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DEVELOPMENT OF  
THE REFORMED LITURGY FOR  
THE EUCHARIST:  
FROM THE REFORMATION TO  
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## DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMED LITURGY FOR THE EUCHARIST: FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

### I. INTRODUCTION

The Presbyterian Church in Korea (P.C.K.) published the Revised edition of the Book of Common Worship on Aug, 2008<sup>1)</sup> which the liturgical practice and spirit of the reformed tradition were largely added to its first edition(1997). These books is to develop the Constitution which includes the revised Directory for Worship in 1983.

Meanwhile, the Korean Presbyterian Church in America(K.P.C.A.) published such a Constitution in 1987. I think that these Directories are very important materials to understand the worship of the Presbyterian churches both in Korea and in America, because they affect very heavily the Korean Presbyterian in the worship practice as well as the theology of worship. Historically, the P.C.K. was begun to be evangelized from 1885 by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,

1) 총회예식서개정위원회 편, 『대한예수교장로회 예배·예식서 표준개정판』(서울: 한국장로교출판사, 2008).

the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in Australia. It is no doubt that in the early time the P.C.K. was affected heavily by these churches in the theology and practice of worship as well as the church's polity. The K.P.C.A. was started in 1976 by the Korean Presbyterians who immigrated from Korea according to the amendment of the immigration law of the U.S.A. in the 1970's.

The purpose of this paper is to find the position of these two directories in terms of the Reformed tradition and to seek for the theological significance of their eucharistic worship.

For the purpose I need to briefly review the history of eucharistic worship in the Reformed tradition and then to deal with the theology and practice of the important liturgies which affected recent Presbyterian worship.

## II. HISTORY OF THE EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP IN THE REFORMED TRADITION

The earliest Reformed liturgy for the eucharist was the liturgy which Bucer prepared for the church in Strasbourg in 1539. Calvin's French service book followed Bucer's rite closely. Calvin's Geneva Liturgy in 1542 was a slightly modified form of his own Strasbourg liturgy.<sup>2)</sup>

In 1556 John Knox prepared a service book, which owed a great deal to Calvin's service book, for use by the church in Scotland, where it was maintained for nearly one hundred years before anti-liturgical sentiment began to emerge.<sup>3)</sup>

2) R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (New York: Pueblo Pub., 1987), 213.

3) Harold M. Daniels, "Presbyterian Worship: Directories and Service Books," *Reformed Liturgy & Music* 23 (1989), 168.

Presbyterian Puritans and the Independents compromised to make a new directory, called the Westminster Directory in 1644 which is the only liturgy in Christendom to consist of nothing but rubrics.

An adapted version was adopted by the first Presbyterian General Assembly in the United State in 1788.

Liturgical reform within the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. resulted in publication the Book of Common Worship (1906), a revised version (1932), and a third edition (1946). More significant influence upon the worship practice of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. came from the 1961 Directory, written by Robert McAfee Brown. This Directory prepared the way for the Worshipbook (1970). The Service for the Lord's Day (1984) is published to supplement 'The Worshipbook' (1970) and 'The Book of Common Worship' (1946).

## III. THE ELEMENTS AND THEIR THEOLOGICAL MEANING OF THE EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

### A. The Reformed rite on the Continent and England

Now, we need to look at the important liturgies which had affected the reformed church since the Reformation.

#### 1. Calvin's Liturgy (1542)

Calvin's eucharistic theology stresses the work of the Holy Spirit. The characteristics of this liturgy are an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, the Collect for Illumination before the reading of scripture, and the reading of the eucharistic narrative in 1 Corinthians. Calvin's eucharistic prayer in Geneva as well as Strasbourg is little more than a French version of Bucer's prayer of 1539.<sup>4)</sup>

The prayer begins with prayers for forgiveness and worthy worship. These are followed by intercessions for the princes, noble, and magistrates, for pastors and preachers and all in any special need. The final paragraph of the prayer concerns the celebration of the Supper.<sup>8)</sup>

Calvin's full eucharistic order for those occasions when the sacrament was to be celebrated followed upon the Lord's Prayer and Creed of the Sunday order with preparation of the elements during the singing of the Creed, Recitation of the Pauline Words of Institution followed; then, fencing of the table, distribution of bread and wine, thanksgiving and blessing. During the distribution psalms were sung or scripture read.<sup>9)</sup>

It had the replacement of the eucharistic prayer by an exhortation containing little of the elements of praise and thanksgiving or commemoration of our Lord's saving work: there was also an undue stress on worthy participation and holiness of life.<sup>7)</sup>

## 2) Form of Prayers (1556)

The Liturgy of the Word was of considerable length, for the lection and sermon together normally occupied an hour or more. The Scripture were read in course, the sermon being an exposition and exhortation based upon the lection. The most serious omission in this rite was the epiclesis.

4) Howard G. Hageman, "The Eucharistic Prayer in the Reformed Tradition," *Reformed Liturgy & Music* (1989), 191.

5) *Ibid.*, 190

6) Horace T. Allen Jr., *A Companion to the Worshipbook* (Dissertation of Union Theological Seminary, 1980), 55

7) R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (New York: Pueblo Pub., 1987), 214-215.

The Table was fenced and unworthy communicants warned off in an Exhortation, the first half of which was Cranmer's from 1552 and the second half of which was Calvin's. It ended with a passage which was strongly suggestive of the *Sursum Corda*. It was at this stage that the minister left the pulpit and come to sit at the Table with the communicants. This practice of sitting together at what was known as the Long Table was quite unique, but having been established in Geneva it was also brought to Scotland. It not only expressed the idea of fellowship but was a precise following of Scripture.<sup>8)</sup>

The eucharistic prayer contained many of the constituent elements of the canon praise and thanksgiving for creation and redemption, an anamnesis, and, in conclusion a doxology.

New intercessions and a new prayer of consecration appear; both of these are similar to Calvin's in spirit and doctrinal content.

## 3) The Middleburg Liturgy (1580)

This Liturgy was drawn almost verbatim from the Genevan tradition of Calvin and Knox. Especially, it was faithful to 'The Form of Prayers', with a few notable exceptions; longer exhortation after words of Institution.

The purpose of this liturgy is to be agreeable to the word of God and the use of the Reformed Church. We can see here the two chief characteristics of Puritan Worship. First, it was based entirely upon the Word of God. Second, it followed the tradition of the Reformed Church.<sup>9)</sup>

8) *Ibid.*, 251.

9) Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961), 316-319.

## 4) The Westminster Directory (1644)

The influence of the Book of Common Prayer and The Form of Prayer is discernible in the framing of the Directory.

Communicants were to receive seated at the Table, not remaining in the pews. The old custom of including the intercessions in the prayer after sermon should be continued as formerly. The Creed dropped out of use. The doxology formerly sung at the end of the psalms.

This directory includes the epiclesis. It should acknowledge our misery and give thanks to God for the great blessing of his redemption through Jesus Christ.

Under Scottish pressure any reference to the Sursum Corda was omitted. The ideas of humble access, thanksgiving for all God's benefits and especially for redemption, and anamnesis of the Passion of Christ, and the working of the Holy Spirit were all included: and the emphasis was on the reception of Christ's body and blood, that "he may be one with us, and we with Him." The bread and wine were consecrated together and they were distributed to the communicants "at" or "about" the Table the collective words of delivery.

This rite was bare, lacked seasonal variation, and lost any sense of order with its permitted variations. Too much was left to the whim of the minister.<sup>10)</sup>

## 5) The Savoy Liturgy (1661)

This eucharistic rite began with an exhortation on the nature, use and benefit of the sacrament followed by a prayer of penitence and confession echoing the confession and prayer of Humble Access in the Prayer Book rite. The bread and wine were then brought to the minister and set upon the Table, after which came a series of ele-

10) R. C. D. Jasper, op. cit., 266.

ments.<sup>11)</sup> It expresses Calvin's theology of the Holy Spirit in the prayer of epiclesis, inclusion of a fraction and libation, and the high doctrine of consecration.<sup>12)</sup>

There was provision for considerable flexibility in this rite. The bread and wine could be consecrated and distributed together as well as separately. Communion could also be distributed in various ways: Communicants could sit, stand or kneel: they could come to the Table or remain in their places. It was an admirable and dignified liturgy, attempting to harmonize Genevan liturgical traditions with those of the Prayer Book.<sup>13)</sup>

## B. The Reformed rite in America

## 1) The Book of Common Worship (1906)

Universality was seen in the prayers and forms selected from various ages and quarters of the church, and relevance was sought in the provision of prayers. Corporate participation by the worshipers was sought by providing for a unison prayer of confession, responses, responsive readings, the Gloria, and unison Lord's prayer, in addition to hymns.<sup>14)</sup>

This book tried to introduce many congregations to responsive or unison participation, and the christian year was cautiously espoused, while prayers were included for current concerns like temperance, Sunday schools, evangelism, family worship, and missions.<sup>15)</sup>

11) Ibid., 270.

12) James White, *Protestant Worship* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 72.

13) R. C. D. Jasper, op. cit., 271

14) Julius Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns since 1780* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967), 137.

## 2) The Book of Common Worship (1932)

There were few significant changes in the worship. Three versicles and responses were added; optional use of the Doxology after the offering was suggested, and the invocation was now viewed as a prayer of adoration.<sup>16)</sup>

The version of 1932 gave heightened emphasis to the Christian year and an elementary lectionary appeared peace, and justice in the social order.<sup>17)</sup>

## 3) The Book of Common Worship (1946)

This book was published after liturgical research in the increased understanding of the liturgies of the Reformers. As the result of it, a full lectionary was borrowed from the 1940 Scottish Book of Common Order.

John Knox's practice of placing the general prayer after the sermon was given as an alternative arrangement; and the Nicene Creed appeared as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed. There are five complete Sunday Services and a prayer for all of various occasions.<sup>18)</sup>

## 4) The 1961 Directory

This directory had significant influence upon the worship practice of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. It brought about widespread

15) Julius Melton, "Presbyterian Worship in Twentieth Century America," op. cit., 186.

16) Julius Melton, "Presbyterian Worship in America," op. cit., 137-138.

17) Julius Melton, "Presbyterian Worship in Twentieth Century America," op. cit., 186.

18) Julius Melton, "Presbyterian Worship in America," op. cit., 138-139.

reordering of worship, established the propriety of celebrating the Lord's Supper on each Lord's Day, led to increased frequency of eucharistic celebration, and brought an appreciation for the communal nature of worship and participation of the people. It also restored the place of the liturgical year and prepared the way for use of a lectionary.<sup>19)</sup>

## 5) The Worshipbook (1970)

In this book Presbyterian adapted the Vatican II version of the Lectionary and produced the "Lectionary for the Christian year." This included the texts of the Apostles' Creed and Nicene Creeds.<sup>20)</sup>

The virtues of this book were its sound basis in theology and liturgical principles and its recapturing of early Christian and Reformation customs, even while using straight forward, contemporary English.<sup>21)</sup>

## 6) The Service for the Lord's Day (1984)

The purpose of this Service Book is observed easily in its prospectus: it is to maintain historical continuity with the liturgical theology of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., as well as the Reformed family of churches, and the world-wide Christian Church.<sup>22)</sup> Bearing in mind the distinctions between liturgy and rubric, this service book included liturgical text and essays that provide historical, theological, and practical

19) Harold M. Daniels, op. cit., 170.

20) Julius Melton, "Presbyterian Worship in Twentieth Century America," op. cit., 187.

21) Ibid., 192.

22) Fred R. Anderson, "Why This Directory: Issues, Agendas, and Objectives of the Task Force," *Reformed Liturgy & Music* 23 (1989), 176.

background, and suggestions for using the resource.

7) The Book of Common Worship (1993)

The BCW is the basic liturgical resource which keeps fourfold structure, Gathering - The Word - The Eucharist or Thanksgiving - Sending. These are made of a sequence of elements: call to worship, hymn of praise confession and pardon, prayer for illumination, reading and preaching of the word of God, affirmation of faith, prayers of the people, Lord's Supper or prayer of thanksgiving, hymn, charge and blessing.<sup>23)</sup>

C. The rite of Korean Presbyterian Church

While the church polity in these churches has been amended several times, the principle and practice of worship rarely has been changed. Most of these churches except few scholars are very conservative both in the way of thinking and in theology.

The directories of P.C.K. and K.P.C.A. did not include any texts, providing only a theology of worship, and rubrical admonitions for ordering worship. Those look like following the free church tradition a service book was generally under suspicion. The Directory for worship is a part of its constitution, along with the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Book of Confession. It sets the elements within which we may order worship with integrity, and provides directions for liturgical practice.

The revised rites are shown briefly in a diagram.

23) Peter C. Bower, ed. *The Companion to the Book of Common Worship* (Louisville, KY: Geneva Press, 2003), xii.

<p><u>Presbyterian Church in Korea</u> (1983)</p> <p>Assembly Call to worship Hymn <b>Confession</b> <b>Prayer for pardon</b> Gospel Reading Sermon Hymn Offering Preparation of the elements Words of Institution Prayer of Consecration Fraction Delivery Communion Prayer of Thanksgiving Hymn Benediction <b>The Peace</b></p> <p><u>Presby-Church in Korea</u> (1997) &amp;</p> <p>Call to Worship Responsive Song (성가대응답송) Word of Worship(예배의 말씀) Invocation (기원) Hymn of Praise(경배의 찬송) Antiphonal Reading(성시교독) Prayer of Confession(참회기도) Assurance of Pardon(용서확신)</p>	<p><u>Korean Presbyterian Church in America (1987)</u></p> <p>Communion exhortation Words of Institution Eucharistic Prayer Fraction Delivery Communion <b>Exhortation to holiness</b> Prayer of Thanksgiving <b>Collection for the poor</b> Hymn Benediction</p> <p><u>Presby-Church in Korea</u> (2008)</p> <p>Call to Worship Responsive Song Invocation Hymn of Praise Antiphonal Reading Prayer of Confession Assurance of Pardon</p>
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Gloria(영광송)	Gloria
Pastoral Prayer(목회기도)	Pastoral Prayer
Scripture Lessons	Scripture Lessons
Anthem	Anthem
Prayer for Illumination	Prayer for Illumination
Sermon	Sermon
Prayer after Sermon	Prayer after Sermon
Hymn of Response	Hymn of Response
Baptism	Baptism
	The Peace
	Creed
	Lord's Prayer
Offering	Offering
	Eucharistic Prayer
The Words of Institution	The Words of Institution
Epiclesis	Epiclesis
Breaking the Bread	Breaking the Bread
	Communion
Post-Communion Praer	Post-Communion Prayer
Charge	Charge
Benediction	Benediction
Fellowship and Announcement	Announcement

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The order and contents of the worship of the PCK seem to be affected by various Reformed liturgics. Among the order of the worship 'Gospel Reading' which was read just one proper chapter of the Scripture seems to come from the liturgies before Middleburg, that is, Calvin's liturgy, because all reformed liturgy recommended reading of both Testaments. The omission of the Creed, the offertory after the

sermon, and the practice of the Lord's Supper are little more than the Westminster Directory.

More interesting observation is that 'Prayer of Confession', 'Pardon of Assurance', and 'Peace' were added to this service. It is considered that the worship committee added them with reference to the reformed directories published in America after 1961. It was not until 1983 that 'Prayer of Confession' and 'Assurance of pardon', which is called an earmark of the Reformed church, became an element of sunday worship. They had been practiced in only few churches which are interested in the ecumenism and the liturgical revival movement.

Although there was not appeared the order of worship in the Constitution of the KPCA(1987), the direction of the Lord's Supper was directed in detail. We can know explicitly that this directory follow heavily the Westminster Directory and the Savoy Liturgy when we look at the two exhortations and the collection for the poor after communion. No reference on the order of worship as well as any text, no 'Peace', and use of classical language show that the KPCA has more conservative theology and free church style than the PCK has, although they are in America and keep relationship with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Many of both the PCK and the KPCA consider their directories more than a group of suggestions which could be used or not used at the discretion of the minister. Especially the directories have more authority in the sacraments.

Accordingly, it is more likely that development of the service book could lead both the PCK and the KPCA to the desirable churches which are in common with the wider church and are rooted in the Reformed tradition. Harold M. Daniels' word below might be helpful that both the PCK and the KPCA take action to begin the process to make the service book.

The service book can help us transcend the individualism and sec-tarianism of our time, and provide strength in resisting the spirit of secularism.<sup>24)</sup>

24) Harold M. Daniels, op.cit., 172.

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## 교회의 지역사회 섬김에 대한 소고 The community of the church to about serving, the small hand drum

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