship and Ancestor Worship], (Seoul: Yangseokak, 1987).

STATEMENT OF LIMITATIONS

This project deals mainly with the worship of one denomination — Presbyterian — and in a delineated time frame. Most materials and reports used in this project are, therefore, restricted to those limits. In some case, however, the materials and liturgical documents of other denominations or ecumenical councils, such as ecumenical hymnbooks, may be examined, when they are closely related to the Presbyterian Church. Since this project concentrates more on a descriptive historical development of early Korean Presbyterian worship, it is not possible to undertake an analysis of sociological considerations, especially with regard to the differences in demographic appeal of the various demonstrations, and the relationship of liturgies to social customs.

The issue of the “liturgical renewal of the Presbyterian Church” or “Korean indigenization of Christian worship” is not the major interest in this study.

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR PROJECT

Chapter One is the introduction and presents a basic overview including the problem found in the study of the Korean Presbyterian Church, significance of the findings, definition of terms, limitations of the study, and the methodologies employed in the reach.

Chapter Two describes that the biblical foundation for an understanding of worship theology is laid by examining a representative cross section of classic passage and pertinent liturgical tests.
Chapter Three describes the biblical basis of worship theology. This includes an inquiry into primitive worship practiced in the Mosaic period as well as the synagogue worship prevalent during the Babylonian captivity. An examination of worship in the New Testament focuses on the institution of the Lord’s Supper by Christ and its continuation by the Apostles. In addition, the two-part structure of worship—a harmonization of the Word of God and the Lord’s Supper—is explored.

Chapter Four analyzes worship theology in the Reformed tradition. Korean Presbyterian Church insists that it has been influenced by Calvinism, its liturgy has unquestionably been influenced by Zwingli’s preaching-centred worship and the limited performance of the Lord’s Supper twice a year.

Chapter Five critically analyzes the existing pattern of worship in the Korean Church with attention given to the influence of Shamanism and other traditional religions. Also, liturgical acts that are strongly influences by these religions, such as offering and the intention of worship are observed.

Chapter Six will suggest establishment of worship theology of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. In particular, the misconception of worship by both the worshippers and the worship leaders as a vehicle for blessing is presented as a potential point of crisis for the Korean Presbyterian Church.

STATEMENT OF METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this project is descriptive-historical and theological.
The study concentrate on the primary sources which directly describe the liturgy of the early Korean Presbyterian Church including the directory of worship, hymn books, liturgical instructions or books, various forms of worship shown in church bulletins, newspapers, and report of missionaries, ecumenical councils or Korean churches. These sources are used to examine the development of worship in the first half-century of Korean Presbyterianism (1879-1934).

These liturgical documents and writings are available in the libraries of the Boston Theological Institute; the library of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary; the Day Missions Library at Yale Divinity School; the Museum of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea(Tonghap); the library of the Institutes for Korean Church History; the library of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary; the Yonsei University Central Library; and the Korea Library of Dr. Samuel H. Moffett in Princeton, New Jersey.

A comparison and analysis of these Korean liturgical texts with liturgical texts from mother churches, such as the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Northern) or the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) will form a part of this project.

Finally, the study will analyze the liturgy of Korean Presbyterian Churches theologically in the light of this historical and comparative research. The theological relation of Korean Presbyterian worship to Calvin, Puritanism, and American
Presbyterianism will be explored.
CHAPTER TWO

THE BIBLICAL BASIS OF WORSHIP THEOLOGY

A. WORSHIP THEOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The worship of God by his people in the Old Testament is distinguished from oriental cults in three ways. First, Israel’s God is a personal God who intervenes in history. Second, the God of Israel is the only true God, not one of a pantheon of gods. Third, Israel in its true worship has no images. The altar of Yahweh had no divine symbol or statue associated with it. Both versions of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8 prohibit the worship of images. The prohibition of images is implicit in that God is transcendent. It was left to later periods to define Him as a spiritual being. The basis of worship lay in historical memory, in spiritual communion, and in obedience. This worship and its practice developed over time throughout the history of Israel.


Yahweh took the initiative again in calling Noah to serve and represent him. Noah obeyed Yahweh, built the ark, and took his family into the ark. At Yahweh’s command, after the flood, Noah, “built an altar to the LORD and, taking some of all the clean animals and clean birds, he sacrificed burnt offering on it” (Gen. 8:20, NIV) to celebrated the deliverance. The communion between Yahweh and Noah was sealed with the rainbow (Gen. 9:11-12).

1. Worship in the Patriarchal Period

The patriarchal era refers to the most primitive period of Judaism beginning with the Creation and ending with Moses’ calling. As exemplified by Cain and Abel’s alter (Gen. 4:3) and Noah’s alter (Gen. 8:20), the earliest forms of worship during this period were tribal in nature and rudimentary in form.

The central figure of patriarchal worship is Abraham, who received Yahweh’s promise of land descendants. The book of Genesis records the history of Israel’s ancestors from their nomadic beginnings. Abraham was called by Yahweh to leave his country and travel to a new land.

The places of worship themselves were established in the sites made holy by a fortuitous encounter with Yahweh and these were marked by some natural object such as a stone, a tree, or a fountain.14 As noted in the book of Genesis, Abraham’s acts of

worship were largely associated with trees,\textsuperscript{15} those of Isaac and Ishmael with wells or fountains, and those of Jacob with stones. These places eventually became sanctuaries or traditional places of worship. However, the primitive worship of the Old Testament can be distinguished from that of heathen religions according to the following intrinsic characteristics:\textsuperscript{16}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worship in Primitive Religions</th>
<th>Ancient Biblical Worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polytheistic worship of nature gods such as the gods of the sun, moon, and stars</td>
<td>Monotheistic worship of Jehovah, one God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worshippers received no response from the objects of worship; one-sided adoration</td>
<td>God’s voice and moral presence was communicated through the biblical altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The figure of the gods were drawn or built for idol worship</td>
<td>A bodily shape was not preserved but rather, God’s absolute power and Word were obeyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence, although the patriarchal act of worship was similar to that of ancient pagan religions, its essence was uniquely Christian in character. In other words, the worship of the patriarchal era clearly exhibited prophetic and priestly elements. Either through direct or indirect encounter with God, God’s will and purpose were made known such that sacrifices made at the altar were acts of offering to the living God.

\textsuperscript{15} See Gen. 21:1-10.

\textsuperscript{16} de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institution, 271.
2. Mosaic Worship and the Exodus

God’s mighty act of redeeming His people from Egypt had to take place before the promise He had made to them could be fulfilled and further revelation given.\(^{17}\) Yahweh drew the people to Himself (Ex. 19:4). They were able to approach Him at Mount Sinai and acknowledge Him as their redeemer and Lord. For Yahweh told Moses, “You will worship God on this mountain” (Ex. 3:12).

In the Mosaic Period, worship was characterised by the celebration and proclamation of Yahweh’s covenant that he had ordained (Ex. 20:11-18). Yahweh who acts in history delivered the Ten Commandments to Moses on Mount Sinai. He demanded sincere worship (Ex. 20:4-5). For Israel, these tablets of stone became the revealed Word of God. Under Moses’ direction the people of God observed public worship in the wilderness. Yahweh directed him to build a sanctuary for worship and an ark for the covenant. Congregational worship, as an institution, was established with the building of the tabernacle.\(^{18}\) Yahweh revealed, in great detail, the terms of the relationship and the pattern for acceptable worship.\(^{19}\)

The continuing revelation of Yahweh at Mount Sinai was a provision for Israel to


\(^{19}\) Peterson, Engaging with God, 26.
live out its role as “a kingdom of priests and a holy nation” (Ex. 19:6). The whole burnt offering was given to Yahweh to make atonement, as an expression of consecration to Yahweh. The guilt and sin offering reflect the concern to deal with the transgression of Yahweh’s law and its consequences in order to maintain the covenant relationship. Both of these rites were for the atonement for sin and are mentioned in connection with confession (Lev. 5:5, 16:21; Num. 5:6-8). Acts of worship have no meaning apart from genuine repentance. A sacrifice of an unrepentant person is “detestable” to the Lord (Prov. 15:8, 21:27).

3. Worship from Solomon to the Prophets

Old Testament worship reached its climax at the completion of Solomon’s Temple at Jerusalem. The temple or “house of Yahweh” was the central sanctuary of the worship of the Lord during the period of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Through the sacrificial and festive worship of the temple, the community of Israel expressed its covenant loyalty to God and was reminded of God’s faithfulness and acts of deliverance. Solomon and the whole assembly of Israel praised and gave thanks to Yahweh, offered sacrifices, and dedicated the temple. Then he knelt and prayed before the assembly and when he had finished “the glory of the Lord filled the temple” (2 Ch. 5:4, 13-14; 7:2). Yahweh appeared to him and said that if the people would humble themselves, pray, and

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21 Ibid., 126-131.
seek His face and turn from their wicked ways then they would hear from heaven, forgive their sin, and heal their land (2 Ch. 7:14). The temple became the central place of worship for all of Israel. They came to rejoice before Yahweh and bring their tithes and offerings. The temple choirs sang psalms appropriate for the festival, while the priests and Levites offered hundreds, and at Passover thousands, of animals in sacrifice. The victory shout and the sound of the trumpet proclaimed the Lord’s presence with His people, aimed the singing of His praises (Ps. 47:5-7).

With the temple came the development of rituals, feast days, and sacrificial offering celebrated throughout Israel (Isa. 30:29). These were to remind people of their sin, but also to remind them of Yahweh’s love and mercy. Leviticus is entirely devoted to the priestly system and sacrifice. A necessary condition of effective worship was understood to be sacrifice. 22 Paul wrote of the gifts offered by Christians as “a fragrant offering, an acceptable sacrifice” (Php. 4:18).

The prophets and the psalms reflect a personal and ethical worship. They protested the mixed motives and empty rituals of the people’s acts of worship. Micah raised the question of what he should offer to Yahweh for the sin of his soul. Should he offer burnt offerings or his first son for his transgressions? He responded that Yahweh required the faithful to act justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with him (Mic. 6:6-8).

Jeremiah spoke for Yahweh and called for reformation of worship through a more

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personal and sincere relationship with *Yahweh*. Blessings and judgements were both connected to the worship of Israel. He spoke of blessings to one “who trusts in the Lord” (Jer. 17:7). He warned of sorrow and calamity to “the shepherds who are destroying and scattering the sheep of [Yahweh’s] pasture” (Jer. 23:1).

Ezekiel also called for reform. “Because you have defiled my sanctuary with all your detestable things and with all your abominations—therefore I will cut you down” (Eze. 5:11). He declared that there was individual responsibility. “The person who sins shall die” (Eze. 18:20a). He denounced sin and condemned false worship. He called Israel to return to genuine worship by means of a vision that revealed *Yahweh* to him. The vision included the visitation of the Spirit, a vision of the glory of *Yahweh* filling the temple, details for offerings, sacrifices, and consecration (Eze. 43:4-5, 18-27; 44:15-18). The vision of the temple and acts of worship climaxed with the blessing of *Yahweh* (Eze. 47:12).

A model of worship is found in Isaiah’s vision in Isaiah chapter 6. He saw the Lord in all his glory and majesty. In confronting *Yahweh*, Isaiah confesses his sin, receives cleansing, and commits himself to the will of God.

Malachi has a burden and concern for worship. *Yahweh*’s covenant had been perverted by unrighteous attitudes. Malachi calls for repentance and dedication to the Lord. For those who repent, *Yahweh* promises healing and a renewal of life. The proclamation of the prophets was that *Yahweh* was acting in judgment, but also giving a message of hope that he would act in forgiveness and restoration (Isa. 40:11, Jer. 31:31-
34, Eze. 20:41). The postexilic prophets pointed to the fulfillment of the hopes that were completed in the New Testament and the renewal of worship.23

The title of the Psalms in Hebrew means "cultic songs of praise."24 Samuel Terrien has made the observation that the Hebrew Psalms "constitute the core of personal prayer and corporate adoration for all forms of Judaism...and for all the churches of Christendom."25 William L. Hollady also says that the book of Psalms has held a unique place in the lives of both Christians and Jews—the Psalms have been a primary vehicle for worship.26 Terrien explains that the Psalms ascribe a sense of worship that is both theocentric and anthropocentric. From sincerity and realism, there is a sense of theological certainty. The psalmist climbs from being dependent and skeptical to stand on rock of faith. Finally, the Psalms appeal to postmodern Christians because they have a sense of historical and moral responsibility. Transcending time and space, the Psalms acknowledge Yahweh's claim on humankind and their response in adoration.27 As the vehicle of spiritual intuition and devotion, the Psalms are central to the biblical history of worship.28

In worship in the Old Testament the emphasis is on Yahweh as the initiator, but Israel responds. The people address Yahweh in a personal way. They offer praise, ask questions, complain about suffering, and converse with him about all the issues of life. 29

4. Worship during the Exile

The nature of worship in the exilic period is much debated. One theory postulates that the absence of the temple and the deportation to a new land forced the faithful to restructure worship to accommodate the new situation. 30 Many of the Jews had become well established in Babylon and had no wish to leave. The initial wave of returnees was not large, and though it was reinforced by later immigrations, Jerusalem was still thinly populated and in a state of ruin seventy-five years after the edict. The Samaritans to the north were antagonistic, claiming that they held fast to true worship while their exiled kin had become polluted with Babylonian influences. The Samaritans and Judeans who had remained in the land had absorbed pagan custom into their worship and began to affect some of the returnees.

With the return of the exiles came a renewed interest in temple worship. The temple was rebuilt and worship, priestly sacrifices, feast days, and pilgrimages were re-established at the cultic centre, the enthusiasm was never to be of the same intensity. The


30 Ibid., 99.
non-cultic aspect of this faith, particularly as expressed through emerging synagogue worship, developed greater importance during the Exile, and Ezekiel and the prophet of Isaiah 40-45 had known God's presence in a strange land without the use of the temple. \(^{31}\)

Synagogue emerged in the exilic circumstance. When the Israelites were put into a situation without the Temple, ritual, and sacrifices, their worship became built around the reading and the exposition of the Scripture. With these crucial functions, the synagogue became a center for the life of the Jews and the Jews evolved into a synagogue-centered religious community. Thus, one of the most remarkable features of the synagogue is that it provided a substitute for the Temple. Not only for the Diaspora but also for the people who came back to Israel, the synagogue effectively provided a substitute for the large number of Jews who could rarely travel from distant to Jerusalem. Furthermore, after the destruction of the second temple by the Romans in AD 70, synagogues became substitutes for the temple. \(^{32}\)

Synagogue worship had various characteristics. It focused on meanings rather than on forms. These traits impacted the worship of the Early Church. One of the most remarkable characteristics of synagogue worship was worship without sacrifice. This is a crucial aspect of synagogue worship.

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\(^{31}\) Ibid.

\(^{32}\) David Peterson, *Engaging With God*, 112.
B. WORSHIP THEOLOGY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The most common Greek word for worship in the New Testament is *proskunein*. It occurs in the Gospels, Acts, and the Revelation, but in the epistles it occurs only three times. Kittel states that it is a concrete term that demands “visible majesty” and is appropriate “only when the incarnate Christ is present or when the exalted the Lord is manifested.” In John 4:20-24, it is used in the figurative sense that true worship is in spirit and in truth and is possible at all times and in all places.

The New Testament has a continuity and a discontinuity with the Old Testament. The gospel message demands a transformation of the traditional categories and patterns of worship. An aim of Peterson is “to expose the discontinuity between the Testaments on the subject of worship.”

The raw material of Christian worship is the common religious inheritance from the Jews in practice, teaching, symbolism of the temple and the synagogue, to the practice and teaching of Jesus. There emerged in the New Testament three types of worship: in the temple, in the synagogue, and in the homes and other place where people

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33 Heb.11:6, 21; 1Cor. 14:25.


35 Ibid.

1. Jesus and Worship

Jesus did not reject Old Testament worship. He regularly attended the synagogue worship on the Sabbath day (Lk. 4:16) and attended temple worship at feasts (Lk 2:22, 4:12; Jn. 7:14). There is no evidence in the Gospel accounts that Jesus either did or not offer sacrifices in the Temple, but it is obvious that He did not deny the principle of sacrifice (Mk. 1:44; Mt. 5:23).

Jesus did, however, rebuke the outward attitude of contemporary worship by supporting the prophets' position that God desired compassion, not sacrifice (Mt. 9:13), and emphasizing that fellowship with God should be continued in secret (Mt. 6:1, 5-6). And in speaking with Samaritan woman, he talked about worship in the heart the temple where the Holy Spirit dwells rather than in the visible temple, and about worship made in Spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:21-24). The more important fact is Jesus viewed Old Testament institution of worship as pointing toward Himself. For instance, He called His earthly body the temple of God (Jn. 2:19). This means, as Rayburn pointed out, that it was in that body that the eternal and perfect sacrifice for the sins of men was made, and once this sacrifice had been offered to God there would be no further need for the temple. When he said at the Last Supper: "This is my body" (Mt. 26:28), and "This is my blood of the

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37 Jones, A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship, 61.

covenant which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt. 26:28), He also, as Webber pointed out, fulfilled the eschatological meaning of the Passover and filled the rite with new meaning.\(^{39}\)

Considering these facts, though Jesus did not inaugurate a new liturgy of worship, He obviously prepared the way for the significant changes that occurred in worship as the new people of God gradually developed a worship depicting the fulfillment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ.\(^{40}\)

2. Paul’s Teaching on Worship

1) Authentic Worship (Rom. 12:1-2)

Romans 12:1 is a prelude to Paul’s teaching on the specific duties of Christians who have been saved by God’s grace. These verses contain some of the clearest teachings of Paul which allude to the nature of authentic worship.

In these verses, Paul urges his readers to offer their bodies\(^{41}\) as living sacrifices, holy and acceptable to God. Then he declares that this is nothing else than spiritual worship. Here “living” is contrast with the sacrifice of the “slain” animal. It means that


\(^{40}\) Ibid.

\(^{41}\) Though in Greek concept, body was mainly considered as the receptacle containing the soul, it was different in Hebraic concept which viewed humanity as a unit. It is clear that in this verse body contains the inner person. It means “the vehicle that implements the desires and choices of the redeemed spirit.” Everett F. Harrison, “Romans.” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary*, vol. 10, eds. Frank E. Gaebelein and J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Regency Reference Library, 1976), 127.
the true sacrifice that Christians offer to God is not offering a slain animal but living sacrifices of themselves. Even in the Old Testament, the point of sacrifice is not in the death of the victim, but in the offering of the peoples' life to God. Thus, Christians have to offer their lives, and nothing else, to God. Christian worship is to embrace the whole of self and the whole of life in contrast to the external and ceremonial temple worship. Christians have to renounce the sins of their past and commit to a life of obedience to God's will. This is a living sacrifice which is "holy" and "acceptable to God."

With this saying, Paul impels Christians to "live out" their worship in their everyday life. Their religious service cannot be restricted to congregational worship on Sunday. Their worship consists in being a Christian in their ordinary life. This is how they praise and honour their God. Thus, authentic worship is service of sacrifice which is offered not by certain sacred persons but by all Christians.

2) Teaching on the Temple (1 Co. 6:19-20)

Jesus intimated that His body was the new temple through His action in cleansing the temple (Jn. 2: 19-20). Paul also provided a new interpretation on the temple based on the redemptive ministry of Christ; he declared that the church and even every believer is the temple of the Spirit of God (1 Co. 3:16-17; 6:19-20).

42 Ibid.
Paul teaches how the Christian should see his/her body, reproaching Corinthians about their fornication. Paul teaches here that—through the redemption of Christ—the Holy Spirit dwells in the believer’s body (expression of the total personality). Thus, the Christian should keep his/her body holy as God’s temple for God’s holy purpose. The temple must not be abused by sin.\textsuperscript{45}

The temple is the locus of worshipping and encountering God. God’s people encounter and worship God through Jesus who is Himself the new temple. After Jesus ascended, the Holy Spirit came to every Christians, the body of Christ, and he/she also becomes the temple. As a result of this, worship as encounter between God and his people cannot be confined in the context of Christian congregations. Everyday life is the continuation of worship since the worshipper faces God continually. In worship the Spirit’s work is to focus Christian attention on Christ crucified and exalted, held in unison.\textsuperscript{46}

Now a sacred life is the “worship service” which is proper for the new temple. Worship in the sense of devotion to God is by no means abolished. But this dedication is not restricted in a special defined locus; it also takes place in the midst of the life lived by Christians period.\textsuperscript{47} Furthermore, the present eschatological reality calls Christians forth


into the world that God has created and summoned. They need to reveal God’s presence through their life that is different from that of non-believers. Wherever he/she goes and whatever he/she does, he/she has to reflect God’s character and presence.48

The foundation of Paul’s theology of worship is in humankind’s refusal to serve and to glorify God.49 “Although they knew God, they neither glorified him as God nor gave thank to him” (Rom. 1:21). His response was “in view of God’s mercy, to offer your spiritual act of worship” (Rom. 12:1). The refusal to glorify God, and as a consequence of the people’s rebellion against Him, there was an anticipation of God’s wrath on the Day of Judgment. Paul’s exposition shows how God acts to transform the situation. As a result of Christ’s death, resurrection, and exaltation, it is possible to have a relationship with God in a new way. On the basis of Christ’s atoning sacrifice, one can offer worship that is acceptable.

3. Worship of the Synagogue and Temple

1) Synagogue Worship

Worship in the synagogue and temple prevailed during the time of Christ. Worship at the synagogue was centered around the recitation and exposition of the Law.50 During the time of Christ, synagogue worship also included reading the Book

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49 Ibid., 169.

50 Jones, A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship, 40.
of Prophecy, singing hymns, reciting response, and prayer.

An outline of a typical synagogue liturgy follows:\(^{51}\)

Call to Worship—The ruler of the synagogue invites a member of the congregation to commence the service with a psalmic blessing.

Cycle of Prayers—The cycle of prayers included the Yotzer, prayers emphasizing the theme of God as Creator, and the 'Ahabah, prayers emphasizing God’s covenant love for Israel.

Recitation of the Shema—This congregational recitation is both a confession of faith and a benediction and includes Deuteronomy 6:4-9, emphasizing God’s oneness, Deuteronomy 11:13-21, emphasizing obedience to God’s law, and Numbers 15:37-41, emphasizing tassels on garments.

Second Cycle of Prayers—The minister summons someone from the congregation to lead in the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions, prayers ranging over a variety of themes and including praise and petition.

Scripture Lessons—The Scripture lessons included reading, translation if necessary, and exposition of a passage from the Torah, one from the Prophets, and perhaps a selection from the Psalms.

Benediction—Often a psalmic selection.

Sermon—Based on the Scripture reading of the day.

Congregational Blessing and Amen—Often a psalmic selection.

Worship in the synagogue was strikingly different from that in the Temple.

First of all, it had no sacred rituals. The characteristics of the synagogue service were to observe worship without sacrificial offerings and to perceive the importance of the Word of God as the prophets had thought. This means that the people began to understanding that to obey the commandments was to worship God. Reading and understanding the Word of God became the center of the service in the synagogue.

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A number of selections were read by a few people in Hebrew followed by an interpretation or sermon and concluding with questions from the congregation. The worship procedure was carefully regulated and formal preparation was well developed.

2) Temple Worship

The temple of the Old Testament was not a regular place for worship. Most Israelites gathered at the temple to observe annual festivals and for particularly important functions such as a sacrifice, the removal of ceremonial uncleanness, or for the consecration of an offering or even of one's own body to make a covenant with God. Aside from special services, worship in the temple was sacrificial in nature and sacrifices were made daily. Living and symbolic offerings were used for the sacrifices and most of the participants lived in or near Jerusalem.

Temple worship was more impressive in splendor, with its ceremonial performance by the organized functionaries. However, worship of the synagogue left more mark upon Christian worship. Maxwell suggests two reasons for this. The first is that the great majority of Jews scattered throughout the Roman Empire had never seen the Temple, while naturally for the Gentiles who became Christians it meant little as an imposing architectural sight. The second reason is that, forty years after the death of Jesus,

the Temple was destroyed and its importance was permanently eclipsed; the synagogues remained.

4. The Early Christian Worship

Early New Testament Christian worship had its distinctions. The sacrificial system of the Old Testament and many of its rituals were not appropriate for Christian worship. There was a spirit of zeal and joy in Christian worship with the emphasis on the risen Christ.\footnote{Cf. 2 Co. 3:17-18.}

There is no prescribed form or order for worship in the New Testament. Paul warns against excesses including speaking in tongues and concludes, “all things should be done decently and in order” (1 Co. 14:40). The church has an obligation to exercise discipline within the covenantal community. Paul encourages the Christians to speak to each other “psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,” to sing and make music in their heart to the Lord, “giving thanks to God the Father at all the times and for everything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Eph. 5:19-20).

The public reading of the Word of God was definitely an element of early Christian worship. Paul wrote Timothy, “give attention to the public reading of scripture” (1 Tim. 4:13). His letters were written to be read in the churches.

The proclamation of the Word of God was part of the early church worship. Paul encouraged Timothy to preach the Word (2 Tim. 4:1-4). The early church proclaimed the
‘kerygma.’ The ‘kerygma’ is defined by C. H. Dodd as the public proclamation of the Gospel to the non-Christian world. Paul’s meaning is that by virtue of Christ’s death, burial and resurrection, the believer crosses from ‘This Age’ to ‘The Age to Come.’ The ‘kerygma’ is preached wherever Christians go.

There is a great deal of evidence of prayers in early Christian worship. Acts 2:42 tells us that they devoted themselves to teaching, fellowship, breaking of bread, and prayer. Prayers included thanksgiving, petitions, intercession, and benediction. The model prayer was given by Jesus to his disciples in Mt. 6:9-13. “Amen” is given by the congregation to express their assent to what is being prayed (1 Co. 14:10).

Early Christians gave offerings in public worship. Paul instructed the churches of Corinth and Galatia to set aside part of their income on the first day of the week for their offering (1 Co. 16:2). The offering is to be given cheerfully the heart, not reluctantly or under obligation (2 Co. 9:6-7). By giving generously, one’s offering results in thanksgiving to God (2 Co. 9:11).

Confession is seen as a part of worship in the early church. James wrote, “Confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another” (Jas. 5:16). Paul, in his letter to the Romans, writes that confession of faith in Jesus Christ is part of salvation. In his letter to Timothy, Paul charges him to “take hold of the eternal life, to which you were

55 Ibid., 11.
56 Cf. Lk. 11:2-4
called and for which you made the good confession” (1 Tim. 6:12).

Regarding music in the New Testament, it seems clear that Christians used three different types of songs: “Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual songs.” It is amazing that Paul delineates three different genre of music for worship, mentioning them in two different letters (Eph. 5:18-19, Col. 3:16) to two young churches. Egon Wellesz, one of the leading authorities on the music of this period observes:

St. Paul must certainly have been referring to a practice well known to the people to whom he wrote. We may therefore assume that three different types of chant were, in fact, in use among them, and we can from an idea of their characteristics from the evidence of Jewish music and later recorded Christian chant:

1. Psalmody: the cantillation of the Jewish psalms and of the canticles and doxologies modeled on them.
2. Hymns: songs of praise of syllabic type, that is, each syllable is sung to one or two notes of the melody.
3. Spiritual songs: Alleluia and other chant of a jubilant or ecstatic character richly ornamented.

Besides these, there was the agape, or love feast which was an ordinary meal partaken of in common by the believers. Usually at the conclusion of the Agape or Love Feast, sometimes apart from it, they celebrated the Lord’s Supper. However, even in the day of Paul, this custom allowed for the introduction of serious problems (1 Co. 11:17-22). Because of these problems, the liturgical agape disappeared within about one hundred years after the founding of the Christian church, although a form of the love

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feast was observed in some areas for perhaps five centuries.\textsuperscript{59}

5. Worship Element in the New Testament

Paul's listing of service actions in 1 Corinthians 14:26 undoubtedly was made to set the charismatic elements in the context of full worship. Other liturgical excerpts are mentioned throughout the epistles, showing that early Christian practices included most of those considered important today. These then were the elements of first-century worship, according to the New Testament witness, and the clarification of later history.\textsuperscript{60}

The New Christian Synagogue (Service of the Word)

Scripture Readings—(especially the Old Testament prophets, and including letters from Paul, which were canonized later).

“Until I arrive, give attention to the public reading of scripture . . .” (1 Tim. 4:13) “And when this letter has been read among you, have it read also in the church of the Laodiceans . . .” (Col. 4:16)

Homily—“On the first day of the week, when we met to break bread, Paul was holding a discussion with them . . . speaking until midnight.” (Acts 20:7)

A Confession of Faith—(possible at the time of baptism) “. . . take hold of the eternal life, to which you were called and for which you made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses.” (1 Tim. 6:23) The earliest creed may have been as simple as “Jesus Christ is Lord,” similar to the Ethiopian eunuch’s confession, “I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.” (Acts 8:37 KJV)

Singing—(of various types) “. . . psalms and hymns and spiritual songs . . .” (Col. 3:16), probably without instrumental accompaniment. Prayers “They devoted themselves to . . . the prayers.” (Acts 2:42) “I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for everyone, for kings and all who are in high positions, so that we may

\textsuperscript{59} Rayburn, \textit{Worship in Ancient Israel}, 87.

\textsuperscript{60} Donald P. Hustad, \textit{Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal}, 152.
lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and dignity.” (1 Tim. 2:1-2)

Congregational Amen—“... how can anyone in the position of an outsider say the “Amen” to your thanksgiving, since the outsider does not know what you are saying?” (1 Co. 14:16)

Collection — (alms) “Now concerning the collection for the saints... On the first day of every week, each of you is to put aside and save whatever extra you earn, so that collection need not be taken when I come.” (1 Co. 16:1-2) Physical Action “I desire, then that in every place the men should pray, lifting up holy hands...” (1 Tim. 2:8)

The Continuing Upper Room (Service of the Table)

Thanksgiving—(Gr. Eucharistia) “Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it... And he did the same with the cup after supper...” (Lk. 22:19-20)

Remembrance—(Gr. Anamnesis) “Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.” (1 Co. 11:25b)

The Anticipation of Christ’s Return—“For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes.” (1 Co. 11:26)

Intercession—(following the example of Christ in the Upper Room) “After Jesus had spoken these words, he looked up to heaven and said... ‘I am not asking on behalf of the world, but on behalf of those you gave me, because they are yours,’” (Jn. 17:1a, 9b)

The Kiss of Peace—(evidently a Jewish practice, continued by early Christians) “So when you are offering your gift at the altar, if you remember that your brother or sister has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother or sister, and then come and offer your gift.” (Mt. 5:23-24). The phrase “kiss of love” or “holy kiss” is found in Romans 16:16, 1 Corinthians 16:20, 1 Thessalonians 5:26, and 1 Peter 5:14.61

6. Jesus as the Centre of Worship

The Gospel of Matthew uses ‘proskunein’ for worship ten times which is more

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61 Ibid., 152-153.
than any other book in the New Testament. The Gospel begins with the assurance that salvation history has been moving toward Jesus Christ as the final and definitive manifestation of God’s presence with his people. God’s intervention through the Holy Spirit in the conception and birth of Jesus signals the fulfillment of Isa. 7:14. God spoke through the prophet that he would be called Immanuel, meaning ‘God with us’ (Mt. 1:23). Although Matthew does not explicitly state that Jesus is the new temple, in the debate with the Pharisees, he alone records “that one greater than the temple is here” (Mt. 12:6).

The uniqueness of the person and work of Jesus Christ is linked to his possession of the Spirit and that recognition of this truth is of eternal significance. At the transfiguration the three disciples are able briefly to see something of the true glory of God (Mt. 17:1-8). By the resurrection, the exalted Christ became the mediator for all nations. The blessings promised through Abraham are now to be enjoyed by all nations “to the very end of the age” (Mt. 29:20). The covenant of the Old Testament is made new and consummated in Jesus whereby God’s presence is manifested.

The second advent of Jesus as Judge is a second part of the ‘kerygma.”

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63 Ibid., 81.

64 Compare Jn. 2:13-22.


Judgment is seen by Paul as a function of the universal lordship of Christ. Jesus attained to be judge through his death, burial, and resurrection. Paul sums up his proclamation in 1 Thessalonians 1:9-10 that those who turn from their idols to serve the living and real God, Jesus will rescue “from the coming wrath.”

Unbelievers become ‘true worshipers’ when they turn to Jesus as Lord and Saviour through the proclamation of the gospel and the work of the Holy Spirit in their lives. In a world characterized by religious plurality and relativism, the exclusive claim of the gospel message provokes hostility and the temptation to modify the gospel message. Christians need to continue pointing to Jesus as the one in whom alone the nations can be united in worship.67

Worship is centred in Christ; therefore, it also includes the eschatological hope the consummation of the work of Christ.68 Christian celebrates the triumph of Jesus over sin and death, but acknowledge that his work is yet to be completed. In worship, hope is expressed in the future completion of this triumph. There is a sense of anticipation throughout worship. This anticipation is expressed in the prayer of Jesus, “Your kingdom come” (Mt. 6:10). This hope is seen in Paul’s instruction on the Lord’s Supper to “proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes” (1 Co. 11:26). Worship transforms the church from the earthly sphere to the everlasting worship envisioned by John in Revelation chapters 4-5. The worship of the church draws believers into the relationship of the age to

68 Webber, Worship Old & New, 69.
come and provides the hope to live in the post-modern world. There exists a tension between the Resurrection and Second Coming, between promise and fulfilment. 69

C. H. Dodd, in addressing the eschatological scheme of the apocalypse, asks how is it true that the prophecies were fulfilled which spoke of the congregation of the righteous being transfigured into the glory of an immoral life? 70 Paul’s ‘kerygma’ answers the question in terms of the unity existing between the Messiah and the Messianic community. They are righteous and glorious which are in full reality in the communion of ‘His Body’ in Christ. 71

The order of worship flows out of the principle that worship celebrates Christ. Consequently, a rule which can be followed when creating a sequence for worship is that worship tells and acts out the Christ-event. Principles of Christian worship derive from the biblical conviction that the foundational event celebrated in worship is the dying and rising of Jesus Christ. The proclamation of Christ’s life, death, resurrection, and coming again are told and acted out through the service of the Word and the Lord’s Supper.

69 Ibid., 70.

70 Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, 62.

71 Ibid., 63; 1 Co. 1, 2 Co. 3:17-18, Rom. 6:8-10.
CHAPTER THREE

WORSHIP THEOLOGY IN THE REFORMED TRADITION

The Reformed tradition originated chiefly in three centres under three different leaders: Zwingli in Zurich, Bucer in Strasbourg, and Calvin in Geneva. Of these three men, Calvin was the most effective reformer in synthesising and formulating reformed theology and practices of worship. Furthermore, his theology and practice of worship became the main root of Presbyterian worship.

It is true that worship in the Reformed tradition has shown inconsistency during its history. However, the basic theology and form of the Reformed worship was shaped by the three reformers mentioned and, in particular, by Calvin. This tradition has been continuous throughout the history of the Reformed church. This chapter will find basic traits of worship in the Reformed tradition by focusing on Calvin. For this purpose, this chapter will present a brief history of Calvin. Then it will investigate and evaluate the characteristics of Calvin’s theology and practice of worship.

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73 Ibid.
A. A BRIEF HISTORY OF CALVIN AND HIS MINISTRY RELATED TO WORSHIP

Calvin was a major figure in the Reformed tradition who was influenced by many who went before him. His ministry was carried out in a context where the church and the state were closely connected. In this situation, the character of worship was different from that of worship in today’s independent church.

1. Reformers before Calvin

Soon after Luther began to challenge the medieval church with his ninety-five theses, Huldreich Zwingli launched the more radical Swiss Reformation in Zurich, Switzerland. By the early 1520s, Zwingli had organized the first Reformed church, from which numerous Reformed churches were influenced. He made one enduring contribution to the Reformed tradition in his approach to liturgy and worship. Undoubtedly, Calvin was influenced by him in regards to worship theology and practices. But Zwingli’s contribution to the development of the Reformed tradition was limited because he died relatively early in the Reformation period during a religious war in 1531.74

The more direct effect on Calvin in regard to worship came from Martin Bucer (1491-1551), when Calvin worked as his colleague during 1538-1541 in Strasbourg.

Bucer produced a Reformed rite which gave strong impact upon the origins of two traditions: the Reformed (via Calvin) and the Anglican (via Cranmer). Calvin used a liturgy that was, in many ways, a French translation of the one Bucer was using. Upon his return to Geneva, Calvin published a service book in 1542 based on the rite which was used in Strasbourg. Although Calvin was heavily influenced by the former reformers in this way, he, nevertheless, put his own imprint on all he did in the area of worship.  

2. Calvin's Ministry at Geneva

In July 1536, Calvin stopped by Geneva on the way to Strasbourg because of the perils of war. There he was strongly exhorted to remain in Geneva by Farel, a reformer at Geneva. At first, Calvin's work in Geneva began very modestly, as a lecturer on the Bible. He was appointed to be one of the preachers after one year. After this, Calvin's influence increased so greatly that a series of recommendations were presented to the Little Council, mainly by him, in January 1537. But the success of Calvin's work aroused bitter opposition in Geneva, and finally Calvin and Farel were banished. Farel found a pastorate in Neuchatel; and Calvin, at Bucer's invitation, a refuge in Strasbourg.

Meanwhile, a political revolution occurred in Geneva. The party that had secured Calvin's banishment was overthrown and the party friendly to Calvin was once more in power. The party sought Calvin's return and persuaded him to come back to Geneva. As

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soon as he came back to Geneva, he secured the adoption of his new constitution for the Geneva church, the Ecclesiastical Ordinances. In addition to the Ordinances, he prepared a new and much more effective catechism, and he introduced a liturgy which exhibited a felicitous combination of fixed and free prayer.\(^77\)

Under Calvin’s guidance, all of Genevan life was under the constant supervision of the Consistory of Geneva. Calvin wished to make the city a model of a perfect Christian community. For this purpose, worship provided the chief opportunity for instructing and reprimanding the people and became an integral part of the life of the Genevan people. Its rigorous evangelism attracted refugees in large numbers from France, Italy, the Netherlands, Scotland, and England.\(^78\)

**B. CHARACTERISTICS OF CALVIN’S WORSHIP THEOLOGY**

For Calvin, worship was basically God’s people acknowledgement of God’s sovereignty and otherness. Yet, he was very practical in the performance worship so that it would be a powerful context whereby congregations were nurtured as God’s holy people in the world.

\(^{77}\) Ibid., 477-8. Cf. Calvin did not have any hostility toward fixed forms which his spiritual descendants in Great Britain and America afterward manifested (See Walker 1985, 477).

1. God’s Majesty and Human’s Sinfulness

For Luther, worship was humanity’s grateful response to the message of liberation and assurance. Loving confidence in God’s generosity was its essential mood. On the contrary, for Calvin, worship was the solemn acknowledgement of God’s sovereignty rendered up by his holy and elected people. In his view, the congregation needed to recognize God’s unspeakable Majesty and Otherness, and the nothingness and sinfulness of humanity in worship service. In the type of worship which he established, there was the impact of divine transcendence on the awe-struck-soul and the worshipper’s effort to respond with a deep sense of creaturely limitation. Therefore, the homely, intimate, and incarnational aspect of worship seems to have had little appeal to him.\(^79\)

Calvin expected that his congregations would have the attitude of willing and obedient service in God’s presence. He tried to let them recognise that they owed everything to God who had freed them from the bondage of sin and adopted them into His family through Jesus Christ. They needed to lay everything at His feet to serve Him, perceiving God’s majesty and human’s sinfulness.\(^80\)

2. Medium Position in the View on Sacraments

Zwingli did not accept the necessity of signs in worship. He considered the Sacraments as oaths of allegiance to Christ. The word *sacramentum* had meant (in Latin)\(^79\)\(^80\)

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the oath of allegiance to the officer. Thus, he strongly opposed Luther's localized objective presence of the Lord in the elements.\textsuperscript{81}

In contrast to Luther and Zwingli, Calvin's view on Sacraments was a midway position between these two reformers. Calvin recognised the necessity of signs in worship. He thought the institution of sacraments provided visible signs through which God's love could be revealed. He recognised that God uses material things to reveal spiritual things to us, and this view on signs provided important insights into how humans related to God. Therefore, Calvin carefully strove to construct a real but spiritual presence of Christ,\textsuperscript{82} again placing him in something of a middle position between Zwingli and Luther.\textsuperscript{83}

3. Intimate Connection between Worship and Life

For Calvin, worship was not limited to just the liturgy of the church. Rather, it extended to all areas of a congregation's life. Worship must express itself in life. In Calvin's view, as worship was fulfilled in front of God, the life of Christians was also "the life in front of God" (\textit{Coram Deo}).\textsuperscript{84} Therefore, worship is intimately interwoven with life in Calvin's idea. White describes it as follows:

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{81} Calvin IV, xvii, 19.
\bibitem{82} Calvin IV, xvii, 7, 33.
\bibitem{83} White, \textit{Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition}, 64.
\bibitem{84} Mackay, \textit{The Presbyterian Way of Life}, 145.
\end{thebibliography}
He resolved to make Geneva a city set on a hill for the world to see what a truly reformed city could be . . . Parents who failed to raise their children in the faith, along with other transgressors, could be refused communion by a process known as ‘fencing the table.’ This direct connection of worship and morality was to have a long, if not happy, legacy, for it gave worship a social function quite distinct from the glorification of God.  

Therefore, for Calvin, worship was the chief opportunity for the instructing and reprimanding of congregations to be God’s holy people. Worship in his church began with confession which reminded worshipers that they were incapable of any good and that they transgressed God’s holy commandments without ceasing. At communion, a long list of sins was read and everyone who felt guilty was told not to receive the sacraments.

He wanted worship to be an opportunity for edification of the congregation. Thus, a major criterion of worship was edification. If a practice met this criterion, non-biblical practices could be tolerated or even encouraged. If it failed to meet the criterion, even a biblical practice was ignored. He worked hard so that worship could be connected to life.

4. Atmosphere of Didactic and Somber Worship

Calvin’s desire to make Geneva a model for the Reformed cities throughout

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85 White, Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition, 65.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid., 118.
Europe led him to use every opportunity, in particular the worship service, to be instructive. With this intention, worship in his church came to have cerebral and didactic characteristics. Most of the worship elements in his church were oriented toward a didactic purpose. For example, the sermon played a main role in disciplining the congregation. In addition, hymns, and prayers became a means of proclaiming God’s Word. The “long prayer” was a kind of a short sermon. The minister recited the Lord’s Prayer in a long interpretative paraphrase. The Decalogue was emphasised strongly for didactic purposes. At the time of full Communion, the minister read a long exhortation on the meaning of the Communion after the words of institution and before the reception of the sacraments.88

In addition, there was certain sombreness in the worship style of the Genevan Church corresponding to its didactic character. In the case of Lutheran worship, there was a buoyant expression of gratitude to God for His grace and mercy, in consonance with the typical subjectivity of the Lutheran mood. It started exuberantly with hymns of the new life, soon to be accompanied by the sonorous strains of the organ. Yet, in the church of Geneva the Psalms of David was the sole book of praise, unaccompanied by instrumental music. The whole emphasis of worship in the church was laid upon the use of the lips and the ear. The Word of God was spoken, sung, and heard. But rarely was the eye used in Genevan Church worship.89

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89 Mackey, The Presbyterian of Life, 147.
5. Practicalism

Worship must not only be correct but also be understood. Of course this insistence was not Calvin's own. Luther had already practised worship in the language of the people. But Calvin went further. He insisted that all the acts and symbols of worship must be clearly understood by the congregation. In music care must be taken lest the melody obscure the meaning. In preaching, language must be used to communicate thought, not to impress the hearer with the speaker's learning. In the sacraments, the Word must explain the act or symbol. Church members were educated in the liberal arts so that they could understand not only the Word of God but also the works of God in His world.

Calvin tried to achieve the simplicity and purity of the primitive rites. The liturgy must "lay aside all theatrical pomp, which dazzles the eyes of the simple, and dulls their minds." In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Calvin objected to the "spectacular" and to the "lifeless and theatrical trifles, which serve no other purpose than to deceive the sense of a people stupefied." Concerning ceremonies Calvin wrote that it is necessary

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90 Calvin IV, xiv, 3-4.
91 Calvin III, xx, 32.
93 Calvin IV, xiv, 4.
94 Calvin I, v, 2.
95 Calvin IV, xv, 19.
96 Calvin IV xvii, 43.
to keep fewness in number, ease in observance, dignity in representation, which also
includes clarity.\textsuperscript{97} So he set aside all of the traditional apparatus of Catholicism; its
Episcopal order, its liturgy, symbols, and cults. He did not permit organ, choir, colour,
and ornament except for a table of the Ten Commandments on the well. No hymns were
sung other than those derived from a biblical source. As Evelyn Underhill wisely points
out, for him, “The bleak stripped interior of the real Calvinist church is itself sacramental:
a witness to the inadequacy of the human over against the Divine.”\textsuperscript{98}

However, he did not totally throw away every liturgy like Zwingli. He recognised
the usefulness of sign in worship for the edification of congregations since they were
weak. He thus accepted all styles as long as they were helpful for the edifying of
congregations. Furthermore, he attempted to perform Sacraments once a month, even
though his view was not accepted by the council of Geneva.

C. CALVIN’S RITE

Calvin’s reformation of worship attempted to reconstruct early church worship as
much as possible based upon the warrant of Scripture.\textsuperscript{99} For this reason, he wanted to

\textsuperscript{97} Calvin III, xx, 30.

\textsuperscript{98} Underhill, \textit{Worship}, 219.

\textsuperscript{99} Band Thompson, ed., \textit{Liturgies of the Western Church} (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Fortress,
1980), 185.
abolish the traditionally transmitted ostentatious and symbolic rituals of the medieval church, and recover a simple form of worship. The first edition of the rite which appeared in 1540 he called *The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Use of the Ancient Church*. It went through at least three editions, the second in 1542, and the third in 1545. After he was recalled to Geneva, he published a modified form of the Strasbourg rite in 1542, which also went through several editions after 1547. This is known as the Geneva rite and is not to be confused with the 1542 edition of the Strasbourg rite.¹⁰⁰

This rite of Calvin's became a pattern, generally speaking, for the worship of Calvinistic churches on the continent and later in the British Isles and in America. Many variations were made locally, but the general outline of the rite has remained substantially the same even into our own times. It is often stated that Calvin set the pattern of worship, though not always of doctrine, for Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Disciples, and of course Presbyterians, in the entire English-speaking world.¹⁰¹

Maxwell describes the liturgical order utilised by Calvin from Calvin's service book, Strasbourg edition, 1545,¹⁰² as follows:¹⁰³

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¹⁰¹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁰² This 1545 revision contains some actions that were not allowed in Geneva such as the absolution. The structure of his Genevan rite is more meagre; this was no doubt the result of the extreme opinions that prevailed there among the magistracy, who insisted that the rite be as simple as possible. For this reason this Strasbourg rite may be considered the most complete statement of Calvin's intention for the liturgy. See John H. Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition* (Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1981), 181.

The Liturgy of the Word

Scripture Sentence (Ps. 124:8)
Confession of sins
Scriptural words of pardon
Absolution
Metrical Decalogue sung with Kyrie eleison after each Law
Collect for Illumination
Lection
Sermon

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Collection of Alms
Intercessions
Lord’s Prayer in long paraphrase
Preparation of elements while Apostles’ Creed sung
Consecration Prayer
Lord’s Prayer
Words of Institution
Exhortation
Fraction
Delivery
Communion, while psalm sung
Post-communion collect
Nunc Dimittis in meter
Aaronic Blessing

Calvin’s Liturgy was clearly shaped by certain biblical principles and influenced by what was known of early church practice. Calvinist believed that there are some elements which are necessary for a rightly formed liturgy, and they read Acts 2:42 as a summary of the first Christians’ worship; “to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship (koinonia), to the

1949), 114-5.
breaking of bread and the prayers." Calvinist generally understood this biblical pattern as purely preached, the sacraments rightly administered, prayer (both spoken and sung), and the expression of communal love, for example in the kiss of peace or almsgiving.\textsuperscript{104}

The notable fact concerning Calvin's liturgy is that it is not canonical. Calvin accommodated himself to liturgical practices in Geneva and Strasbourg. While he had strong preferences, the variations he tolerated in this liturgy indicate he did not try to impose any one authoritative pattern for the worship of God.\textsuperscript{105}

Calvin's liturgy emphasised hearing and receiving, in faith, the word of God in word and sacrament. He wanted to give the Scripture their authoritative place. So he gave the Scriptures, read in course and expounded their central place as in the ancient rites.\textsuperscript{106}

He referred to the minister as the mouth of God and contended that the sermon, a commentary on Scripture, was the word of God in worship service.\textsuperscript{107}

D. EVALUATION OF CALVIN'S WORSHIP

Calvin restored the Eucharist in its primitive simplicity and completeness as the


\textsuperscript{105} Leith, \textit{Introduction to the Reformed Tradition}, 182.

\textsuperscript{106} Maxwell, \textit{An Outline of Christian Worship}, 116.

central service. He did not wish to place sacramental worship with a preaching service. He wanted the balance between the Word and the sacraments in worship. To Calvin, the Lord’s Supper was central in the church’s life, and he desired it to be a weekly celebration. In his practice of worship, as in his theology of the sacraments, Calvin followed the teaching of Scripture and the tradition of the early Church. He wanted to observe the Lord’s Supper “at least once a week”, through he never realized this ideal in Geneva because of the intervening of the civil authority.

There was a serious weakness in his concept of worship. This had to do with dimension of effectiveness of worship. In his worship, the cerebral dimension was emphasised excessively. His emphasis was far away from symbols and signs.

With this tendency, worship in the Genevan church came to depend mainly on preaching, under emphasising the Lord’s Supper, even though this was contrary to Calvin’s intentions. The atmosphere of the church’s worship was sombre and boringly didactic. Still it was possible to edify congregations, since they had to follow the discipline of the church by law. Worship in the Genevan church was oriented toward a strong moral life along with support of the government. Yet, in a situation where there is no such political support, it might be hard to perform that kind of worship. In a context where religion is free, a Calvinistic worship style, which is mainly based on the cerebral model, will not be effective enough.

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108 Calvin IV, xvi, 46.
109 Calvin IV, xiv, 3-4.
For Calvin, worship was basically God's people acknowledge of God's sovereignty and otherness. Yet, he was very practical in the performance worship so that it would be a powerful context whereby congregations were nurtured as God's holy people in the world. Also for Calvin, worship was limited to just the liturgy of the church. Rather, it extended to all areas of a congregation's whole life. Worship must express itself in life. In Calvin's view, as worship was fulfilled in front of God, the life of Christians were also "the life in front of God" (*Coram Deo*). Therefore, worship is intimately interwoven with life in Calvin's idea.
CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIEF HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP

A. PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Although English Monarchs from Henry VIII onwards insisted on Anglicanism, the form of Protestantism which prevailed in Scotland and Northern Ireland, was Presbyterianism. This Presbyterianism owed a profound debt to Geneva and Calvin, although it did not fully conform to either. The Presbyterianism in Scotland and North Ireland grew rapidly even under persecutions. Under this persecution, members of the church left for America and became a major part of the Presbyterian Church in the American Colonies. It is thus important to understand that the characteristics of Presbyterian worship in the Church of Scotland and North Ireland determined the root of American Presbyterian worship.

1. Brief History of the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles

One of the major pioneers of the reformation in the British Isles was John Knox.
With his dedicated efforts, Presbyterianism in Scotland was ignited and finally became the officially established Church in Scotland.

1) John Knox: The Pioneer of the Scottish Presbyterian Church

John Knox pioneered the reformation in Scotland after the martyrdom of George Wishart. As he preached the Protestant view in St. Andrews Castle, he was captured and taken to France. After nineteen months, he was released (early in 1549) and went to England. But because of the persecution of Queen Mary, he fled to the Continent and he was in a number of places, including Frankfurt and especially Geneva. In Geneva he became an ardent disciple of Calvin. In these times, he left his mark on the Book of Common Prayer of 1522 which came to be called the “black rubric” (instruction printed in black). In his book, he abolished the traditional Christian year and instituted a reading service prior to the morning service.

Between the years of 1555 and 1556, Knox visited Scotland and gave a marked impetus to the Reformation. Partly as a result of this impetus, after a long struggle, the Scottish Parliament adopted a confession of faith which had been drafted by Knox and some others in 1560. Then in 1564, John Knox’s service book was accepted as the official formulary of the Church of Scotland.111


111 White, Protestant Worship: Tradition in Transition, 69.
2) The Church under Persecution

For various reasons, most of the kings of the British Isles persecuted the Presbyterian Church from its inception. In the case of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), she believed that religion and politics were inseparable. She thought that the various theological opinions in England precluded a doctrinal settlement or English confession on faith. In her view, the means of unity for both was through worship from the Book of Common Prayer. Thus, she promulgated an Act of Uniformity (1559) which prescribed the ritual of worship for every congregation. Many pastors who refused to conform to it were removed from their pulpits or imprisoned. The leader of the Presbyterians, Thomas Cartwright, was removed from his professorship at Cambridge University. During Elizabeth’s reign around one-third of the English clergy suffered penalties of one kind or other. 

After Queen Elizabeth died in January of 1603, King James VI of Scotland was called southward and became King James I, the new monarch of England and Scotland. He had grown weary of the Presbyterians in Scotland, since the church censured his private leisure, especially his penchant for feasting and for partaking of sports on Sunday. Furthermore, for him unification of the hierarchical church was essential to the royal prerogative. “No bishop, no king” was his conviction. Thus, he attempted to

113 Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, 48.
115 Latourette, A History of Christianity: Reformation to the Present, 773.
change the system of the Scottish Presbyterian Church into an Episcopal system. He made every effort to force it to conform to the semi-Catholic ritual of the English Church.\textsuperscript{116}

After him, Charles I (1600-1649) also persecuted the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles severely. He persecuted Presbyterians and Puritans even further than his father, James I. He attempted not only to make the Presbyterian Church Episcopal but also to bring its services into conformity with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.\textsuperscript{117} His harsh treatment was so severe that finally it brought about armed warfare between him and Parliament, resulting in the victory of the Parliament's army led by Oliver Cromwell.

As a result of this, the Presbyterian could enjoy religious freedom under the reign of Oliver Cromwell from 1649 to 1660. During this time, an official English religion was established in the form of an organised Presbyterian-Independent Church which tended to tolerate all forms of Christianity except Episcopacy and Roman Catholicism.\textsuperscript{118} However, with the death of Cromwell, authority was transferred to the side of the Anglican Church again. The Presbyterian Church again suffered hardship until the beginning of the reign of William and Mary (1688). Therefore, can be said that until the time that the

\textsuperscript{116} Loetscher, \textit{A Brief History of the Presbyterians}, 49

\textsuperscript{117} Latourette, \textit{A History of Christianity: Reformation to the Present}, 773.

\textsuperscript{118} Spielmann, \textit{The History of Christian Worship}, 130.
Presbyterian Church was given freedom in Scotland, the Presbyterian Church in British Isles was continually persecuted, with some exceptions.

3) The Rapid Growth of the Church

The Presbyterian Church in Scotland and North Ireland grew rapidly despite severe persecutions. In particular, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland grew so well that it became the officially established Church of Scotland.119 This development had a great influence not only on the history of the Presbyterian Church but also on the future history of all of Christianity. Although Scotland was a small and poor country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in later centuries Presbyterianism was to have an expansion which carried it into many lands.120 In particular, the origin of the American Presbyterian Church was mainly the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and North Ireland; the members of the church who were persecuted went across to America and built the America Presbyterian Church.121

2. Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship in the British Isles

1) Similar Aspect to the Genevan Church Worship

When John Knox was persecuted and fled to the Continent, he stayed in Geneva for a time. During this time, he became an ardent disciple of Calvin and learned from him.

119 Ibid., 137. Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, 42-3.

120 Latourette, A History of Christianity: Reformation to the Present, 769.

121 Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, 45.
Thus, a confession of faith which was drafted by Knox revealed Calvinistic influences. The Book of Common Order, often known as Knox's Liturgy, also showed the impact of the Genevan church. In particular, it disclosed the influence of the form employed in the English congregation in Geneva and Frankfurt. It was adopted by the General Assembly in 1564 and governed public worship of the church until 1645.122

Like the Genevan church worship, the form of worship of Knox was basically Word-centred worship and life-oriented worship. He emphasised the intimate connection between worship and life. He considered the moral life as the ultimate act of worship.123

2) Elements of Liturgical Worship

Historically, the Presbyterian of the British Isles was frequently associated with Anglicans who worshipped according to a fixed liturgy. The established state church gave to Anglicanism a keen concern to promote unity in the outward and visible aspects of religion.124 With a partial influence of this Anglicanism, the type of service which John Knox suggested had an austere dignity of its own. Ministers of the Presbyterian Church preached in a gown, and read fixed prayers from the liturgy, although opportunity was also provided for the extempore and prophetic prayer. The reading of the Scriptures, the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and the singing of appropriate psalms were all

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parts of this one concerted movement, and all these show a tint of liturgical worship.\textsuperscript{125}

The tint of liturgical worship in the Presbyterian Church in British Isles was also revealed well in the guideline made by the Westminster Assembly of Divines in the 1640s. The Assembly attempted to remodel the Church of England along Presbyterian lines in preparation for a hoped-for new day when king and bishop would be overthrown. The Assembly provided a directory which provided directions and lists of topics for the clergy to follow, without giving any form or example of prayer. It sought to adhere to the directives of the Word, but in addition it set a pattern somewhat akin to the Anglican approach in providing the basic ordering or structuring of the worship for local churches.\textsuperscript{126} The directory was in between Calvinistic and Anglican worship styles and this fact shows the tint of liturgical worship in the Presbyterian Church in British Isles.

3) Elements of Free Church Worship

The Presbyterian Church in the British Isles was more or less independent from the state. Even the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, which was the Church of Scotland, had a partial autonomy of church from the state. The church was more inclined to the independence of church from state and it hoped to make a Christian society. The church had the completed ecclesiastical structure with its preliminary and partial formulation. The General Assembly, more than Parliament, acted for the entire Church of Scotland.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{125} White, \textit{Christian Worship in Tradition}, 70-1.

\textsuperscript{126} Melton, \textit{Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787}, 15.

\textsuperscript{127} Latourette, \textit{A History of Christianity: Reformation to the Present}, 774.
Furthermore, the autonomy of presbyteries was highly elevated. In the Second Book of Discipline which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1577, terms such as pastor, bishop, and minister were employed to designate the same office. In 1580, the administrative powers of bishops were transferred to presbyteries. Furthermore, provision was made on the parish level for the lay-elder. All these things reveal the tendency toward a study independence and democratic spirit of the church. In contrast to the Genevan Church, the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles had more autonomy. In this situation, the church might have a worship style which was more suitable for the context of the congregation and which could better meet their felt-needs. From this fact it is possible to say that worship of the church had elements of Free Church worship.

3. Evaluation of Presbyterian Worship in the British Isles

Presbyterian worship in the British Isles originated mainly from Calvin and the Genevan Church. Therefore, it had similar strengths and weaknesses to those of the worship style of the Genevan Church. Yet, it was planted in a different political and religious context and showed different shapes.

1) Worship under Oppression

As we have seen in the brief history of the Presbyterian Church in the British

128 One of main characteristics of Free Church worship is that worship order and contents are determined by local pastor or congregations (cf. Spielmann, The History of Christian Worship, 82).

Isles, the church went through hard persecutions. Although the persecutions were not as severe as those of Early Christians under the reign of Rome, still they had to put up with all kinds of losses and inconvenience because of their faith. To worship God in the context of persecution is a positive good sign that worship is not out of selfishness. Who can worship God with a selfish spirit under severe persecution? Those who worship God under suppressions are ready to dedicate themselves to fulfil God’s will.

2) Effectiveness of Worship

The evidence of liturgical worship in the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles was not strong like that of Lutheranism or Anglicanism. Yet compared to that of the Genevan church, it had a tendency to liturgical worship. Excessive liturgical worship can become depressingly reactionary or can even result in a dull and soulless religiosity. However, excessive sombre and cerebral worship style also has a deficiency in its effectiveness as we have seen in the case of the worship style in the Genevan church. In this sense, it can be said that the worship style of the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles did overcome the deficiency of cerebral worship of the Genevan church to some extent.

Furthermore, the Presbyterian Church in the British Isles had more autonomy compared with that of the Genevan church. This fact partly made it possible to have more flexible worship which could meet the felt-needs of congregations. Thus, it is possible to

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130 Mackay, *The Presbyterian Way of Life*, 149.
say that Presbyterian Church in the British Isles was more effective, at least potentially, that of the Genevan church partially because of greater freedom in worship.

B. WORSHIP IN THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Worship of the Presbyterian emigrants to the New World incorporated dynamic potential toward witness mainly by their lives. However, worship was deficient in the dimension of motivating congregations to evangelism, and even witnesses abroad. Furthermore, under the frontier context, which was totally different from that of their homeland, some members' early sparkle in their faith withered gradually.

In this situation, several revival movements took place and the American Presbyterian Church was strongly influenced by these movements. By the influence of these movements, the worship of the church was challenged to greater witness in domestic and foreign settings, which deserves our attention.

1. A Brief History of the Early Presbyterian Church in America

Presbyterianism in America colonies originated from two major sources: English Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism. The Puritans fled from severe persecution and founded the Plymouth Colony and a little later, the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Although the majority of these settlers had been of Congregationalist persecutions, still they
showed partially Presbyterian tendencies and elements.\textsuperscript{131}

On the other hand, the Presbyterianism of Scottish origin was mostly from Northern Ireland, although a few came directly from Scotland. Scottish Presbyterianism was transplanted into Ireland, and there it was modified in various ways by poverty and persecution. This is why it was called Scottish-Irish Presbyterianism. The people migrated into the America colonies and thrived mainly in the Middle Colonies, while the Puritan Congregationalists were in New England. Therefore, generally, the Presbyterians in New England remained a small minority compared with the dominant Congregationalists. Furthermore in the Southern colonies, the development of Presbyterianism was delayed by the fact that Anglicanism was still established by law.\textsuperscript{132}

However, the Congregational Puritans and Presbyterian Puritans were bound together by their common convictions. Generally, they had a similar theology and a similar worship style.\textsuperscript{133}

The full-scale history of American Presbyterianism began with Francis Makemie (1658-1708). He was born in Ireland, educated in Scotland, and commissioned in Northern Ireland to serve as a missionary to America. He established the first Presbyterian congregation in America at Snow Hill, Maryland, in 1684. Yet he did not


\textsuperscript{132} Loetscher, \textit{Ibid.}, 57-9.

settle at any one place but itinerated widely, evangelising throughout the English-speaking New World as well as Barbados. In 1706 he brought together Presbyterians of different backgrounds (English, Welsh, Scottish, Scottish-Irish, and some from New England) as the Presbytery of Philadelphia.\footnote{Mark A. Noll, \textit{A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada} (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 68-9.} This first presbytery marks the beginning of organised Presbyterianism in the United States. Step by step the Presbyterian Church achieved maturity. The new presbytery grew so well that it soon appeared advisable to organise a synod. Finally a synod was formed in 1717, and a General Assembly in 1789.

2. **General Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship in America**

The basic intent of worship in the American Presbyterian Church was strongly coloured by English Puritanism and Scottish-Irish Presbyterianism, since the church sprang from the main two sources. Although there were various Presbyterians who had different backgrounds, they all agreed to take their stand on the Westminster Confession and its Directory.\footnote{Ibid.} Therefore, the basic characteristics of Presbyterian worship in America were the same as those of Puritan and Scottish worship.

Even so, American Presbyterian worship was different in some ways. In addition to basic sources of English Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism, there were also various others such as Huguenot, Dutch, Welsh, and German among the Presbyterians. Depending on the situation at the time they set sail, Presbyterians arrived with varying...
attitudes toward worship. Some revered and some loathed things such as the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, or the reading of the Scripture without comment. Such variety was not unknown in Britain itself, but British Presbyterians were less mixed than American Presbyterians in their character.136

In this situation, congregations tended to be less scrupulous about a minister’s worship practice. Furthermore, they even hesitated to raise questions about what the essentials of worship were. The points at which people showed various opinions or practices were left alone or vaguely stated. American Presbyterianism more clearly delineated Presbyterian doctrine and polity, but not in the sphere of Presbyterian worship. The American Presbyterian Church produced what could almost be described as a non-directive Directory.137 The denomination showed a tendency of openness toward worship patterns. It did not bind the church worship to eighteenth century practice, enabling it to be reshaped with and by the changing culture. This assisted Presbyterianism in adapting its worship to an expanding land and a dynamic century.

3. American Revival Worship

American revival movements happened during the 17th and 18th centuries. Although the movement was so diverse that it is hard to describe them briefly, and its worship also strongly influenced American Presbyterian worship.


137 Melton, Ibid., 15-6, 27.
1) Characteristics and Evaluation of American Revival Worship

Revival worship was different from the regular worship services. For that worship, special gatherings were arranged and special preachers were commonly secured to conduct it. Therefore, it was often called “meetings” or “revivals” rather than “services.” In this worship, everything was directly aimed at securing from the unconverted an immediate and decisive act of faith in Jesus Christ. Worship focused on conversion.

One of the major emphases of Revivalism was conversion. Jonathan Edwards thought that the initiative in redemption was not only in God but also in humanity. According to Charles G. Finney, faith must be chosen: mental assent must be given to the truth of Christianity. One cannot become a Christian by birth, but only by a new birth, a birth by choice, founded on a decisive and dramatic experience. With these views, American revival worship was strongly focused on conversion.

With this emphasis on conversion, revivalist were impatient with the traditional Calvinistic approach to “saving” men by putting them in contact with the means of grace (scripture, prayer, preaching) and then waiting expectantly for the Holy Spirit to act. For

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139 The leading revivalist of the early nineteenth century adapted the format of the backwoods revivals and brought this frontier phenomenon to the cities of the eastern seaboard.

them this approach seemed to be overlooking the urgency of the sinner’s moment of conversion and avoiding the preacher’s crucial role in dealing with individuals. Their zeal to effect clear and speedy conversions played a major role in a departure from Calvinist theology.\textsuperscript{141}

\textit{Preaching: A Major Medium for Conversion}

As revival worship was focused on conversion, preaching became a main means for this purpose with an assumption that all people should be given a chance to hear the gospel. For revivalists, preaching was battle of wills between themselves and their hearers, in which their task was to bring them to a breaking point.\textsuperscript{142} Preachers thus did their best to persuade the unconverted in the congregation to give their lives to Christ. After a sermon, they practiced altar calls, previously unheard of in a worship service, to invite people to confess their conversion in public. With the emphasis on preaching in revival worship, the role of the pastor changed from a worship leader to a preacher.\textsuperscript{143}

The emphasis of preaching in revival worship appeared also in an architectural changed. For example, in the churches where C. G. Finney pastured, eighteenth century family box pews were done away with, and slip (bench) pews took their place. Pews were set in a semicircular manner in order to bring the parishioners closer to the preacher. The

\textsuperscript{141} Melton, \textit{Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787}, 53.

\textsuperscript{142} Packer, \textit{A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life}, 293.

\textsuperscript{143} Peck “American Revival Worship”
new pews allowed the attention of each congregant to be centred on the preacher. Finney also put a small pulpit or lectern on a platform, moving the communion table back or to one side. On the platform, he or other visiting evangelists moved about as they sought to convert souls or raise congregational fervour. This shows the tendency of revival worship to emphasised preaching, while de-emphasising the sacrament. 144

Heart-felt Worship

The revivalists believed that religion definitely involved a dimension of affection and the Spirit brings life which touches this affection of congregations. They sought, therefore, to reach their listeners on a visceral level. They aimed at producing “true heart-felt religion,” assuming that religion not felt by heart is not true religion. 145 James R. Peck describes Finney’s manner related to this intent;

Finney tried to do away with what he saw as “dead orthodoxy”—prepared and lengthy prayer, erudite written sermons, ominous psalm-singing—in favor of sprightly songs directed to the needs of the sinner, emotionally stirring sermons designed to promote repentant response on the part of the hearers, and fervent, heart-felt praying for the souls of the lost. 146

For this reason, the preachers of revivals did more that heighten the vividness of sermon illustrations. They tried to know their audiences and to address them in language

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144 Ibid., White 1987, 76.
145 Peck, “American Revival Worship.”
146 Ibid.
which would hold their attention, touch their emotions, and bring conviction.\textsuperscript{147}

\textit{Worship Emphasising Prayer and Praise}

Revivalists consciously or unconsciously evaluated all aspects of worship on the basis of the effectiveness of each in stirring the emotions. As a result of this effort, the elements of their worship were different from usual patterns. This difference appears peculiarly in prayer and praise. Praise consisted of modern hymns rather than ancient Hebrew Psalms, since revivalists found that hymns on specifically Christian topics were much more effective than psalms for touching the emotions of the congregations.\textsuperscript{148}

During their worship, congregations sang the hymns repeatedly until they felt moved by the Spirit. Prayers were performed in an ardent attitude and people knelt for prayer. This is a description of the appearance of prayer and praise in revival worship:

Different hymns were sung at the same time, each to its appropriate tune; the singing was ‘very loud,’ and accompanied by ‘violent motion of the body,’—combining to destroy all melody. Several would also pray at once; sometimes two, sometimes ten or twelve, and sometimes groaning, and shouting were heard all around, from various small and large gatherings of people.\textsuperscript{149}

One of the main traits of revival movements is the fact that the lay people became prominent with the movement. K. S. Latourette explains this:

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\textsuperscript{148} Melton, Ibid.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 45.
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In some of the major new movements, such as the societies for distributing the Bible and the Sunday School, the laymen were outstanding. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the laity were increasingly to the fore. Women had a growing place and laymen had more and more initiative and participation.\textsuperscript{150}

This tendency appeared prominently in the revival in 1857-1859 which was sometimes called the "a businessman’s awakening." Through this revival, lay people—particularly urban merchants—were motivated to promote the movement continually, perform subsequent urban evangelism, and support missionary activity abroad.\textsuperscript{151} The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions is also a good example of the powerful motivation of revival worship.

2) Presbyterian Church’s Responses to Revival Worship

The impact of revival worship on America Presbyterian worship was strong enough to modify the pattern of its worship. Yet, responses of Presbyterianism to revivalism were not even. The response can be divided mainly into two positions: Old School and New School. New School tended to accept the pattern of revival worship, concerning the effect of the services on the worshippers. The position of Old School was based on the Calvinistic Puritan conviction that any valid act or aspect of worship should by backed up by scriptural directives. The leaders of the New School had a deep concern for the evangelistic effectiveness; on the other hand, those of the Old School were

\textsuperscript{150} Latourette, \textit{A History of Christianity: Reformation to the Present}, 1020.

\textsuperscript{151} Noll, \textit{A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada}, 287-88.
concerned with the scripturality and decorum of their service.\textsuperscript{152} The Old School assumed that scriptural and decorous worship would be best fitted to their worship style. On the contrary, the New School initiated many more innovations in worship than did the Old School, considering evangelistic effectiveness as the main criterion for their worship.\textsuperscript{153}

However, the Old School was not totally indifferent to evangelistic effectiveness, rather, they thought that scriptural worship would be suitable for the task. The concern of the Old School was also oriented toward evangelism. Therefore, even though there were some differences in evangelistic effectiveness, both the Old and New schools could attain consent based on their common concern for evangelism.

We can see the consent between the Old and New schools in the revised "Directory for Worship" which was produced by the worship revision committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1787. The revision committee wanted to unify the worship of America's Presbyterians around some acceptable norms, warring about the variety and diversity possible in the new nation. They were concerned that the American Presbyterian Church carry some recognizable connotation with regard to worship. They hoped to preserve not only soundness of doctrine but also purity of manners and regularity of worship.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 28-9.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 20-21.
Therefore, the directory contained the influence of the “Westminster Directory for Worship” of 1644 which contained the Puritan ideal of worship, and the influences of the revival worship in a good balance. The directory suggested pattern prayers and some instructions as to how worship should proceed. Even though there was some opposition and changes in the directory, still the directory contains proper guides for liturgy.

4. Characteristics of Presbyterian Worship after Revival Worship

1) Worship Which Showed Arminian Emphases

Theological assumptions are crucial for the practice and orientation of worship services. One of the most crucial changes in American Presbyterian worship by revival worship was the change of theological assumptions regarding salvation. The Arminian view greatly influenced Calvinism. With the influence of Arminianism, the initiative in redemption was not in God alone but in both God and the human person. As the church worshipped God with this theological basis, its worship naturally was focused on providing an environment for conversion. Furthermore, congregations were continually motivated to witness to the gospel. Since one’s salvation was dependent upon his/her own decision, it was important for the church to provide opportunity for all people the chance to hear the good news of the kingdom.\footnote{Bosch, \textit{Witness to the World: The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective}, 145-46.}

\footnote{Since the synod opposed to the pattern prayers due to a mistrust of liturgies, and there were some opposition to the suggested liturgy, the directory was finally determined to give much more latitude to local churches than when it had been drafted. See, Ibid., 21.}
2) Preaching: A Major Element for Salvation

As an Arminian emphasis took the place of a Calvinistic view on salvation, the element which had undergone a considerable change was preaching. Preaching was considered a main medium for providing opportunities for conversion. Thus, the directory revision committee titled preaching “an institution of God for the salvation of men” in its draft.\textsuperscript{157} It advised ministers to prepare sermons with care and keep their language simple for the purpose of salvation. According to this advice, Presbyterian ministers became the focus of their congregations.\textsuperscript{158}

3) Worship Which Evokes Dedicated Live

American Presbyterian worship focused not only on conversion but also on creating dedicating lives of congregations to become the means of grace. The directory revision committee deeply desired that worship services impress worshippers and call forth from them sincere devotion. The committee saw worship as a means to impress and awaken person. The intention clearly appeared in a portion of preface:

It is absolutely necessary that something be done to revive the spirit and appearance of devotion. Where there is real devotion, there the appearance of it will be . . . and did we attend to the appearance, it might have a happy tendency to awaken and revive a devotional spirit.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{157} Melton, \textit{Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787}, 25.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 24

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 20.
American Presbyterian worship was continually intended to evoke a devotional attitude and to produce dedicated lives.

4) Worship Which Touches the Emotions of Congregations

With the impact of revival worship, the American Presbyterians achieved a worship pattern which touched the emotions of congregations. The elements which were changed most prominently by revivalism were prayer and praise.

As we have seen in the previous section, the Presbyterian Church in America gradually accepted hymns, after a long struggle. The hymns were the only part of Presbyterian worship in which the laity could participate vocally and were highly effective for touching congregations’ emotions. Singing became a continuous concern for effective worship in the church. 160

This change happened also in the element of prayer. The directory revision committee provided pattern prayers, explicit directions and list of topics for prayer in the draft of the new directory. But the synod determined to remove all these things from the draft. Thus, the Directory of the American Presbyterian Church contained a much briefer and freer treatment of public prayer than did the Westminster Directory. For the most part it allowed ministers great liberty both in structuring and performing their prayers. 161

As a result, the character of prayer of Presbyterianism was extemporaneous prayer

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160 Ibid., 23.
161 Ibid.
which was guided broadly by the directory. While the style had a weakness in that it could lose the perspective of the wider church, it provided an opportunity for laity to be accustomed to praying at home. With this tendency, church members had midweek service where small groups met to prayer together. These services, often led by lay people, provided an important school of prayer for lay people.162

CHAPTER FIVE

WORSHIP THEOLOGY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH OF KOREA

A. WORSHIP THEOLOGY OF THE EARLY PRESBYTERIAN
MISSIONARIES IN KOREA AND ITS WORSHIP

Although coloured by Korean traditions in subtle ways, the liturgies used in the early Korean churches largely reflected the values commonly held by the missionaries who came to Korea from foreign countries. They used much of what these missionaries believed, taught, and practised.

There were 226 Presbyterian missionaries officially working in Korea in 1918. Among them, 113 were American Presbyterians (Northern, 50%), 50 were American Presbyterians (Southern, 22%), 33 were Australian Presbyterians (15%), and 30 were Canadian Presbyterians (13%). Although the American Presbyterian missionaries were clearly dominant in their number in the Korean mission (72%), their liturgical

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background and identity are difficult to ascertain because of the various possible liturgical approaches used in the Presbyterian Church.¹⁶⁴ In fact, even in the development of the Korean Presbyterian worship, many different liturgical approaches were used. Consequently, a broad examination of these various liturgical backgrounds is necessary for any discussion of this topic.

1. Influence of Puritanism

Perhaps the most famous and frequently cited classification of the early missionaries in Korea comes from A. J. Brown.¹⁶⁵ According to Brown, the early missionaries, who came to Korea before 1911, were of the Puritan type:

The typical missionary of the first quarter after the opening of the country (Korea) was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking and card playing as sins in which no true follower of Christ should indulge. In theology and biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the pre-millenarian view of the Second Coming of Christ. The higher criticism and biblical theology were deemed dangerous heresies. In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but in Korea the few men who would hold ‘the modern view’ have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Julius Melton classified three types of Presbyterian Churches in terms of their approach to worship. First, Presbyterians associated with Anglicans who was celebrated according to a fixed liturgy that gave maximum opportunity for formalised corporate participation. Second, Presbyterians associated with radical Reformation and radical Puritanism who thought that people should be as free as possible in praising God. Third, Presbyterians associated with the Word. These took the stand that nothing was to be trusted in worship except what the Scripture commanded. According Melton, Presbyterian worship has basically been shaped by the interrelation of these three approaches. See Melton, Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1967, 13-4.

¹⁶⁵ Brown served as the General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Brown's disdain for the early missionaries' puritanical bent suggests how extremely conservative their theology may have been. Their conservative theology has its roots in Puritanism.

Puritanism was a reforming movement in the 17th century Church of England. Its main purpose was to purge the church of the last vestiges of Rome and bring it in line with the continental Reformation and to a rigid adherence to the Bible. Daniel Neal defines a Puritan as "a man of morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a nonconformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, though they did not totally separated from it." The Puritans moved away from highly ritualized and costumed worship of the Church of England toward simpler forms of worship, which eventually led to a complete revision of that liturgical tradition. Horton Davis describes Puritans worship as follows:

First, the very idea of a set liturgy was excised, in conformity with Romans 8:26, and in the conviction that the Lord's Prayer was a model for the Christian's original prayer, rather than a prescribed prayer to be repeated word for word. Furthermore, it was decided on the authority of 1 Corinthians 14:14 that responsive prayers were unacceptable since, apart from the approving "Amen" only the minister's voice was to be heard in public prayer. As early 1642, John Cotton had written a treatise affirming the necessity of free for extemporary prayer against defence for liturgies... The Second Commandment, with its prohibition of idolatry, was the authority cited for eliminating not only the High Church custom of bowing in the name of Jesus (for which a biblical authority could be found), but also kneeling for the reception of the Communion (implying a belief in the miracle of transubstantiation), as well as signing of the cross in

167 There is no one definition that is accepted by scholarly consensus, some very good suggestions has been made though. For the definitions, see M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, (Chicago: The University of Chicago University press, 1939), xii; Leonard J. Trinterud, Elizabethan Puritanism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 9.

168 Daniel Neal, History of the Puritans. vol. 3 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Klok and Klock Publisher, 1979), v.
baptism and the use of the ring in marriage. Because of their association with Roman Catholicism, the priestly garments such as the alt, the stole, and the surplice were all rejected in favour of the grave Genevan gown and white neck band of the Puritan pastor.\textsuperscript{169}

In addition, some more radical (Scottish) Puritans even opposed the traditional elements of Christian worship. High T. Kerr, Sr., lists as following:

They were opposed to the custom of the minister bowing in praying on entering the pulpit. They opposed the singing of a Doxology, after a Psalm. They opposed the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship. They called it a "threadbare prayer" and a "rag of popery." They opposed all forms of the Gloria as set forth in Knox's Book of Common Order. They opposed the public reading of the Scriptures, claiming that the people could read the Bible at home.\textsuperscript{170}

In 1645, the Westminster Assembly of Divines standardized such worship by parliamentary authority. Even though there were some compromises on the liturgies in the Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God,\textsuperscript{171} the Puritan principles of worship were faithfully observed, and only those matters which can be defended on the basis of scripture were included as acceptable part of worship.\textsuperscript{172} Ralph Jackson Gore Jr.


\textsuperscript{172} Ralph Jackson Gore describes these compromises. According to him, first, the documents were a compromise between the High Church elements and the Free Church elements. It does not actually provide orders of worship, but rather suggests possible actions and orders to be adapted to local custom and current needs. Second, there was compromise in regards to the guidelines for prayer. Free prayer is allowed, but there is no prohibition against written prayers, a major object of criticism among the stricter Puritans. Third, there was comprised over the use if particular forms of worship, such as on the use of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and Gloria Patri. The Directory neither
accounts which matters were included and which were excluded in the following passage:

Hence, the Westminster Directory admits as legitimate worship the reading of Scripture, prayer, preaching of the Word, and the proper administration of the sacraments. In accordance with divine limitations on worship, responsive litanies, confirmation, godparents, kneeling for communion, and the sign of the crossing baptism—all elements contained in the Book of Common Prayer, are omitted in the pertinent sections of the Westminster Directory. No authorization of the use of the ring in marriage is found. The only music that is expressly authorized is the singing of Psalms and the observance of any holy day or festival is strictly forbidden. The strict observance of the Sabbath alone is required. 173

Such Puritan liturgical principles were applied in Korean Presbyterian worship.

First of all, the missionaries in Manchuria, who can be credited for the start of early Korean missions due to their role in instructing the first Korean Christians and in publishing Korean tracts and Bibles, strongly believed in the Puritan tradition of focusing on the Bible. In the Manchurian Church, revival characteristics like "prayer meetings" and "week of prayer" did not exist. Prayer was part of their worship service, but no particular liturgy for prayer was practiced. Instead of focusing on prayer, J. Ross and J. MacIntyre concentrated more on the study of the Bible. They conducted Bible studies at least twice a day for the baptised members or catechumens. In the morning meetings,

prescribed the use of these particulars of worship nor proscribed their use. Fourth, there was comprised over the correct method of conducting the Lord's Supper. The Directory allowed the church session to determine the frequency of communion, and left room for the English and the Scots to follow their own customs in gathering for communion and distributing the elements. See Ralph Jackson Jr. Gore, "The Pursuit of Plainness: Rethinking the Puritan Regulative Principle of Worship" (Ph. D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1990), 125-31.

173 Ibid., 124-5.
baptised members read and commented on the Bible for at least an hour. In addition, the missions in Manchuria used a very simple order of worship, which consisted of only three elements: hymn singing, Bible reading (study), and prayer. Even liturgies (i.e. Lord’s Prayer, Apostles’ Creed, or Doxologies) were not used as a part of their worship. In marriage ceremonies, neither was the use of a ring introduced in the early Manchurian churches.  

Another Puritan influence in the Korean Presbyterian liturgy can be seen in the abolition of ancestral worship in Korea. Puritans prohibited all forms of idolatry in observance of the Second Commandment, and the early missionaries interpreted ancestral worship, a traditional Korean practice, as such. When baptised, catechumens made a vow of commitment before the congregation. These baptismal vows reaffirmed one’s belief in the importance of observance of observing the Lord’s Day as a holy day, abstaining from ancestral worship, and abstaining from immorality (i.e. taking a concubine, displaying lewdness, living idly, engaging in drunkenness, gambling, and taking opium). Specifically, the baptismal vows concerning the abstention from ancestral worship (prohibition of idolatry) and the abstention from immorality originate from the Puritan tradition.

2. Influence of Pietism and the Revival Movements

Along with Puritan tradition, other influences shaped the formation of the

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Korean Presbyterian liturgies. The other theological factors, which developed the Korean Presbyterian liturgies, are Pietism and Revivalism. When we speak of American Puritanism, we have to consider that the Puritans were people who were influenced by the Great Awakenings of their time, which originated from Pietism.

A well-known scholar of Pietism, Martin Schmidt, describes Pietism in an article in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in following way:

Pietism is the term for the far-reaching movement of the late 17th and early 18th centuries which set for itself the goal of a new Reformation because the first Reformation had become stuck in Old Protestant Orthodoxy, in the institutional and dogmatic. Pietism’s watchwords therefore became ‘Life’ vs ‘Doctrine,’ ‘Spirit’ vs ‘Office,’ ‘Power’ vs ‘Appearance’ (2 Tim. 3:5). The Reformation’s central concept of faith received the characteristic addition, ‘living faith,’ ‘the liveliness being sought in the ethical ‘fruits of faith,’ above all love; thereby affecting the social characteristic of Pietism. Christian perfection became the main theme. Therefore it is natural to view the essence of Pietism in its piety . . . In the place of justification with its correlation of Word of God (as promise)—faith and law—gospel appeared rebirth. 175

According to Schmidt, Pietism in mainly characterized as a movement for religious renewal and intensification, and an expression of religious individualism. 176

According to Carter Lindberg, “Pietism set about to continue the Reformation as the transformation of the world through the transformation of persons. Personal transformation was seen from rebirth.” 177 Consequently, Pietism greatly effected the

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176 Ibid., 134.

177 Ibid., 142.
Great Awakening Movement (18th century), and the Second Great Awakening Movement (19th century) in North America in a characteristically evangelical, emotionally intense, individualistic and an anti-intellectual fashion.

As we have seen in previous chapters, such development provided some basis for the liturgical background of the missionaries who came to Korea. Of course, when they first arrived in Korea, they could not begin their religious work right away. The Korean government forbade any religious involvement of Korean natives in the missionaries’ activities. Only formal services in English for foreigners were permitted. Limited in the kind of services they could organize, the early missionaries started their Sunday worship service in June 28, 1885 in English.\(^{178}\) The following year in January, the missionaries formed another English service called “week of prayer,” Other forms of English services appeared as well, some of which included the “regular Morning Prayer” and “noon prayer” services. These forms of worship services were the first examples of revivalistic liturgy that the early missionaries brought into Korea. Because these were the first forms of worship available, Koreans naturally copied these revivalistic liturgies as their own when they started worshipping in their native language.

Perhaps the best example of the atmosphere of a revival liturgy in Korea that can be illustrated is the Great Revival of Korea, which took place during 1903-1910. This great revival started through the “prayer meetings” and “week of prayers.” The Great Revival of Korea was characterised by the emotional outpouring of Korean Christians.

Their fervor was expressed through their weeping, crying, jumping, and falling, all of which were attributed to the Holy Spirit. Koreans expressed themselves through various forms of prayer such as the Audible prayer \([\text{Tongseong kido}]^{179}\), Mountain prayer \([\text{Sansang kido}]\), and Day Break prayer \([\text{Saebyeok kido}]^{180}\).

These Great Revivals became more commonplace, and the Korean Church began regularly organizing revival meetings once or twice a year. These meetings were called \(\text{Puheunghoe} [\text{Revival Meeting}]\). With a history of revivals dating back to the late nineteenth century, this has become characteristic in the Korean liturgy.

3. Influence of the Theology of Old School and New School

As discussed in previous chapter, nineteenth century Presbyterianism can be classified into two categories: the Old School and the New School in American Presbyterian history. Julius Melton describes these two Schools:

The best known difference between the parties was their degree of attachment to Presbyterian Policy and Calvinistic theology. But they had also drifted apart in their approach to worship. Uppermost in the mind of New School Presbyterian liturgical leadership was evangelistic effectiveness. On the other hand, Old School ministers were more sensitive to the scripturality and decorum of their services.\(^{181}\)

Old School ministers believed that the worship service needed to leave a good

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\( ^{179} \) This is style of prayer in which the entire congregation prays together at the same time.

\( ^{180} \) Koreans gathered every morning, as early as 4 or 5 o'clock, to pray. These hour-long prayer meetings were mostly conducted in loud audible prayers.

\( ^{181} \) Melton, \textit{Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787}, 29.
impression on its participant. To do so, they wanted to maintain a service with an extemporaneous character, but one also marked by decorum, solemnity and zeal. \(^{182}\) In order to give off a good impression during the service, Old School ministers emphasised the preacher’s punctuality.

In contrast, the New School of American Presbyterianism was characterised by a progressive move to alter the traditional worship patterns with non-Christians in mind. Ministers usually promoted their own extemporaneous form of worship through camp meeting or protracted meetings that focused on evangelistic passion to save souls. To the New School ministers, evangelical effectiveness played a major role in the criteria of their worship. Simultaneously, zeal to help bring about clear and speedy conversion also played a major role in their departure from Calvinistic theology. \(^{183}\)

Influenced by the New School of Presbyterian thought, the Korean Church officially adopted many special worship days such as the Education Sunday, the Day of Prayer for the Seminary, Children’s Day, Rally Day for Sunday Schools, and Farm Sunday. But despite the New School’s significant influences on the Korean Church through its influence in the theology of revivals, there remained some vestiges of the Old School in the Korean Presbyterian liturgies as well. The Korean Church kept Easter, Good Friday, and Pentecost in 1896. \(^{184}\) They also kept Christmas. In the Easter service

\(^{182}\) Ibid., 35.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., 53.

of 1896 in Seoul, the congregation sang a Doxology and read entire chapters of Scriptures like Luke 24 and John 20. Also included in the service were long responsive readings.\(^{185}\)

The most important effect that the theology of Old School had on the Korean Presbyterian liturgy might be the adoption of the *Directory of Worship* (1922) and *Honsang Yesikseo* [Form of Marriage and Burial] (1924) in Korea. The Korean Church adopted the *Directory of Worship*, which was the same as the American Church (Southern) version save for a few modifications. The Directory for Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern), which was reproduced as the Directory of Worship of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, opposed the influence of revivalism as well as ritualism.

**B. NATURE AND INFLUENCE OF HEATHEN RELIGIONS**

Korea is situated among several great powers, namely China, Japan, and Russia. Because of this geographic situation, the Korean people have experienced many foreign invasions and have suffered for a long time. In these circumstances they were deeply motivated to be religious. From the perspective of Christianity, the Korean religious mentality was thoroughly heathen under the influence of Shamanism (4,300 years),

\(^{185}\) Ibid.
Buddhism (1,000 years), and Confucianism (500 years). Korean Christians, in general, have not escaped from this heathen mentality, but rather have mingled heathen elements with the Christian faith and life, including worship.

1. Shamanism and Its Influence

Shamanism has had the greatest influence on the formation of Korean religious mentality. After the 4th century, Buddhism and Confucianism came to Korea and they became the national religions in turn, but Shamanism easily mixed with them and has always been the base of Korean religious mentality.

Shamanism is a primitive religion, based on animism which teaches everything has a soul. The world is filled with anima who have supernatural power and tamper with all human affairs. The soul of the dead are also believed to become anima that play a more important role among the anima. Almost all disasters, disease, and blessings are believed to be brought by anima in Korean Shamanism. In Korean Shamanism souls marry and eat food. So in ancestral rites tables are prepared for the dead, and an unmarried man and woman were sometimes buried together so that their souls could marry.

The priest of Shamanism is called shamans. Shamanists believe that shamans can communicate directly with the spirits. Shamans have three main functions. First, they, as priest, practice rituals to gods and deliver the will of good to men. Secondly, they, as

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medicine men, cure persons of diseases by exorcising evil spirits. Thirdly, they, as
prophets, tell fortunes.\textsuperscript{187} The rites of Shamanism are practised through \textit{ipsin}\textsuperscript{188} of a
shaman which signifies the experience of unity between god and man. This ritual is
practised through a trance induced by drinking alcohol, singing, and dancing. Through
this \textit{ipsin} shamans interfere in human affairs by influencing spirits.

Its influence on Korean Presbyterian worship is wide. The only concern of
Shamanism is to receive worldly blessing during one’s life. So many Korean lay
Christians consider worship as a means for being blessed rather that as a means of
coming to, praising and returning glory to God. In Korean churches there are many kinds
of monetary gifts, which can be divided into three categories: general gifts of money,
special gifts of money\textsuperscript{189}, and the tithe. Except for general gifts, all other gifts are offered
in envelopes, and in many churches the names of the offerers who gave the gifts in the
envelopes are announced in public, and prayer for blessing is made for them by the pastor
during worship. Responsibility for this wrong practice must be laid at the feet of Korean
preaching.\textsuperscript{190}

The influence of Shamanism has made the worshipper an onlooker rather than a

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 64-5.

\textsuperscript{188} The litural meaning of \textit{ipsin} is entering into god.

\textsuperscript{189} Special gifts are generally thanksgiving gifts, gifts for mission, and gifts for church building
construction. Thanksgiving gifts are usually for moving, recovery from illness, visiting of the pastor,
birthday, opening market or business, entering school, graduation, promotion, travel, anniversary of
marriage, childbirth, funeral, and marriage etc…

\textsuperscript{190} Pastors have not taught the biblical truth on blessing, but rather have encouraged the desire
for worldly blessing by interpreting the blessing of the Bible as a worldly material blessing.
participant. In Shamanism rites are performed only by shamans. People are thoroughly 
excluded as onlookers. Because of this influence it is very difficult to find a spirit of 
participation or a consciousness of corporate worship in the congregation. This 
phenomenon is well brought out in the term which describe the act of worship.

2. Confucianism and Its Influence

Confucianism was the state religion, and its teaching not only dominated ethics 
but was also the foundation of all policies in the Chosun Dynasty for 400 years (1492-
1920) in Korea. Originally, Confucianism was rather a system of ethics than a religion. 
On the teaching of Confucius it was recorded:

When Jaro questioned about serving gods, Confucius answered “I still do not 
know all about serving men, how could I know about serving gods?” When Jaro 
questioned about death, Confucius answered “I still do not know all about life, 
how could I know about death?”

Of course, Confucianism also speaks about god and blessing, but gods have no 
personality and do not interfere in human affairs. Blessing is taught to be the natural 
result of individual sincerity.

Confucianism does not seem to have had an influence on the liturgy of Korean 
Presbyterian worship, but it has had a great effect on the attitude of the worshippers. It

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192 Ibid., 419-20.
appears as an external formalism. Externalism makes a man have concern for those aspects which can be seen or recognised by others. So some people attend worship and pray merely to keep their dignity, and in many cases, worshippers participate in worship only for outward effect. To let the names of special gift offerers and tithers be known publicly in worship might be considered to be an influence of Confucian formalism. This externalism also results in a disharmony between the confession of faith in worship and the life lived in the world of Korean Christians. Furthermore, when worshippers do not have a strong consciousness of the living personal God, it is hard for them to have a deep reverence for God, and hard to have a consciousness of sinfulness leading to true repentance during worship. Therefore, this has been a stumbling block for Korean Christians in worshipping God in Spirit and truth.

3. **Buddhism and Its Influence**

Buddhism is a religion which dominated the Korean mind for 1,000 years before Chosun Dynasty. So it also had a considerable effect in the formation of the Korean mentality. Buddhism teaches the way by which a man become a Buddha. Its founder, Sakamuni, was not a god but a man who became the first Buddha.\(^{193}\) Buddhism consider all business of this world as distressful. The purpose of being a Buddhist is to escape from this worldly distress and to enter into nirvana where there is no distress by

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\(^{193}\) Jin Hong Jung, *A Dialogue between the Christianity and Other Religions* (Seoul, Korea: Jumang Publishing Co., 1980), 68.
becoming a Buddha. It teaches that anyone can be a Buddha through self-discipline. For this reason Buddhism is atheism. Therefore a Buddhist invocation is not worship of personal being, rather respect for Buddha with one’s mind and the concentration of one’s mind. It is a way of self discipline that seeks after state of mind that may not be swayed in any circumstance. In Korea, however, most Koreans do not understand the original teaching of Buddhism. And Buddhism and Shamanism mingle inseparably. So a Buddhist temple is considered a place for invoking Shamanistic blessings.

Christianity in Korea suffered persecution in early times and in the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). Naturally Christians in this period had an attitude of escaping from reality. This attitude harmonised with Korean Buddhist mentality. One example is found in the fact that hymn or gospel songs which have a doleful rhythm or express a hope of leaving this world are still sung very often in Korean Presbyterian worship. It is also true that not only in preaching but also in the whole realm of the Christians life there remain elements of the desire to escape from reality.

Christians in Korea have a strong tendency to consider their religious activities as self-disciplinary. All the Christians’ activities are result of God’s grace and salvation. Some Korean Christians, however, consider their religious activities such as prayer, offerings and services as a means to gain God’s grace and blessing. In this attitude there may remain some Buddhism influence.

\[194\] Ibid., 70.
C. PHENOMENA OF WORSHIP IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

1. Prayer

The Korean people have been accustomed to prayer due to the effects of Shamanism. Bong Ho Son insists that the prayer of the Korean church "is primarily a petition for worldly blessings, happiness, health, material success, and a higher social status. Neither God's will nor the requirements of his kingdom are considered when making these petitions."^195

A survey of the phenomenon of prayer mountains by Jin Hong Jung supports this contention. According to his survey, 51 percent of the total participants in the prayer meeting answered that their primary motive of prayer in the centre was to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. Beside this, 14 percent of the total participants prayed for physical healing, 10 percent for overcoming family problems, 7 percent for their church, 7 percent for individual problems, 5 percent for their business, and the rest for unknown reasons. Jung suspects a hidden motive in the 51 percent in the category of "for receiving the Holy Spirit." Since the pastors of the Korean church tended to teach that "receiving the Holy Spirit and in particular the gifts of the Spirit" is the key for solving every problem and for receiving all kind of blessings, he assumes that many of these people were actually

motivated by a need for obtaining bok (blessing).^{196}

Yo Han Lee summarizes the Korean theologians’ evaluations on the motivations for prayer in mountains as worldly well being, individualism, compensationalism, emotional catharsis, and lack of social concern.^{197} The motivations of prayer in the context of local church worship do not look much different from those of prayer in prayer mountain.

Asking blessings from God is not totally wrong. Prayer in the Bible also has an aspect of asking blessings from the Lord. Yet, asking blessings only for self is not what prayer should be; blessing is to be used for greater goals. The goals might be “the kingdom of God,” and “the glory of God.”

2. Hymns

Moses Bong-Seok Lee analysed the *Korean Hymnal*^{198}, which is comprised of 588 songs. As he reviewed it, he found many mistranslations in the book. According to his analysis, many times there is no mention of “blessing” in the English (original) version. Yet there are 47 Korean renderings which include blessing (bok) in the *Korean

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^{198} The *Korean Hymnal* is the only one official Hymn Book in the Protestant Churches in Korea. It generally called the *Korean Unified Hymnal*. 
A couple of examples of these mistranslations based on his research are helpful. In the case of hymn number 105, the title of this hymn is “Come, Thou Long Expected Jesus,” which is a messianic hymn. The hymn writer of this song describes Jesus as the long anticipated messiah who will liberate his people. Here the phrase “Dear Desire of every nation” was translated into “We will receive bok (blessing).” This translation is far from the original intention of the hymn writer. This translation distorts the message of the gospel and diverges from the main role of the Messiah.200

In hymn 235, “Sing them Over Again to Me,” the hymn writer praises Jesus and confesses that his gospel will sanctify the saints. However, one phrase of the third verse “Saviour, sanctify forever” was translated into “We receive bok.” Again, this translation is wrong from the fact that the word bok has no conception of morality or holiness. Lee insists that the “elimination of ‘sanctify forever’ and substitution of ‘receiving bok’ is one of the most flagrant misunderstandings in the Korean Hymnal.”201

Hymnody is the song which glorifies the nature of God, magnifies the majesty of God, and confessed the beliefs of Christians.202 Yet, mistranslations of the forty-seven hymns restrict the worshippers’ conception of God’s nature by causing them to consider

199 Moses Bong-Seok Lee, “Transforming the Korean Church: The Conceptual Transformation of Shamanistic Bok to the Biblical Concept of Blessing” (Ph. D. diss., Feller Theological Seminary, 1994), 21

200 Ibid., 32-3.

201 Ibid., 37-8.

God mainly as a *bok*-giver. These hymns also tend to distort genuine Christian values and ideas into a Shamanistic *bok*.

3. Preaching

The preaching in most Presbyterian churches in Korea, except for some liberal ones, were focused on earthly blessings. The more they emphasized material blessings in their preaching, the faster the churches grew. They explained material blessings as a sign of God’s blessings and this message met people’s shamanistic needs. After all, as S. K. Chung points out regarding the preaching of the church, “The Korean church did not try to overcome materialism through the preaching. Rather, she became a forerunner of materialism.”

Preaching is the proclamation of God toward congregations. In preaching, congregations need to recognize the infinite blessings from God, yet they also need to be the mediums for transmitting blessings to others. In addition, to live as God’s people means not only receiving blessings but also putting up with sufferings for the kingdom. As the important element in the proclamation of the Word, preaching must be done by the preacher primarily to convey the message of God the people and the congregation. If preaching is understood as the proclamation, interpretation, and application of the Word of God, then the preaching ministry must show every effort to utilize modern language.

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and homiletics to make clear God’s message to the congregation.

E. C. Dragon elaborates on the purpose of preaching as follow:

Preaching desires to bring home to the people of every grade the Word of God as being, in its rightly understood teachings, the sole and sufficient guide in religious concerns; and, above all, against all perversions and additions it proclaims anew, and with power and clearness not heard of since the Apostles themselves, the simple gospel of salvation by grace through faith in the Jesus Christ. With this restored method and message preaching stands at the threshold of the modern word. 204

4. The Lord’s Supper

The Lord’s Supper is a sign of the flesh given “for the life of the world”205 and of the “blood . . . Poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.”206 Far from being an ingrown and magical ritual, this ritual is meant to be an act that reaches out, declaring Christ as the Saviour of the World.207 Thus, the Christian who partakes of the emblems of the Lord’s death should remember the fact that He has given them the message which tells how He makes all mankind His friends.

The Sacraments have been celebrated infrequently208 and Christians in Korea seem to consider worship without the Lord’s Supper as standard. They consider worship

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205 Jn. 6:51
206 Mt. 26:28
208 Korean Presbyterian churches normally practise the Lord’s Supper three or four times a year.
with the Lord’s Supper as something special, so they usually make special preparation such as attending the early morning prayer meeting, during weekdays before worship with the Lord’s Supper.

One of the important characteristics of early Christian worship was the balance between the preaching and the Lord’s Supper. It is recorded that Paul preached a sermon on the Lord’s day at the gathering for breaking of bread.\(^{209}\) It is obvious that the Lord’s Supper was the basis and goal of every gathering. Thus Cullman argues that there was no gathering of the community without the breaking of bread and even if there had been a service which was exclusively a service of the Word, it would have been in any case an exception.\(^{210}\)

Through the sacraments God reinforces the truth and the appeal of the Word which is preached. In this sense just as the Word is essential to the Lord’s Supper, so also the Lord’s Supper is essential to give the Word its full ministry in the life of the believers and the life of the church. Therefore the Presbyterian Church of Korea should be restored to worship which has balance between the Word and the Lord’s Supper.

\(^{209}\) Acts 20:7

CHAPTER SIX

SUGGESTIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF WORSHIP THEOLOGY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

A. REMOVAL OF INFLUENCE OF HETEROGENEOUS RELIGIOUS FROM WORSHIP

In the Old Testament, Israelites struggled to protect their religious practice from heretical religions and cultures. The Ten Commandments emphasize that men should not make any idol, or any likeness of what is in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the water under the earth. This biblical law kept the Israelites from falling into heresy. God got angry when Israelites mixed heretical elements into their religious activities before God (Ezek. 8:1, 18; Jer. 44:3). One of the most important activities of the Old Testament prophets was to bring about a revival of worship away from heretical influences. Also in the New Testament, the problem of worship due to heretical influence was raised. The Apostle Paul warned of the adoration of images which was spread throughout the world (Rom. 1:18-25; 1 Co. 10:14). It was to protect Christianity from heretical influence that Revelation warned about the risk of worshipping idols (Rev.
13:14-15) and promised a reward to those who refused to worship the beast or his image (Rev. 20:4).

Heretical elements in the worship of the Korean Presbyterian churches are due to the Korean mentality that has been formed over a long period. So it will not be an easy task to remove these heretical elements from the worship of Korean Presbyterian churches. We, however, must not leave worship under the influence of heretical religions. For the removal of these heretical elements strengthening the teaching of biblical truth in churches is most important. The problem of the influence of heretical religions is primarily a matter of understanding. Therefore it can be corrected by a continuing teaching of the biblical truth. The biblical truths which can offset the elements of heretical religions in worship should be taught in the churches.

B. THE BLANCE BETWEEN PREACHING AND THE LORD’S SUPPER

In considering the historical aspect of worship, we have pointed out that this appeared as a two part structure composed of the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Upper Room and that this was completely established from the second century. In the worship of the Reformers, to restore the balance between the Word and the sacraments in worship was one of Calvin’s most important wishes in his reformation of worship, so he wanted to observe the Lord’s Supper at least once a week, though he never realised this
ideal. The practice of Korean Presbyterian churches that hold the Lord’s Supper only twice a year is not in the line of Calvin but of Zwingli who emphasised only the Liturgy of the Word and argued that it was enough to have the Lord’s Supper four times a year.

The Lord’s Supper is a crucial symbolic sign in worship. It is the meal of the Lord Jesus for spiritual edification of His body. It is where the gospel is shown and activated in worship. Thus, this is a powerful and dynamic means for communication. Yet unfortunately, the Lord’s Supper is largely being held in a mechanical and meaningless way. For more effective communication in the Lord’s Supper, members need to be taught its deep meaning. The church also needs to celebrate the Lord’s Supper in various ways. For example, the church may use a single loaf and cup, or a worship leader may ask the people to come forward to receive the bread and wine, or to have a short time of meditation regarding the grace of Jesus.

C. WORSHIP IN AND THROUGH THE HOLY SPIRIT

The congregation of the Early Church fulfilled their life by the power which was given to them in their worship. One of the worst weakness of the Presbyterian Church of Korea is it fails to give biblical freedom to the Holy Spirit. As the church ignores the work of the Spirit in its worship, the worship seems to become ritualistic and barren. This trend became a big hindrance for empowerment and spiritual growth in the church. The
Presbyterian Church of Korea should enthusiastically yearn for the Holy Spirit in worship. One of the best ways of yearning for the work of the Holy Spirit is to pray. We have seen Calvin’s rite in chapter 3, where there are an ‘invocation of the Holy Spirit’ in the first part of worship, and ‘Collect for illumination (prayer invoking the Holy Spirit)’ before the reading of scripture. Prayer made it possible for congregations to feel the presence of God. Thus, the church needs to prepare and perform its worship with the covering of ardent prayer.

D. WORSHIP ENCOUNTERS GOD AND HIS WILL

There will be no great vision of the world without honouring a great God. The person who truly encounters God will have God’s heart for the world and will become an instrument in his kingdom ministry. Isaiah in the Temple (Isa. 6:1-6) and Paul on the way to Damascus (Acts 9:4, 19-20) are good example of the linkage between the dynamics of worship and witness. In this perspective, worship is the springboard for witness to the world and the adoration and honour of God is the fuel for living as kingdom people in the world. Therefore, Alan Tippett deplores the idea of “churchless ministry [that] thinks of merely ‘being’ a Christian out there in the world’ without the need for a specific worshipping fellowship.”

211 Alan R. Tippett, Church Growth and the Word of God: The Biblical Basis of the Church
Unfortunately, many members of Korean Presbyterian Churches seem to encounter God only in worship. In most cases they leave their church without receiving any impression or challenge. As the economy of Korea has developed, the main concern of congregations has changed from getting blessings to enjoying the blessings. They are tediously seduced by this trend. In this situation, they became preoccupied with materialism and secularism. Leaders and congregations must commit themselves to making every element of worship becomes a channel of encountering God and recognising his will.

E. WORSHIP THROUGH OPENNESS TO SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

Signs are a crucial means for effective communication in worship, since they communicate on a more intuitive level and express what cannot be expressed in words alone. In particular, non-believers or children do much of their communication through various signs. For them, a sign or a symbolic act can be a more powerful means of communication than a whole sermon.

All worship is symbolic, even those intuitive encounters with the holy that to bypass the rational process, directly impacting the worshiper’s consciousness. Symbolism must enter in once the worshiper begins to think about such an experience or to be share

it with others, for language and thought are symbolic processes. Biblical symbolism always directs to an action of God, especially God’s action in establishing and maintaining the covenant. Humankind itself, in God’s image, is a symbol of God’s management of creation.

However, the Presbyterian Church of Korea, with most other Protestant Churches, tends to be indifferent to the importance of signs and symbols by emphasising an excessive pursuit of knowledge. The church needs to recognise the importance of signs for communication and to utilise the advantage of signs to the utmost.

F. WORSHIP IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF CONTINUING CONTEXTUALIZATION

The orientation of worship is definitely the same; but its form is diverse according to every context. In Paul’s attitude regarding worship, he did not consider certain forms or patterns to be absolute. Rather, he had a concern for the way worship could be effective in edifying congregations. To win souls, he chose various forms of worship which were suitable for the context (1 Co. 9:19-22; Acts 21:20-27). For him, the matters of form need to be determined according to this principle of contextualization.

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213 Ibid., 39.
When a church gets locked into a certain of worship that is no longer relevant or adequate to the people in a certain culture, then worship becomes powerless. Therefore, the church should not insist on outdated and inadequate forms, but rather continually contextualize the forms to meet current situations. For this reason, the Presbyterian Church of Korea should become a respectful inquirer into its own culture. It should be keen in knowing the felt-needs which are raised in people's own lives. It has always asked how worship gets into the heart of people.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to critically analyse the existing problems of worship in the Presbyterian Church of Korea and develop worship theology with biblical, historical, and liturgical insights.

In chapter 2, the biblical background of worship is studied from the Mosaic period to the age of the prophets. Also noted are synagogue worship and the Early Christian worship in the New Testament.

In Chapter 3, worship theology in the Reformed tradition, especially Calvin's view was studied. Calvin envisioned a city which showed God's glory fully. He committed all his strengths to demonstrate what that kind of city would be through worship which emphasised discipline and pietism. For Calvin, worship was basically God's people acknowledgement of God's sovereignty and otherness. He restored the Lord's Supper in its primitive simplicity and completeness as the central service and also wanted balance between the Word and the sacraments in worship. The Lord's Supper was central in the church's life for Calvin.

In Chapter 4, we have seen the history of Presbyterian worship in British Isles and America. The Presbyterians in the British Isles instituted to worship which would motivate congregations to live a life of witness. In the case of worship service in the
Presbyterian Church in British Isles, the ultimate goal of worship was sanctification of congregations by spiritual disciplines. Yet, Revival worship and American Presbyterian worship set their goal of worship as leading and equipping congregation to be witness to the gospel. With the impact of this worship, American Presbyterian Churches began simplify liturgically their worship services and much stressed a preaching rather than any other elements in worship.

Chapter 5 critically analyses the existing worship of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, observing the influence of Shamanism and other traditional religion, and Old and New schools from early missionaries. Also, liturgical acts in Korean Presbyterian Churches’ worship that are strongly influenced by traditional religions, such as offering and the intention of worship, are analysed.

In Chapter 6, it is concluded that Korean Presbyterian worshippers still consider Christian worship to be a means of attaining blessings. These substantial problems are then presented as potentially critical points of crisis in the future of the Presbyterian Church of Korea.

This study has identified revivalistic and characteristics of worship theology in the Presbyterian Church of Korea, which the American missionaries introduced into Korea. American Presbyterian worship which was introduced into Korea had a lack of liturgical understanding and preaching-centred which was a main reason for the misunderstanding of worship theology in the Presbyterian Church of Korea. The Presbyterian Church of Korea is facing a time of stagnation mainly due to its loss of integrity. The most urgent
suggestion is that the Presbyterian Church of Korea must balance the Lord’s Supper and
the Word rather than limiting the former to twice a year as is now practised. It is strongly
suggested that the Lord’s Supper be performed at least once a month. This must be
regulated at the level of the General Assembly.

The major conclusion arrived at is that the worship in the Presbyterian Church of
Korea has a great historical tradition which had flowed from the worship of the Old and
New Testaments and through those of the Early Church and the Reformers. The
Presbyterian Church of Korea too long has neglected them. They should come back into
their own. Of course this does not mean that the church should bring traditional worship
to the present as it was. It needs to be adopted to appropriate for the contemporary
Korean context.

Worship is an obligation for a Christian personally and for the church. It is an
attitude of the heart and mind in communion with Trinitarian God. The assembly on the
first day of each week for community worship is an obligation of a Christian and the
local church. This assembly includes the centrality of the proclamation of the Word, an
offering, baptism of new believers, the Lord’s Supper, and discipline.

Further theological reflection is needed in order to enter into a fuller illumination
of true and spiritual worship in the Presbyterian Church of Korea. By being a living
sacrifice, one is drawn into true community.
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