어울림(“Oullim”) Worship: Towards the Renewal of Korean Presbyterian Worship and Liturgy

by

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Abstract
This study proposes principles and practices of Oullim Worship as a model of Korean
liturgical inculturation directed towards the renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship and
liturgy. Previous studies in liturgical inculturation for Korean churches have tended to be
highly theoretical, culturally impractical, or limited in scope. This study employs the
Korean concept of Oullim (어울림) as an indigenous ethos and cultural context within
which holistic principles of Korean liturgical inculturation can function with integrity.
The origins of Korean Presbyterian worship in 19th century North American evangelical
revivalism are examined in order to expose an individualistic and instrumentalist
alienation of Korean Christians from their own cultural ethos. Hymnological history and
musical trends offer further insights into how to enable Korean Christian participation in
worship with deeper theological awareness and greater cultural sensitivity. In particular,
the methods of liturgical inculturation proposed by Asian liturgical theologian Anscar J.
Chupungco offer means of dynamic equivalence, creative assimilation and organic
progression in communality, feasting and participation for baptismal and eucharistic
practices as well as general worship planning and liturgical participation—all understood
as preliminary principles and practices of Oullim Worship and its dynamic balance of
unity and diversity in liturgical and cultural harmony.
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1. Introduction

Although Korean Christians eagerly attend services of public worship in the millions, tension, division, conflict and controversy continue to challenge the churches and their various practices of worship. This dissertation is but one response to that context. It explores resources for the renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy by proposing a model of Oullim(어울림) Worship. The Korean concept of “Oullim,” while difficult to translate literally into English, carries connotations of harmony, balance, healthy relationships, and well-being.

The Minjung’s Essence Korean-English Dictionary translates Oullim as union, suitability and harmonization. The term is used in relation to music, art, fashion, and friendship. It carries connotations of good relationships and harmony among peoples as well as objects, colors and musical notes. When different persons, notes, and colors match or go well together, Oullim describes their suitability, harmonization, and integration. It can also extend to philosophical and conceptual relationships. For example, in traditional Korean architecture, it is important to design and build not only according to usage and function but also in relation to natural surroundings and geographical location, taking into account the local features, shape or contours of the land. Oullim expresses a balanced approach to relationships and structures, even overall outlook or way of life. Moreover, there is a sense in which Korean identity is related to and

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1 The Minjung’s Essence Korean-English Dictionary, 4th ed. s.v. “어우르다” (Seoul: Minjungsseorim Publication, 2013), 1512-1513. For this study Oullim will be rendered in English, without italics.
expressed in the notion of Oullim. One’s self and relationship with others as well as the surroundings, including the ways in which tensions, disagreements or conflicts are negotiated and resolved, are effected through an approach of Oullim, by the harmonization of different components. These and other dimensions of Oullim form the backdrop against which an indigenous Korean model of Oullim Worship will be proposed in this study.

While Oullim has been explored to a limited degree by Korean scholars in philosophy, theology and design, it has not been developed for liturgical purposes. Meanwhile, the Korean notion of “Haan,” so important to Minjung theology, has received sustained examination, but has not been met with wide acceptance in popular

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3 Note the difference between Han and Haan. The first term contains similar meanings to Oullim. Chang-hee Son distinguishes between Han(韓) and Haan(恨), though both terms are spelled and sounded the same in Korean. Minjung theology, while related to Han, refers more specifically to Haan. Son notes that Haan connotes “a mind’s or heart’s affliction and struggle with a deep emotional or spiritual pain which either poisons the entire being or even ends up nourishing the person (only when haan is resolved, but one’s resolution of haan occurs very rarely).” See Haan of Minjung Theology and Han of Han Philosophy: In the Paradigm of Process Philosophy and Metaphysics of Relatedness (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 4-7. According to David Suh, Minjung is not only significant sociologically, but also theologically. The term Minjung focuses attention on particular groups and classes of people—namely those who are in the labor class, in a state of poverty or are marginalized. See Suh’s “Foreword” in Volker Küster, A Protestant Theology of Passion: Korean Minjung Theology Revisited (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010). For Minjung theology, generally, see: Yong-bok Kim, Messiah and Minjung: Christ's Solidarity with the People for New Life (Kowloon, Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, Urban Rural Mission, 1992); Kwang-Sun Suh, The Korean Minjung in Christ (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, Commission on Theological Concerns, 1991); Byung-Mu Ahn, Jesus of Galilee (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia; Dr. Ahn Byung-Mu Memorial Service Committee, 2004).
Korean church circles or worship. Oullim has the potential to embrace some elements of Minjung theology as well as speak to the Korean desire for a unity which transcends differences. However, because the concept of Oullim can potentially be challenged on the grounds of syncretism, its meaning and value also need to be carefully considered.

In order to offer the indigenous response of Oullim Worship to the liturgical challenges faced by Korean Presbyterian churches, this study will examine Korean Presbyterian worship from several perspectives, including: the origins of its worship, theology and liturgical practices; the contribution, influence and consequences of Western missionary activity; the impact and effect of Christian music and hymnody on their worship; the issue of liturgical inculturation in the Korean Presbyterian church context; and the principles through which Oullim Worship can be actualized.

Korean Presbyterian churches have experienced widespread division over worship and over the appropriateness of cultural expressions in liturgy, especially regarding styles of music. In addition, in the context of rapid cultural change, there is a significant generational and cultural gap between old and young Korean Christians. Further, in a country tragically divided between North and South, there is an urgent need to work toward the unity of Korea. Both in general terms and especially in Korean Presbyterian churches, worship can foster unity, not for the sake of liturgical uniformity or proscription, but rather to nurture vibrant worshiping communities seeking dynamic theological understanding and faithful liturgical practices—all marked by a witness to mutual respect and unity in the Body of Christ. Thus, the aim of this dissertation is to suggest a constructive approach to the renewal of Christian worship and liturgy in the Korean Presbyterian context and to do so from a Korean perspective.
Throughout the history of Korean Presbyterianism, Korean theologians and pastors have drawn upon the theology, history and practices of Western liturgy and worship, especially those associated with the traditions of their early missionaries. Missionary methods influenced the Korean church’s theological, liturgical and denominational ethos as well as the geographical location and distribution of Korean Protestant churches. As a result, Korean Presbyterian churches experienced not only swift growth but also widespread division and fragmentation. While the Korean Presbyterian churches were blessed in many ways by the faith and devotion of missionaries and their passion for The Great Commission, they also experienced deep fissures and painful fragmentation as an inheritance of a divisive imperialism.

Though some Korean theologians and liturgical scholars have explored aspects of the origins of worship in the Korean Presbyterian churches, including potential practices

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4 There are different perspectives on the beginning of the Korean Presbyterian churches. Although some scholars identify 1884 as the historical starting point, Kyoung Jin Kim insists on 1879 in his research on Tok-chu Yi (Duok-Joo rhee), *Ch’ogi Han’guk Kidokkyosa yon’gu [A Study of Early Christian History in Korea]*, (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 1995), 11-26; 332-33. Details of the arguments regarding the precise year are beyond the scope of this work.

5 Missionaries to Korea adopted the Nevius Plan when they began their mission in Korea. One of the Plan’s distinctive features was the division of Korean territory according to denominational areas, in which missionaries exercised exclusive ministry and denominational influence. The Nevius Plan will be more closely examined in Chapter Two.

6 Korean Presbyterian churches have a unique history of division resulting in over two hundred separate denominations. For example, this author’s denominational origin is with the *Baekseok* denomination of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, established in November 1976. It is now one of the largest denominations of the PCK with over 3,200 congregations and 700,000 members. It is located theologically in a middle ground between conservatism and progressivism, and uses Calvinist and Reformed theology as its preferred theological approach. For more detailed history and information about this denomination, see The General Synod of Baekseok denomination, “The History of the General Synod of Baekseok Denomination,” [http://www.pgak.net/](http://www.pgak.net/) (accessed June 15, 2017).

7 The Great Commission, Matt. 28:19-20: “Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.” (NIV)
of liturgical inculturation and the impact of the liturgical movement, few findings have been successfully integrated into the Korean context via a culturally appropriate conceptual framework. Even Minjung theology’s prophetic and compelling notion of “Haan(한)” has not been widely taken up by Korean worshipping communities. Instead, Korean Presbyterian churches remain focused on a particular approach to the Bible and theology as transmitted by prior missionary activity. Indigenous explorations of worship and liturgy have thus been relatively recent and remain largely unfamiliar. As a result, the work of more recent Korean theologians and liturgical scholars has not gained a broad audience or had much influence on local congregational life.

In addition, the deep-seated pragmatic tendencies of the Korean Presbyterian churches often cause them to overlook theological and liturgical meaning and focus instead on emotional impact and numerical growth. Consequently, strategic approaches to worship, liturgical practices and musical styles often function as instruments for the achievement of quantitative (growth) results or the acquisition of material success. This study will also examine some of the origins of, and rationale for, the inclination of the Korean Presbyterian churches towards such pragmatism.

In short, this study will examine the contextual history, origins and development of worship and liturgy in the Korean Presbyterian churches along with their contemporary challenges and opportunities, leading to a proposal of Oullim (어울림) Worship as an indigenous Korean understanding and model of worship aimed at culturally appropriate and balanced reform and renewal.

2. Methodological Considerations

This study will focus on critical components of Korean Presbyterian liturgy and worship, in particular the history of missions and their inherited forms of worship, contemporary perspectives on music in Korean worship, and principles of liturgical inculturation. The aim is to integrate and synthesize findings in these key areas in order to suggest principles and practices of Oullim Worship for Korean Presbyterian churches.

First, a largely historical approach will be taken in Chapter One when exploring the origins of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy within the Protestant missionary era and the associated theological perspectives of the 18th and 19th century Western missionaries. In addition, this study will examine the background and curriculum of Pyongyang Seminary, the first theological institution of the Korean Presbyterian churches, an institution that had an enormous influence on the shape of Presbyterian worship and liturgy. In particular, by exploring the theological background and contributions of Professors Samuel A. Moffett and Charles A. Clark, I will trace the liturgical characteristics of early Korean Presbyterian churches, their relationships with Western missionaries, and the influence of North American revivalism.

Second, using a more liturgical and hymnological approach in Chapter Two, this study will examine perspectives on worship music and the related efforts of key liturgical
scholars, composers and musicians. Music is one of the most influential elements in Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy. Because of its centrality, it is important to examine what Korean Christians sing in public worship and how certain songs, styles and practices have entered the musical canon and influenced liturgical understanding and practice. A number of key figures working in the field of worship music and hymnody have particular methods and theological insights to offer here. In addition, the publication of new hymnals in Korea, as well as those containing significant Korean content published elsewhere, can serve as examples that anticipate potential influences on and implications for the future of Korean Presbyterian worship.

Third, this study will attempt to critically connect and integrate the previous two chapters by investigating methods of liturgical inculturation in Chapter Three. To this end, the work of Filipino theologian Anscar J. Chupungco, a key advocate for liturgical inculturation, will be examined. His theoretical framework and institutional efforts are considered pioneering resources for liturgical theologians, liturgists, and worship leaders.

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10 Since the publication of the 21st Century Hymnal in 2007 in Korea, there has been controversy regarding its quality and the process leading to its production. Although many Korean Protestant churches used the previous Tongil [Unity] Hymnal, some Korean Protestant churches have started to work towards the publication of their own hymnals. For example, the Anglican Church of Korea and the National Council of Churches in Korea are in the process of publishing new hymnals. In addition, other denominations are also publishing new hymnals with significant Korean content in the United States. The significance of such works will be explored in Chapter Three. For more information on the new hymnbooks of the PCUSA, Glory to God, and the CRC, Lift up Your Hearts, see The Presbyterian Hymnal Project, http://www.presbyterianhymnal.org/ and Lift Up Your Hearts, http://www.liftupyourheartshymnal.org/.
Since Chupungco articulated his theology and proposed practices of liturgical inculcation from an Asian perspective, aspects of his work are particularly constructive for this study.

However, it is also worth noting that the Roman Catholic context of Chupungco and the intended scope of this study are quite different. Indeed, it could be argued that his particular assumptions, principles and suggestions are inappropriate resources for finding theological, liturgical and practical implications for Korean Presbyterian churches. Chupungco’s church and Korean Presbyterian churches have very different ecclesial structures, theological emphases and liturgical characteristics. Nevertheless, despite such differences, there are also significant historical and contextual similarities insofar as both the Philippines and Korea have experienced long histories of both direct and indirect imperialism. As a result, some of Chupungco’s principles and practices of liturgical inculcation, rooted in an Asian experience of institutional colonialism, contain valuable insights and implications for Korean Presbyterian churches. It is for this reason that this study will draw upon Chupungco and his methods of liturgical inculcation as a seminal resource for Oullim Worship for Korean Presbyterian churches, aimed towards the renewal of Korean Presbyterian liturgy.

As we begin, and by way of concluding this Introduction, it may help to identify and clarify some key terms and concepts which will be employed in this study. Particular nuances and assumptions regarding key understandings of liturgy and worship have developed in the Korean churches, and the associated assumptions and perspectives have sometimes become challenging for liturgical renewal in that context. Before analyzing the current liturgical ethos of Korean churches, such terms warrant explanation in order
to appreciate their resonance and relevance in the Korean setting, to avoid potentially problematic stereotypes, to prevent misconceptions about Korean churches, and to help readers understand of the intentions of this study. The following are by no means exhaustive or comprehensive but offered by way of introduction to various aspects of worship in the Korean context.

1) Korean churches: In Korea, there are many Protestant denominations including those of Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, Pentecostal, Presbyterian and Holiness traditions. However, this study will consider only the Presbyterian tradition in the South Korean context. It is also necessary to appreciate the significance of the fact that Korean Presbyterian churches have divided into over two hundred sub-divisions. Such severe splintering among Korean Presbyterian churches has led to an ethos of congregationalism, even though each of the churches and their congregations generally employ the historic juridical structures of Presbyterianism in their ecclesial polity. According to the Korean Christian newspaper, Kukminilbo, every year over seven thousand theological students enter the ministry from over four hundred theological educational systems, and a great many of them are Presbyterian. But in spite of the vast number of sub-divisions within Korean Presbyterianism, many of them are not very different in terms of worship styles. In this study, reference to Korean Presbyterian churches will denote a wide range of Presbyterian denominations in Korea, all of them sharing a relatively similar style of worship.

2) **Liturgy renewal**: This term will be used to generally indicate efforts related to renewing or revitalizing Christian liturgy. It is to be distinguished somewhat from a more specific reference to the “liturgical movement,” per se, which has been understood by Korean Presbyterians as a largely Roman Catholic phenomenon. Since the liturgical movement has not been particularly influential among Korean Presbyterian churches, it helps to use another term to distinguish it from attempts by Korean Presbyterian churches to reconsider and renew their liturgy and worship, even though they may sometimes draw on certain efforts of Catholic and other Western churches.12

The liturgical movement is “a twentieth-century movement for the revitalization of the church through the renewal of its worship.”13 However, like other movements and philosophical trends, the liturgical movement did not take place in a vacuum. According to Fenwick and Spinks, it was not only a reaction against 18th and 19th century individualism and clericalism but also often harbored a nostalgic desire to return to a ‘pure’ tradition. As a result, it affected not only written liturgies but also the way Christians thought about worship and spirituality.14 But while some might associate the liturgical movement solely with the influence of the Roman Catholic Church’s Second Vatican Council, it needs to be remembered that “the liturgical movement gained wider adherence as its cause was taken up by various liturgical conferences, institutes, and

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12 According to Swee Hong Lim, Protestantism in Asia has not communicated directly with Roman Catholicism. “Unlike other parts of the world, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism do not typically interact in Asia. The spirit of mutuality and cooperation that might occur elsewhere is still lacking in many Asian countries.” Lim, *Giving Voice to Asian Christians*, 44.


societies in the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed churches before the work of liturgical reform and renewal was endorsed by the Second Vatican Council and implemented by official liturgical commissions.”

However, because the liturgical movement has been considered part of an ecumenical movement, conservative groups of Korean Presbyterian churches have often been critical of it. Thus, when readers see the terms “liturgical movement” and “liturgical renewal” in this study, they need to appreciate the differences between Western churches and Korean Presbyterian churches. The term liturgical renewal signals liturgical accents similar to but not contextually identical with those of the liturgical movement of North American churches, or efforts at the renewal of worship found in 19th century revivalism, Methodism and Pentecostalism.

3) Revivalism: In Western society, revivalism frequently comes about as a reaction against established, institutionalized churches. In Korea, there was no established church against which to react; revival created the churches from scratch.

Revivalism is a “movement that maintains that vital Christianity begins with a response of the whole being to the gospel’s call for repentance and spiritual rebirth by faith in Jesus Christ, and this experience results in a personal relationship with God.”

Accordingly, great emphasis is placed on individual conversion and its visible expression

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15 See Frank C Senn, Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997), 612. Since Senn considers ecumenical efforts as important characteristics of the liturgical movement, he sees a connection even to contemporary Protestant churches’ evangelical movements and their influence. “Protestants had already had some experience of working and studying interdenominationally in the nineteenth century in Missionary societies, in the YMCA, the YWCA, the Student Volunteer movement, and the Student Christian movement.” Senn, Christian Liturgy, 632.

16 A distinctive characteristic of the theology of revivalism is that the “acceptance of Christ’s final commission to his disciples as a mandate for personal witness and world mission reinforces the urgency that characterizes revival movements.” Since many Western missionaries who came to Korea in the 19th century were influenced by this theology and eschatology of revivalism, many of the current Korean Presbyterian churches still maintain a strong sense of mission, sending their missionaries all over the world. For an overview of the history of revivalism and its theological characteristics, refer to Walter A. Elwell, The Concise Evangelical Dictionary of Theology (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1991), 435.
in evangelical gatherings, public responses, and moral transformation. Since the First Great Awakening in the American colonies in 1725, revivalism has been led by well-known theologians, musicians, and preachers such as George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Charles Grandison Finney, Dwight L. Moody, Ira Sankey, and Billy Graham. In a broad sense, the Pentecostal revival can be included as another branch or wave of revivalism with a distinct pneumatology and perspective on spiritual gifts. Although there were other evangelical companions in the revival movement in 19th century North America, such as Methodist, Pentecostal, and Separatist traditions, revivalism in Korean churches has not followed those particular types or models but functioned as a distinctive instrumental method of evangelizing Koreans. Thus, readers need to be aware of the historical differences between the contexts of the North American churches and the Korean churches in order to understand revivalism and its respective roles in American and Korean churches. In this paper, attention to revivalism focuses on the methods of 19th century North American Revivalism as generally expressed in the “Frontier tradition” of worship and as applied to the evangelization and conversion of Koreans into Presbyterian Christians.\(^{17}\)

4) Evangelical worship: In this study, “evangelical worship” will be used as distinct from “liturgical worship” since the two have contrasting characteristics, theological perspectives and emphases in worship and liturgy. According to Lester Ruth, the characteristics of evangelical worship—which he calls “Independent Evangelical Church Worship”—can be summarized as follows: a) it emphasizes the language of

feeling; b) it has no commonly received texts or liturgical norms; c) it contains a high view of scripture; d) there is high value placed on personal religious experience; e) it has a missiological approach. While this is not meant to imply that liturgical worship devalues emotion, scripture, or mission, it is to suggest that such emphases are particularly privileged and evident in evangelical worship. In contrast, liturgical worship tends to highlight the intellectual understanding and rational meaning of liturgy; it emphasizes the communal aspects of worship and liturgy; it values its historic forms and classical structures; and it readily employs the use of liturgical resources, prayer books, lectionaries, the liturgical year and Christian calendar.

5) Pragmatism (or Instrumentalism): Pragmatism is one of America’s leading intellectual traditions. Mario Bunge defines it as: “the philosophical doctrine according to which praxis (action) is the source, content, measure, and goal of all knowledge and all value. Accordingly, pure research is either nonexistent or expendable; the test of anything is utility; truth is . . . a euphemism for practical usefulness . . . .” According to Bunge, any practice or action is employable and applicable if it works for specific intentions or goals. The term “instrumentalism” also denotes a utilitarian view of practices as “instruments” aimed at specific goals. However, many have raised questions concerning the assumptions undergirding pragmatism, such as how one can determine if a practice or action is either working or not, who can determine the standard or perspective from which to evaluate the success of a practice, and how to guard against a person’s

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19 Mario Bunge, Philosophical Dictionary (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books), 2003, 221. According to Bunge, the founding fathers of pragmatism are C.S. Peirce, W. James, and J. Dewey.
experience of satisfaction being distorted or deluded. Because of such uncertainty, several critiques of pragmatism have been advanced by philosophers and theologians such as Alasdair MacIntyre, Greg Bahnsen, and R. Albert Mohler. Nevertheless, pragmatism and its various applications are popular in Korea and in Korean churches and their ministries. Not only is pragmatism historically grounded in the influence of North American missiological strategy, it has taken firm root in Korea, Korean culture, and Korean churches.

6) Culture: Because of its complexity, dynamism and ubiquity, culture remains difficult to precisely define, and cultural studies has emerged as a vast and complex interdisciplinary area, which is of course beyond the scope of this study, per se. For our general purposes, Clifford Geertz’s approach will be employed due to its relevance to religious phenomena. Geertz defines culture as “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.” From this perspective, the relationship between culture and time is interrelated and inseparable. In the culture of Korean churches, for example, in spite of new waves of cultural understanding—such as modernism, industrialism, idealism, capitalism, consumerism, and other new expressions of religious influence—significant characteristics and traditional beliefs can persist in the culture because of the nature of its historically transmitted symbols and meanings. The

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20 Stuart Rosenbaum, Pragmatism and Religion (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press), 2003, 1-2. Rosenbaum notes, for example, the critiques of Alasdair MacIntyre, Greg Bahnsen and R. Albert Mohler and their distinctive religious perspectives, from Catholic, Reformed and Baptist traditions, respectively.

complex relationships between past and present culture and history need to be understood as a key component in this study.

7) **Korean culture**: It is impossible to define culture as a fixed pattern due to dynamic historical shifts. Culture is constantly affected by the desire of new generations for change, the emergence of new technologies, encounters with other cultures, and the nostalgia of older generations for former ways and customs. However, some consistent characteristics can sometimes be identified within specific cultures. For example, Korean culture, especially Korean religious culture, can be characterized as having a monotheistic belief system with multiple faith structures. According to Chin-hong Chung, unlike other Asian countries, a significant connecting point between Christianity and Korean culture is the relationship of indigenous Korean religion to Christian monotheism. The monotheistic affinity of Korean culture means other beliefs are not necessarily regarded with hostility, leading to a “multiple faith structure.” While it may seem contradictory for European and North American monotheistic beliefs and a multiple faith structure to coexist in the same culture, similar pluralistic dynamics have been interwoven in Korea and Korean religious culture for over five thousand years. An Oullim of different religions and philosophies has formed a culturally unique substrate in Korean culture. Readers need to be aware of this distinctive cultural complexity in the Korean churches and Korean culture.

8) **Liturgy**: One can define the term “liturgy” using etymological, theological, or

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22 Chin-hong Chung argues that Korean religious culture has a multiple faith system rather than a syncretistic one insofar as it does not emphasize the integration of diverse religions but highlights selective variables within the plurality of influence by multiple religions such as Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Ke Joon Lee, ed., *Theology of Korean Culture* (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2002), 31.
ecclesiological approaches, for example as “the work of the people,” “religious or public service” or “participation,” respectively. In general, this study will often use “liturgy” and “worship” interchangeably, recognizing that all worship has a liturgical structure, and all liturgy is intended to be directed towards the worship of God. However, the term “liturgy” will also invite particular cultural and theological considerations.

Romano Guardini and Anscar J. Chupungco’s definitions help anticipate an exploration of the relationship between culture and liturgy in Korean Presbyterian churches. According to Guardini, purposelessness is an important characteristic of liturgy: “The practice of liturgy means that by the help of grace, under the guidance of the Church, we grow into living works of art before God, with no other aim or purpose than that of living and existing in His sight; it means fulfilling God’s Word and ‘becoming as little children’; it means foregoing maturity with all its purposefulness, and confining oneself to play, as David did when he danced before the Ark.”

Guardini’s approach offers profound possibilities for liturgical inculturation because it understands liturgy not as a strict law, but as a dynamic place where Christians are able to sense and respond to God’s mysterious grace. Moreover, for those focused on pragmatism or reductionistic psychological benefits of worship, Guardini’s notion of liturgy offers a crucial antidote, setting worshippers free from pragmatic obsessions such as the need for evangelism, numerical growth, rationalist education, or narrow moralism.

Similarly, the openness of liturgy is important for Chupungco’s understanding of liturgy and its cultural implications. Chupungco holds “that all liturgical rites are vested

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in culture, that no liturgy is celebrated in a cultural vacuum.”

Liturgy is not free from its cultural influences. Such cultural dimensions need to be considered when liturgical forms and orders are established, practiced, and examined. From this perspective, liturgy is a culturally conditioned means of grace, rather than merely a strict observance of an abstract religious law, because in liturgy the participants communicate with God through what is culturally mediated, familiar and intimate.

9) Inculturation: Given that the relationship between worship and culture is inseparable, liturgy cannot be practiced in the absence of cultural media such as language, music and art, because it cannot be practiced without people, the participants.

Consequently, Chupungco describes the process of inculturation as follows:

Inculturation . . . is made up of three elements. The first is interaction or dialogue between the church’s liturgical worship and the local culture with its components of values, rites, symbols, patterns and institutions. The second is the integration into the liturgy of such cultural elements as are pertinent and suitable. The third is the dynamic whereby the Christian form of worship is enriched by culture without prejudice to its nature as a divine-human institution.

Although this definition will be explored more fully in this study, it is worth noting at this point that one crucial task of inculturation is to discern the most authentic ways of identifying and expressing the relationship between God and human beings in a local church context. When missionaries, liturgists, and Christians from one culture attempt to worship or practice liturgy in and with another very different culture, it is necessary to discern differences between their own culture and the culture in their mission field, since inculturation is carried out in culturally conditioned mutual

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interaction. In addition, the goal of inculturation is not to avoid conflict, but to find more truthful and meaningful ways of enabling and expressing the active participants of worshippers in their communication with God. In order to empower participants for authentic and faithful worship, it is necessary to engage in liturgical inculturation. Liturgy and worship cannot be actualized apart from liturgical inculturation.

10) Postcolonialism: Postcolonialism is a perspective that reconsiders the existing traditions that have been dominated by colonialism or imperialism, as well as the values and dignity of other cultures. As Michael N. Jagessar and Stephen Burns have observed, although postcolonialism has been studied in various areas of scholarship, it is just beginning to be considered in liturgical studies. Although Chupungco does not directly employ the term postcolonialism or its interpretive resources in his work, per se, his perspective on the principles of liturgical inculturation is not unrelated. For example, he believes that the Church as the body of Christ has a mission not to compel others in different cultures to surrender their own culture, but instead to function as the incarnation of the Word of God in each cultural context. His attention to the value of other cultures shares common ground with postcolonial theologies, notwithstanding the observation by

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26 “The relationship between liturgical studies and postcolonial criticism is not a present concern for scholars in these distinct strands of scholarly inquiry. In fact, liturgical studies and postcolonial criticism – like some other fields – are oftentimes treated as separate strands of the wider theological enterprise.” Michael N. Jagessar and Stephen Burns, Christian Worship: Postcolonial Perspectives (Sheffield, UK: Equinox Publishing, 2011), 5. Since this claim, more studies have emerged, as in for example, Claudio Carvalhaes, ed., Liturgy in Postcolonial Perspectives: Only One is Holy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

27 For an explanation of Chupungco’s theological methodology linking Christ’s Incarnation to ecclesiology and liturgical inculturation, see his article, “The Theological Principle of Adaptation,” in Vogel, Primary Sources of Liturgical Theology, 247.
some that a postcolonial perspective often necessitates going “beyond enculturation” to “decolonize” specific liturgical practices.\textsuperscript{28}

11) **Syncretism**: Tensions and distinctions between inculturation and syncretism can seem unclear due to the extent to which each seeks to address the co-existence of different or contradictory religions or worldviews. According to Justo L. Gonzalez, syncretism is “the act of combining seemingly contradictory elements from religious or philosophical systems . . . . Most often the term is used pejoratively, implying that in accepting alien influences one has denied a basic tenet of Christianity.”\textsuperscript{29} For Gonzalez, the difference between syncretism and inculturation has to do with the relative weight placed on one’s identity versus the core tenets of one’s religion. For inculturation, the emphasis is often placed on the importance of one’s cultural identity. In syncretism, one’s religious beliefs are more important than harmonizing one’s religious or cultural practices. In a sense, each is concerned about the same dynamics, but for different reasons and motives.

The foregoing cursory review of key terms is intended to help set a dynamic stage for the analysis and discussion to follow. In this spirit, the subsequent chapters of this investigation will draw upon historical, theological, hymnological, liturgical and cultural resources in order to explore Korean Presbyterian liturgy and propose a model of Oullim Worship for Korean Presbyterian churches.

\textsuperscript{28} See, Jagessar and Burns, *Christian Worship*, 33-36.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ORIGINS OF KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN LITURGY IN THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ERA

1. Introduction

In order to identify the various challenges facing Korean Presbyterian worship, it is helpful to examine the influence of Pyongyang Theological Seminary on the origins of Korean Presbyterian liturgy. Pyongyang, the largest city in North Korea (and now its capital) contributed significantly to the growth and settlement of the Korean Presbyterian churches. According to The Korea Review of March 1906, the Korean Presbyterian church in Pyongyang was about three times larger than in Seoul, despite the relatively small number of Western missionaries there.\(^3\) Pyongyang Theological Seminary was established to meet the urgent need to supply pastors in that region. As the cradle of influential Christian leadership in Korea and a source of revival in Korean society and history, it came to symbolize the theological and liturgical roots of the Korean Presbyterian churches. Because of its symbolic importance, to this day many denominations of the Korean Presbyterian churches and their associated theological institutions trace their history and identities to Pyongyang Seminary and its founders in an effort to demonstrate their credibility. Given the force of this relationship, it is worth examining founders of Pyongyang Seminary in order to discern the seminary’s influence on Korean pastors and churches.

Among the professors who were teaching during the early stages of Pyongyang Seminary, Samuel A. Moffett and Charles A. Clark are noteworthy because of their different pedagogical emphases leading to differing perspectives on worship and liturgy.

Although the Korean Presbyterian church has since divided into hundreds of branches as a result of differing responses to historical incidents and conflicting perspectives on theology, their approach to worship has tended to preserve an evangelical ethos which pre-dates their divisions. The churches continue to maintain similar forms of worship dominated by evangelical emphases rather than broader liturgical concerns. To examine the evangelical character of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy, it helps to consider the historical influences of Samuel A. Moffett’s approach to revivalist worship, Charles A. Clark’s more liturgical approach, and early Korean pastors’ preference for Moffett’s model over Clark’s.

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31 Primary sources on Moffett and Clark include: Charles A. Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods (New York: Fleming H. Revell. 1895) and 60 년 회고록 [Memories of Sixty Years], translated by 박용규 [Yongkyu Park]. (서울: 신학지남사 제 60 권 4 호, 통권 제 238 호, 1993); Samuel A. Moffett, “Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelism,” in Counsel to New Missionaries from Older Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church (New York: Board of Foreign Missions PCUSA, 1905), 60-75; and “Life at a Korean Outpost,” The Church at Home and Abroad, (May 1894), 373-374.

32 Numerous issues have prompted the splintering of Korean Presbyterian churches—e.g., attitudes to Shinto shrines imposed by the Japanese Empire; membership in the World Council of Churches (WCC); relations with Korean military juntas. For a detailed history, see Seong-Won Park, Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea: Its History and Implications (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 194-207; and Keun Hwan Kang, 한국교회 형성과 그 요인의 역사적 분석 [Formation of the Korean Church and a Historical Analysis on the Main Reasons], (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2004). Kang identifies the various theological perspectives among Korean churches as fundamentalist, conservative, progressive, and liberal. All Korean churches have been through severe theological conflicts. Issues of biblical authority and perspectives on the WCC have proven particularly divisive. See, Kang, 한국교회 형성과 그 요인의 역사적 분석 [Formation of the Korean Church and a Historical Analysis on the Main Reasons], 52-82.

33 See also Hae-moo Yoo’s account of and reasons for Korean pastors’ early preference for the camp meeting style of worship and its impact on Korean society and churches. Hae-moo Yoo, “한국교회의 공예배와 교회의 개혁,” [The Reformation of the Korean Church and Public Worship] 개혁신학과 교회 18 권, 부산: 고신대, 2005, 79-86.

34 Although Roman Catholic missionaries arrived earlier than Protestant missionaries, this study
2. Samuel A. Moffett

Pyongyang Theological Seminary was founded in 1901 when the western missionaries from four Presbyterian or Presbyterian-related denominations—United Presbyterian, Presbyterian U.S., Australian Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada—agreed to establish a united theological institution comprised of a faculty member representing each group. Samuel A. Moffett was its first president, as well as the first moderator of the associated Presbytery. At Pyongyang Seminary, Moffett taught two courses, Westminster Shorter Catechism and Theology, from 1901 to 1924. His contributions as the founder and professor at the Seminary and his influence on Korean Presbyterian Christians and their leaders were enormous.

A. The Theology of Samuel A. Moffett

Moffett and the other professors of the early period of Pyongyang Seminary were shaped by their education at McCormick Seminary in Chicago and its atmosphere in the 19th

will focus on Korean Presbyterian liturgy and its evolution. Note also that Samuel A. Moffett and Charles A. Clark were not the only factors in the establishment and growth of the Korean Presbyterian churches. Horace N. Allen, Horace G. Appenzeller, John W. Heron, Horace Grant Underwood, and others also had important roles as medical doctors and educators.


36 There were no courses in pastoral theology (e.g., preaching, liturgy, education, and church administration) until 1908. Before Charles A. Clark’s arrival, most classes were of biblical and theological subjects such as Soteriology, Pentateuch, and the New Testament. See, Chang-Bok Chung, “한국예수교최초의 실천신학교수 콘상런(Charles Allen Clark)의 목사지를 제한한 예배의 신학과 이론,” [“The first professor of pastoral theology, Charles Allen Clark’s theology of worship based on his text book, Pastoral Theology”], 장신논단 22 집, 서울: 장신대학교, (2004): 222-223.
century. Among the twenty-two McCormick alumni who served as missionaries in Korea, fifteen of them, including Moffett and Clark, worked in Korea during its early Presbyterian Christian development. They contributed key leadership in missions to major cities like Daegu and Pyongyang from 1888 to 1905. In particular, Moffett’s approach to the use of the Bible and eschatology were greatly influenced by his McCormick Seminary formation and the conservative Calvinist approach of the Old School theology of the Princeton theologians. For example, when it came to converting unbelievers and nurturing Christians and Church leaders, he did not support the “apologetic” methods of evangelism used by some missionaries. He believed that the Bible was the ultimate and sole authority in matters of faith. For him, the Bible and the Gospel were facts, not negotiable issues subject to mere rational argument. He advised younger missionaries and candidates for missions to locate the Bible and the Gospel as the primary sources in their ministry:

We [missionaries and candidates for missions] need to recognize also that we are not sent to apologize for Christ or for Christianity. We are to proclaim Him and it. We can rest upon the self-evidencing power of the Bible. Upon the teaching of nature and conscience as to the existence of God and the fact of sin. We need not argue these points, but preach what God has revealed, believing that the Spirit of God, not our arguments, will convict of sin and lead to faith in Christ. God, the inspiration of the Scriptures, sin, and man’s need of salvation, are facts to be proclaimed, not propositions to be proved.

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39 See Cho, 초기 한국 장로교 신학사상, 245.

40 Samuel A. Moffett, “Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelization,” Counsel to New Missionaries: from older missionaries of the Presbyterian Church (New York, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A), 1905, 69.
For Moffett, the main task of missionaries was not one of advancing proofs to defend the
Gospel or the authenticity of the Bible, but simply a case of believing in the Bible’s
effectiveness, declaring its truthfulness, and teaching its meaning in order to convert
Koreans. In short, Moffett believed that his primary role as a missionary was believing,
teaching, and relying on the Bible in its own capacity. The biblical emphasis of the early
curriculum of Pyongyang Seminary and Moffett’s ministry reflected such beliefs. As a
result, Moffett’s missionary work consisted largely of organizing groups and circulating
among them to teach the Bible. “I make a minimum of two circuits per year around all
the groups,” he wrote, “We study the Bible all day and have inspirational or revival
meetings at night.”41 Because Moffett put the Bible at the center of every aspect of his
teaching, ministry and mission work,42 early Korean pastors of Pyongyang Seminary
were thoroughly formed in this biblical method of evangelism. Indeed, this biblical
approach has shaped the theological and evangelical trends of Korean pastors and their
ministries to this day.

Moffett’s focus on the Bible was not only his preferred means to evangelize
Koreans, it was also a strategic and prudent method for avoiding the severe persecution
that Roman Catholic Christians had experienced in earlier mission work. While his
method of ministry and evangelism mainly sprung from his conservative beliefs, the
history of the Korean Government’s oppression against Christians may well have been
another factor that led him to employ the Bible in this way. As Moffett himself noted at


42 Moffett himself testified that the Bible was primary in every aspect of his mission work. See
Report of 50th Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the U.S.A Presbyterian Church, (June 30-
July 3, 1934).
the time, persecution of Christians at the social level in relation to Korean indigenous culture persisted, often associated with Christians’ refusals to engage in ancestor worship or the social tensions which often arose from the close association of Koreans with Christian missionaries.⁴³ In that context, Moffett preferred to focus exclusively on biblical instruction aimed at conversion, while leaving aside questions of socio-cultural implications, per se, and allowing and empowering new Korean Christians to continue their own witness and mission in their own, often hostile, conditions. Thus, in addition to reasons of theological perspective, historical and cultural pressures also supported the Korean churches’ overwhelming stress on the Bible in early Korean churches.

Moffett also had a strong premillennial perspective on eschatology, as did his contemporary McCormick colleagues at Pyoungyang Seminary. Again, rather than focus on the cultural implications of Christian faith or its socio-political consequences, Moffett believed in the urgency of the task of mission for hastening Christ’s second coming. The motto of the Student Volunteer Movement, “the evangelization of the world in this generation,” reflected the premillennial eschatology of the time. McCormick Seminary was similarly influenced by well-known revivalists of the period such as Dwight L. Moody and Arthur T. Pierson. Such premillennialists shaped the 19th century missiology of McCormick, its graduates, and the American churches. With this vision clearly in view, many McCormick graduates became missionaries, passionately devoting themselves to mission in foreign lands, Korea becoming one of their prime destinations.⁴⁴ As a

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⁴³ See, for example, Moffett’s remarks in “Evangelism in Korea,” The Gospel in all Lands for 1892, 446; Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 247.

consequence, it also contributed to the worldviews of Korean Christian leaders as well as to the form of their worship services.

An example of Moffett’s premillennial perspective can be seen in the way he urged younger missionaries and candidates for mission work to hasten their participation in real mission fields and work. He wrote, “Activity in work is itself a preparation for better work. The preaching of the gospel, the establishment of the Church of Christ, must be held as taking precedence of [over] everything else, and whatever sacrifice is necessary for the accomplishment of this object should be freely made.”45 He was highly critical of the trend of some missionaries toward postponing their work until they were better equipped. “When I read of all that a missionary is advised to study and master in preparation for his work it seems to me that the presumption is that every missionary is an intellectual giant whose whole time is to be given to study, and that he is to be always preparing for work, instead of working.”46 Like his biblical approach to evangelism, Moffett’s functional premillennial eschatology resulted in a compelling sense of the urgency of mission.

B. The Liturgy of Samuel A. Moffett

Although there had been Christian worshipping communities in Korea before Moffett’s arrival, we know very little about their orders of worship and liturgical forms, due to the fact that Christian religious activities had been prohibited by the Korean Government.47

45 Moffett, “Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelization,” 73.

46 Moffett, “Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelization,” 73.

47 Park, Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 35. According to Do Hwa Heo, it was not solely the efforts of Western missionaries that caused the swift growth of the Korean Presbyterian churches. Already established worshipping communities in Korea were also eager to be part of missionaries’ ongoing work, thus adding to their numbers. See 허도화 (Do-Hwa Heo), “초기 한국교회의 예배: 예배
In the context of such persecution, records of Christian worship had not been kept. However, when the Korean worshipping communities encountered Western missionaries, the latter began to document worship and liturgical practices.

Samuel A. Moffett’s records provide the first official written model and suggestions for worship and liturgy in the Korean church. As the first president of Pyongyang Seminary and first moderator of the Presbytery, his theological and liturgical influence on the Korean church and its worship was substantial. His pamphlet, "位願入教人規道 [For Teaching Doctrine to the Inquirers]," presents the following order for Sunday morning public worship:

- Hymn
- Prayer
- Bible Reading
- Prayer (by one or two members of the congregation)
- Hymn
- Sermon
- Prayer
- Offering
- Hymn

Given Moffett’s convictions regarding the centrality of preaching the gospel and teaching the Bible, it should come as no surprise to find an order of service centered around the reading of scripture and the sermon. The rest of the liturgy contained alternating prayers and hymns in a simple pattern. Here many components of Reformed worship such as calls to worship, scripture sentences, confession, assurance of pardon, an option for the sacrament of communion, and benediction are missing.

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Moffett, 位願入教人規道 [For Teaching Doctrine to the Inquirers], (대한 기독교 사회, 1895), 13-14. Quoted also in Park, *Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea*, 35. Moffett’s booklet consists of models of prayers, hymns, liturgies, and rules of governance for the Presbyterian Church.
Such simplified patterns of worship are typical of evangelical worship and its
revivalist models. Influenced by well-known contemporary revivalists such as Dwight L.
Moody and Charles G. Finney, and their experience of 19th century revivalism, western
missionaries in the early period of Korean churches were quick to adopt their forms of
worship. In this respect, Moffett’s liturgical proposal very much resembles the classic
pattern of revivalist worship—what James White has called “Frontier worship” in the
North American context.49

Similar to the passion of other missionaries to translate and distribute the Bible in
Korea, Moffett’s approach to worship highlighted the power of scripture in
evangelization.50 His eagerness to rely on the Bible contributed to Korean pastors
believing their main task was preaching and teaching the Bible, rather than leading the
sacraments and understanding their meaning. There may also have been some degree of
anti-Roman Catholic prejudice at work in the lack of emphasis on the sacraments in the
Korean context, or at least a desire to avoid being perceived by the government as similar
to earlier problematic Roman Catholic efforts.

It has also been argued that Moffett’s use of a simplified order of worship reflects
the setting in which worship often took place. “Since the shape of Sunday morning

49 James F. White, Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition (Louisville, KY: Westminster
John Knox Press, 1989), 172. For a discussion of its Korean expression, see Yoo, 한국교회의 공예배와
교회의 개혁, 81-85.

50 From the beginning of the history of Protestant Christian mission in Korea, the eagerness of
Western missionaries to translate the Bible and Christian books into the Korean language was unique when
compared to missionaries in many other countries. For example, the first Protestant missionary, Carl F. A.
Gutzlaff, distributed Chinese Scriptures when he visited Korea in 1832. For Gutzlaff’s story, see Paik, The
History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 38-41. Robert J. Thomas was martyred in the General Sherman
Incident on September 5 in 1866 while he was handing over the Bible to a Korean native. For a more
detailed explanation of the incident, see Min, A History of Christian Churches in Korea, 71-73 and Paik,
The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 42-45.
worship service of the early Korean Presbyterian churches started from missionaries’
direct evangelization, which occurred outside of church buildings in market places,
houses, and small group settings, it was non-liturgical and preaching-centered."  
Charles A. Clark’s description of Korean missionary work points to this setting.

The method of working our field is much the same everywhere . . . . I personally
did a great deal of roadside and market preaching, following up at once with a
visit any form of invitation from anywhere, no matter how fainthearted, trying to
make myself and my Lord so winsome to them that they would necessarily invite
me again. As embryonic groups sprang up I grouped them in little circuits not
exceeding ten to a helper, and placed a Korean in charge, whose business it was
to travel from group to group and nourish the infant Christians. Among these
groups I put colporteurs to work in heathen villages only, forbidding them to visit
established churches on any days but Sunday and Wednesday night.  
Since the missionaries worked urgently to secure strategic points through which to
establish organized churches by connecting small groups, they did not concern
themselves with the space and time to create liturgically complex services of worship and
sacramental celebration. Influenced by contextual and theological trends, Moffett’s
liturgical theology was preaching-centered, practical, and evangelical.

Moffett’s liturgy also reflects the practical needs of his mission field in another
way. Because the earliest Korean churches experienced labor shortages due to lack of
missionaries, church leaders, and the swift growth of Korean churches, Moffett needed a
liturgical model practical enough for easy use by both missionaries and laypersons. In
this context, his user-friendly liturgy reflects the three key self-reliant principles of the

51 Heo, “초기 한국교회의 예배”, 32. [“마펫이 소개한 주일예배의 순서는 매우 간단하다
그 이유는 초기 장로교의 주일예배가 전도설교를 중심으로 구성된 노방전도형의 간단한
예배로부터 시작하여 설교 중심의 비예전적 예배로 발전하였기 때문이다.”]
52 Quote in Reherd, Around the World, 344.
53 For a detailed defense of this mission method see Charles A. Clark, The Korean Church and the
John L. Nevius was a renowned American Presbyterian missionary in China from 1852 to 1887 who also had an enormous influence on the Western missionaries in Korea, including Moffett, Horace G. Underwood, and Charles A. Clark. His Nevius Plan was developed to overcome problems associated with the old mission method, especially the challenges of limited funding and lack of local leadership. For example, according to Clark, because the old method of Western Presbyterian church mission depended on home mission societies for financial support and resources, local converts were often attracted to Christianity for the sake of financial gain. The Nevius Plan’s approach to self-governance, self-support and local leadership eliminated that temptation. In addition, since China and Korea shared geopolitical and socio-cultural similarities, Western missionaries were eager to apply the Plan to the Korean church. In short, its many detailed rules can be summarized as directed towards two emphases: Bible-centered and self-supporting.

The principles of the Nevius Plan and Moffett’s own missiological approach were well suited to each other, each emphasizing the importance of a Bible-centered preaching-based worship service with locally-generated leadership, support and growth.


Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, 18-19. Kang summarizes the reasons for Western missionaries' interest as follows: “Since Western missionaries in Korea lacked the staff, financial support, and cultural knowledge of Korea, they had great interest in the Nevius Plan even before Dr. Nevius and his wife visited Korea in June 1890” [“한국에 오게 된 선교사들은 소수의 인원과 많지 않은 재정력 그리고 피선교지 한국에 대한 지식의 부족으로 막미앞아 한국에서 선교활동을 시작하면서 처음부터 어려움에 부딪혔다. 그러던 차에 자금 정신을 고취하는 네비우스 방법에 접하게 되자 개척 선교사들은 자연히 매우 인상적일 수밖에 없었다.”] Keun Hwan Kang, 한국교회 형성과 그 요인의 역사적 분석, 142.

Moffett’s liturgically-simplified order of worship was to have a foundational influence on the liturgy of Korean churches. While it undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the Korean churches—and with a degree of contextual sensitivity noteworthy for its time—it also resulted in a significant measure of ignorance of broader Christian liturgical traditions and sacramental practices.

3. Charles A. Clark

Along with Moffett, Charles A. Clark was another important figure at Pyongyang Seminary. He worked as the professor of practical theology from 1908 to 1944. During Clark’s term of office Japanese persecution of Korean Christians was becoming more severe.56

A. The Theology of Charles A. Clark

Like Moffett, Charles A. Clark graduated from McCormick Seminary and belonged to the same influential first generation of McCormick missionaries to Korea, sharing in their overall conservative, evangelical and Bible-centered perspective.57 However, while Moffett and Clark shared a similar theological formation, their liturgical approaches differed significantly.

56 Samuel Hugh Moffett, Samuel A. Moffett’s son, describes this period: “The matter [Japanese persecution due to tensions over Shinto Shrine worship] reached its climax at the 1938 meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly. All four hundred delegates, missionaries as well as Koreans, were called to local police stations before being allowed to leave for the Assembly. Police bluntly told them that the Assembly must pass an action approving Shrine worship.” Samuel Hugh Moffett, The Christians of Korea (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 74. For comments on Clark’s contributions to the Korean church, see Lee, McCormick Missionaries, 61-62.

57 Robert Culver McCaughey classifies the history of fifty-one years of McCormick alumni in Korean mission into three periods, 1888-1904; 1905-1922; 1922-1939. While most of them come from the first period, Clark would have arrived near the end of the first period and the beginning of the second. For details, see Lee, McCormick Missionaries, 48-50.
Both certainly had similarly strong convictions regarding beliefs in the Bible and its authenticity as God’s Word. Indeed, Clark attributed the great growth in Korean churches to the power of the Bible and its teaching: “the greatest secret of the great growth in the church has been the Bible class system.” He also judged this as the key to the success of the Nevius Plan. While it is true that there were some missionaries who held more liberal perspectives on the Bible, their influence on the Korean churches was minimal. It was conservative missionaries like Moffett and Clark who held important positions at Pyongyang Seminary, imported McCormick Seminary’s curriculum as their prototype, and hired only like-minded colleagues for key positions at the Seminary.

As the subjects of the courses taught by Clark indicate—preaching, church polity, practical theology, and evangelism—he was devoted to teaching his students practical ministry and wanted them to immediately apply what they learned. His efforts were not limited to Pyongyang Seminary, but involved many other projects, including publishing Christian literature, editing a Korean theological journal, [Shin Hak Ji Nam], managing new building construction for mission work, and directing a temperance movement. Clark was eager not only to convey McCormick Seminary’s successful approach to mission but also to use appropriate methods and practical solutions to empower local church leaders in preparing the future leadership and people of the Korean churches.

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60 Cho, 초기 한국 장로교 신학사상, 216.
Clark’s emphasis on the evangelistic practices of his students shared in the functional eschatology of his contemporary context and McCormick’s support of the Student Volunteer Movement’s mission to evangelize the world “in this generation.” However, unlike Moffett, his premillennial perspective did not diminish his concern for the liturgical formation of believers. He also remained sympathetic to an Old School approach to Reformed worship and liturgy. While he felt the urgency to evangelize unbelievers, he was not content to let camp meetings or frontier/revival worship do it all. He was equally concerned with believers’ ongoing sanctification and the journey of faith.61

B. The Liturgy of Charles A. Clark

Like many missionaries, Clark was impressed by many of the 19th century revivalist strategies of evangelism, but he also wanted to balance New School tactics with Old School liturgical substance. His liturgical vision can be found in his suggestion for the order of Sunday morning public worship:

1. Introduction: Bible reading, prayer, or hymn
2. Confession
3. Hymn: Congregational Hymn
4. Bible reading
5. Recitation of the Apostles’ Creed or the Ten Commandments
6. Hymn: Congregational or Choir
7. Bible reading for the Sermon
8. Prayer
9. Hymn: Congregational or Choir
10. Offering and Prayer
11. Announcement
12. Hymn
13. Sermon
14. Prayer: Intercessory Prayer

15. Hymn: One of doxology songs
16. Benediction
17. Meditation: by remaining in their seats

Unlike Moffett’s simplified order of worship, Clark included intentional elements of liturgical tradition such as confession, the recitation of the Apostles’ Creed or the Ten Commandments, and a benediction. In addition, his order shows a consciousness of particular modes of worship and prayer as a function of the structure of the liturgy—e.g., beginning with an introductory use of scripture (scripture sentences), prayer or hymnody; opportunities for congregational or choral music as a response to confession of faith, or as closing doxological acclamation; varying modes of prayer within the flow of the service (introductory, offertory, intercessory); and other forms of pastoral attentiveness to congregational needs (announcements, concluding personal meditation). While this order was largely based on the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, it also comes with a sense of Clark’s concern for the pastor’s responsibilities, the potential contributions and attitudes of worshippers, as well as the atmosphere, movement and flow of a worship service, more liturgically conceived.

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63 Clark was deeply impressed by the Korean peoples’ authentic engagement with prayer: “When they [Korean Christians] pray, they go down, oriental fashions, with their faces almost touching the floor. The sight of a thousand or fifteen hundred, or even a smaller number of people bowed in prayer, is most striking. When all are separately engaging in oral prayer, a ripple of sound waving back and forth across the room, occasionally rising almost to a roar, and then dying down, it is a most moving spectacle.” Charles A. Clark, The Nevius Plan for Mission Work (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1937), 148-149. Quoted in Park, Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 57-58.

First, for Clark, the pastor’s most important task is not only preaching but also leading in all the liturgical actions of worship, including the celebration of the sacraments, thereby helping the people to see the Gospel also preached in water, wine, and bread. A sufficient allocation of time was necessary to include these elements as well as the sermon. For Clark one of the problems among Korean preachers was the length of sermons.

One of the common errors of Korean preachers is their lengthy preaching. Continuous lengthy preaching is a most dangerous mistake which almost becomes a sin against the Church. . . . Preachers should keep their sermons under thirty minutes, for their congregations will not have the patience to listen to a sermon for over forty minutes. Furthermore, to finish preaching within thirty minutes is ideal in order to avoid the congregations’ discomfort while offering effective and useful instruction.

Implied in this liturgy is a broader sense of liturgical leadership beyond the homiletical—as important as preaching certainly was. Here the pastor was required to be equipped with a more liturgical sense, choosing the scripture texts and hymns appropriate to their place in the context of the whole service. To this end, Clark distinguished Sunday morning public worship from other services, providing detailed methods and regulations for various needs. While he continued to value revival meetings and their contribution to church growth, Sunday worship remained a place and time for particular attention to

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65 Clark, 牧師之法 [Pastoral Theology], 179; Kim, “목사지법에 나타난 곽안련 선교사의 예배신학과 방법론 연구,” 215.


67 Charles A. Clark, “부흥회의 새로운 방법,” [“New Methods of Revival Meetings”] 신학지남 제 22 권 1 호 (통권 제 109 호), 1940, 29-34; Chung, “곽안련의 예배의 신학과 이론” and Kim, 목사지법에 나타난 곽안련 선교사의 예배신학과 방법론 연구.”
faith formation, necessitating a disciplined and carefully constructed service in the spirit of the Westminster Directory.\(^{68}\)

Second, Clark’s approach was also sensitive to the communal aspects of worship rather than the more individual focus which frequently characterized much evangelical worship. In contrast to Moffett’s order of worship, which omits an explicit general confession and corporate recitation of the Creed or Ten Commandments, Clark was careful to include them, presumably not only because they were in the Westminster Directory, but because he saw in them communal value.

A common worship practice of the day, based on Charles G. Finney’s “New Measures” method of revivalist evangelism, was to have those seeking conversion move to a “mourners’ bench” at the front of the worship space following the sermon, where they would confess their sin, receive assurance of pardon, and experience God’s grace and empowerment on an individual basis.\(^{69}\) In contrast, Clark’s liturgy locates confession early in the order of service, as a means of gathering and preparing for worship, giving the congregation a more communal sense of being united and nurtured in the saving grace of Jesus Christ, rather than a focus directed towards the primary goal of individual conversion. Indeed, Clark suggested three ways to include confession of sin in the worship service: 1) silent confession by each individual during corporate worship, 2) confession by communal spoken reading of a written prayer which hung on the front wall


\(^{69}\) According to Heo, most early Korean church worship was modeled on Charles G. Finney’s “New Measures” method, consisting of three stages, 1) praise songs, 2) preaching for conversion, and 3) an altar call. See Charles G. Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (London: John Snow, 1839) and 허도화 (Do-Hwa Heo), “초기 한국교회의 예배,” 49. Finney’s method will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
of the worship space, and 3) confession by communal recitation of a written prayer through memorization.\(^70\) Where Moffett’s order of worship focused on each individual’s conversion through preaching, Clark’s liturgy employed a more communal, liturgical sensibility in which worship could involve not only each individual’s engagement but also the whole community’s response to God’s presence, calling, and revelation through various liturgical components.

Clark also showed a measure of cultural sensitivity for his time, including openness to various aspects of Korean architecture, lifestyle, and social customs. For example, he suggested that it was preferable for Korean Christians to sing hymns in a standing posture in order to relieve the fatigue caused by the Korean custom of sitting cross-legged during lengthy services of worship. According to Kim, “Clark’s suggestions were neither authoritarian nor normative.”\(^71\)

In summary, one might be tempted to see in Clark’s approach contradictory interests or mutually exclusive strategies because he attempted to employ the methods and practices of both Old and New Schools of theology and evangelism. On the one hand, he appealed to a liturgically structured model for Sunday morning services of public worship. On the other hand, when applied to the actual context of Korean churches, he remained both culturally flexible and evangelically committed. Perhaps the result is, in fact, a more realistic appraisal of and adaptation to the challenges and needs of the particular mission setting. In one assessment, “there are both Old School and New School liturgical theologies in Clark’s liturgical suggestions. However, he built his liturgy based

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\(^{71}\) Kim, “목사지법에 나타난 곽안련 선교사의 예배신학과 방법론 연구,” 230-236.
mainly on the Old School liturgical theology by critically and selectively employing New School evangelical methods of worship.” Clark’s approach was not only liturgically aware, but also culturally concerned for the needs of the Korean churches. Unlike many other missionaries who were eager to use only narrowly focused evangelical methods, Clark also wanted to bring components of the Reformed liturgical tradition into Korean Presbyterian churches in order to help nurture communal faith formation and a collective sense of Christian identity.

4. The Dominance of Moffett’s Evangelical Model

A question which remains to be considered more closely is why Korean pastors chose Samuel A. Moffett’s evangelical model over Charles A. Clark’s liturgical approach? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine some of the deeper historical, cultural and theological factors behind the evangelical characteristics of the Korean churches, and the processes by which these became so dominant.

A. The Evangelical Tendencies of Korean Presbyterian Churches

Roy E. Shearer argues that the evangelical tendencies of the Korean churches must be understood as the result of mutual interactions between external and internal factors. For our purposes, this suggests that although Moffett proposed his evangelical approach as the ideal model for Korean public worship, it is unlikely that it was the strength of this

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72 Kim, “목사지법에 나타난 곽안련 선교사의 예배신학과 방법론 연구,” 230. [곽안련의 목사지법에는 이명숙 구파의 예배신학과 신파의 예배신학이 함께 공존하는 모습을 띄고 있다. 물론 앞에서 살펴본 것과 같이 곽안련은 구파적 (Old School) 예배관을 바탕으로 하여서 선교지에서 효과를 거두고 있는 신파적 (New School) 예배관을 비판적으로 선별하여 받아들였다고 정리할 수 있을 것이다.]

73 Roy E. Shearer, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1966), 216-217.
model alone which accounts for its persistence as the normative structure of Korean worship.

The Protestant denominationalism of the Korean mission churches was particularly conductive to evangelism and growth. Unhindered by established or state church governance, they could enjoy unfettered growth without colonial ecclesial interference. On the other hand, this same ecclesiological autonomy has also allowed for a perpetual history of church division and schism. In addition, 19th century American piety adhered to a belief that separates religion from the secular world, thus allowing a population disappointed with their political situation to flock to the church for comfort and hope. As Korean Christians were discouraged and dispirited by Japanese colonization, evangelism and its eschatological worldview became especially popular with Korean Christians.

Evangelical worship also provided a place where the missionaries’ goals of the evangelical revival movement and the indigenous spirituality of Koreans could meet. In fact, the missionaries overlooked animism and Shamanism as significant factors contributing to the swift growth of the Korean churches.

The animism of northwest [which includes Pyongyang] Korean people is one of the keys to the great growth there, but only rarely has it been mentioned, and then in passing, by writers who have observed and participated in this past growth. Animism gave the people an awareness of a higher being, with the shaman’s attempts to control the spirits, but it was not and is not satisfying. The people in the northwest were not satisfied with their animistic worship; they were glad to find a high[er] God of love to replace the gods of fear they had known.

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75 “The success of the modern missions along the line of pietism and Evangelism resulted from its independence and resolute separation of the missions from any political, military and commercial association and states concerned.” Min, *A History of Christian Churches in Korea*, 109.

76 Shearer, *Wildfire*, 218.
Perhaps many Koreans in the early Protestant missionary era converted to Christianity because they were disappointed in the existing gods and the harshness of life in the midst of political persecution, and not necessarily because they were fully aware of what they were doing in a worship service, who they were worshipping, or why. Put simply, they desired a better deity.

To put it more positively, as Samuel Hugh Moffett observes, “Christianity did not deny much that [the] people had loved in the old beliefs. Like Confucianism, it taught righteousness and revered learning; like Buddhism, it sought purity and promised a future life; like the shamanists, Christian[s] believed in answered prayer and miracles.”

Thus, Korean church growth came not only from the missionaries’ evangelical efforts but also as a result of Koreans’ indigenous religious attitudes, their historical and political conditions, and socio-cultural needs. Since evangelical worship could meet the needs of both Koreans and missionaries through a complex mixture of memories, aspirations, hope and promise, they adhered more easily to the evangelical components of Christian worship and faith rather than a more liturgical style. However, according to some analysts, the Korean churches’ preference for evangelical aspects of Christianity caused not only their growth but also set the stage for later potential problems, such as their tendency to be individualistic and other-worldly.

From another perspective, since evangelism has never met the goal of “the evangelization of [Korea] in this generation,” the emphases and characteristics of Korean

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77 Moffett, *The Christians of Korea*, 52.

78 Kang, *한국교회 형성과 그 요인의 역사적 분석*, 82-86. Kang agrees with Dong Sik Yoo’s argument that one of the reasons for contemporary non-Christian Koreans’ hatred toward Christianity is not because of the Gospel itself or its contents but because of Korean Christians’ superficial religiosity, which he describes as, among other things, highly individualistic and other-worldly—all traceable to the missionaries’ evangelical piety.
church worship still remain centered on evangelism. Unlike the long experience of Christendom by European and American churches, Korean churches have no experience of Christendom in their history to undergird their long term viability or permit a shift to less evangelical models, even though they have experienced substantial growth. Meanwhile, to complicate matters, current membership of Korean churches has declined since the early 1990s, following various economic crises. As a result of the cumulative effects of these factors, Korean churches have continued to feel a sense of evangelical urgency in their ministry. Such urgency often fuels their desire to plan or renew their worship services along evangelical lines rather than towards the development of liturgical traditions.

This also suggests why contemporary Korean churches are eager to apply American megachurch principles of worship—not only for pragmatic effectiveness but also because of the historical affinity of the Korean churches with American evangelical strategies in worship. According to Gordon Lathrop, the liturgical components of contemporary American megachurches and 19th century revival meetings are similar in that they both simplify liturgical orders and focus primarily on conversion. Since the

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80 My use of the term Christendom follows Mark Lau Branson and Juan F Martinez, in *Churches Culture and Leadership* (Downer’s Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011), 67. "Christendom is the historic situation in which national structures and church structures are interwoven and participants assume that government, churches, and citizens share a broad agenda. Many churches that were planted in the United States had roots in Protestant European Christendom. This Protestant framework is a historic remnant of the merged Roman Empire – Roman Catholic Church, which passed on this understanding to European Protestant churches in which national rulers were often church rulers."


82 Refer to Gordon W. Lathrop, “New Pentecost or Jacob’s Britches? Reflections on the History
origins of Korean Presbyterian worship were based on an evangelical model, resulting in swift growth, it has continued to be difficult to shift the balance in worship towards more liturgical approaches.

B. The Liturgical Ethos of Korean Presbyterian Churches

More can be said about the failure of Clark’s model in the Korean context to help identify the current liturgical ethos of Korean Presbyterian churches.

A certain degree of anti-intellectual bias in evangelicalism functioned as a hindrance to liturgical development in the Korean churches. Although the missionaries in Korea, inspired by the Nevius Plan, undertook to educate local leaders of Korean churches, their efforts had both positive and negative results. One vivid example was the way they limited the level of educational training given to Korean pastors because they did not want them to be too much more educated than their parishioners. As one missionary advised, “as Korean Christians advance in culture and modern civilization, raise the standard of education of the native ministry. Seek to keep his education sufficiently in advance of the average education of his people to secure respect and prestige but not enough ahead to excite envy or a feeling of separation.”

As we saw earlier in Moffett’s criticism of too much emphasis on education at the expense of mission work, most Korean missionaries did not see the value of education for ministry beyond the goals of conversion and church growth.

Paik is critical of this history: “The intellectual training and cultural character of

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[the] Korean minister should have been elevated to a high plane in order to avoid an invidious comparison and wide chasm between him and the foreign missionary. It is strange, moreover, that the missionaries should have minimized the intellectual standard of the Korean minister.”

The missionaries were particularly shortsighted—if not paternalistic, or worse, racist—regarding the education of Korean pastors. As Paik points out, even in the missionaries’ time, there was a “rising younger generation who went to Japan and other countries for education in arts and science.” In this context, it was perhaps natural that less-educated Korean pastors preferred evangelical worship to liturgical worship, to the extent that the latter required more study in terms of history, theology, leadership and liturgical skills.

Finally, one can also observe that the missionaries’ ignorance of and experience with the emerging liturgical movement represent a missed opportunity in the early liturgical development of Korean Presbyterian churches. Most of the missionaries were inspired by revivalism and had minimal exposure to the early stages of the liturgical movement and its own concerns for renewal and growth.

All things considered, it is not surprising that the worship of the Korean churches tended towards a strong evangelical focus, leaving it liturgically limited in scope. Even though missionaries such as Clark made valiant efforts to bring more liturgical balance into the Korean churches, only a few agreed with him. The majority of the missionaries and Korean pastors were caught up in the excitement of visible growth and driven by their premillennial sense of urgency. As Korean churches grew swiftly, few leaders took

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84 Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 205.

85 Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 205-206.
time to shift gears towards more long-term liturgical practices or faith formation, to reconsider what they had done, or to anticipate what they should prepare to do next. They certainly did not consider what liturgical worship might look like in their unique context, how it could be practiced, or why it might be necessary. The seeds of these deficiencies are deeply planted in the soil of the Korean Presbyterian churches, and the resulting liturgical sensibility is thus difficult to overcome.

5. Conclusions

As a first step towards an indigenous Korean model of Oullim Worship, this chapter has outlined the origins of the liturgy of the Korean Presbyterian churches by exploring and comparing two respected pioneers of Pyongyang Theological Seminary, McCormick alumni Samuel A. Moffett and Charles A. Clark. The resulting origins of Korean Presbyterian worship can be summarized as focused on individual conversion, pragmatic organizational needs and church growth, with a simplified order of worship. Moffett’s liturgical model was drawn from his evangelical experience, rooted in the 19th century revival movement, to function as the liturgical prototype in Korean churches. Even though Clark advocated a more liturgically-nuanced model as the ideal format for services of public worship in the Korean churches, this model was not taken up. Because Korean churches grew rapidly in response to the missionaries’ evangelical approach and have worshipped largely in this mode ever since, it remains difficult to change the entrenched ideas regarding public worship. Furthermore, the Korean indigenous, cultural, political and ecclesiological context has further fortified the churches’ adherence to the dominance of evangelical styles of worship.
Meanwhile, since the early 1990s, Korean churches have experienced a severe decline in attendance. Although they have attempted to overcome the difficulty by importing American megachurch worship styles, this has not led to a reformation of their worship; their attempts essentially recycle the former revivalist/evangelical model of worship. While evangelism, individual conversion, and authentic emotional experience are important components of worship, they do not constitute the totality of Christian worship. Nor can they be guaranteed by human methods alone.

It is arguably regrettable that Korean Presbyterian churches have all but totally disregarded Clark’s liturgical wisdom and its potential for faith formation. What might it mean for Korean churches to recover the lost component of its liturgical history that is Clark’s liturgical vision, and reconsider its implications? If Korean churches adjusted their worship to incorporate more of the spirit of Clark’s proposal, might they experience a more balanced approach suited to their contemporary context? Perhaps Korean churches need to seek out ways to fill their historic liturgical void. The benefits of rebalancing to a more liturgically conscious style of worship could include uncovering opportunities for greater breadth and depth in worship and finding ways to overcome the individualism and consumerism of contemporary Korean Christians.

Worship remains vitally important for Korean Christians. At its best, it embraces not only the personal and mystical aspects of conversion but also forms persons as a part of the collective Body of Christ. It not only calls one to particular moments of repentance but also opens worshippers’ hearts to God’s mysterious work of ongoing sanctification. In the next chapter, as we continue the journey towards a balanced model of Oullim Worship,
we will explore hymnody and music in Korean Presbyterian worship, an area which has
been central to the growth and continuing life of the Korean churches.
CHAPTER TWO: PERSPECTIVES ON MUSIC IN KOREAN WORSHIP

1. Introduction

In the simplified model of worship and liturgy of the 19th century revival movement as advocated by Samuel A. Moffett at Pyongyang Seminary, music functions as both a pragmatic medium and an affective influence through which the gospel is conveyed. People are emotionally touched by the lyrics and tunes and are efficiently evangelized.86

Formed and shaped by these origins, Korean Presbyterian churches have continued to value music and hymns—especially gospel hymns—as significant components of Christian worship, including many of the specific hymns, texts and music introduced by Western missionaries. For example, in the current Korean hymnal, 21세기찬송가 [21st Century Hymnal],87 a total of forty-six hymns are by revival favorites, Fanny Jane Crosby (1820-1915), Isaac Watts (1674-1748) or Charles Wesley (1707-1788). In addition, a total of ninety-four are by 19th century American hymn writers such as William Howard Doane (1832-1915), William James Kirkpatrick (1838-1921), Robert Lowry (1826-1899), Lowell Mason (1792-1872), Lelia Naylor Morris

86 It is also interesting to note that Moffett’s order closely resembles the order of prayer meetings in major urban areas in North America in the 1850s as outlined also by Sandra S. Sizer: “Hymn, brief scripture reading, prayer by the leader; prayer and exhortation by those in attendance; silent prayer at the halfway point of the meeting; then more prayer, testimony, and singing.” Sandra S. Sizer, Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1978), 113-114. See also William C. Conant, Narratives of remarkable conversions and revival incidents: including a review of revivals, from the day of Pentecost to the great awakening in the last century—conversions of eminent persons—instances of remarkable conversions and answers to prayer—an account of the rise and progress of the great awakening of 1857-58 (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), 380-382.

(1862-1929), Ira David Sankey (1840-1874), George Coles Stebbins (1846-1945) and John R. Sweney (1837-1873). In total, *21st Century Hymnal* contains 223 nineteenth-century hymns and gospel hymns from North America, over 34 percent of the total hymns in the collection.\(^{88}\)

In addition, the recent development and adoption of American/Western contemporary music and projection technologies in worship have established the influence and popularity of praise and worship songs in Korean worship and further perpetuated its historic evangelical ethos.\(^{89}\) With the majority of Korean hymns and worship songs originating from Western churches, Koreans have given very little attention to articulating or determining what to sing, how to use music in worship, or why particular styles or content of music are appropriate or inappropriate. In a context defined by a continuing sense of urgency for evangelism, composing uniquely Korean songs and music for worship has not been a priority. Thus, while Western music may have contributed to church growth, it has also discouraged the use of Korean traditional music in Korean churches. Indeed, there has been reluctance and resistance to accept local genres and content in Korean music for worship because of the historically formed popular equation of Christian music with Western music.

This chapter takes as its starting point the conviction that any effort to explore an indigenous approach to Korean worship needs to take seriously the use, function and

\(^{88}\) *21st Century Hymnal* contains many other hymns also written by American hymn writers as well as from European countries such as England, Germany, Netherlands, and Switzerland. A total of 125 songs, or 20%, are the work of Korean song writers and lyricists, and both their tunes and texts are Korean.

influence of Western music on the current shape of Korean Presbyterian church music and hymnody. In addition, we will also explore the development of new hymnals in some North American Reformed denominations in order to suggest developments of potential significance to Korean Presbyterian Churches. Finally, aspects of the content of music in Korean worship will be considered, and significant emerging musical trends will be noted.

2. Korean Presbyterian Music in Worship

Music and singing have been central to worship in Korean Presbyterian churches in both the distant and near past. Today, for example, many large Korean Presbyterian churches maintain orchestras for Sunday morning worship services, as well as several worship bands for “contemporary” worship services, and separate choirs for each of the worship services on Sundays. This robust musical experience is rooted in the fact that Western missionaries’ emphasis on music fit well into Korea’s cultural inheritance. As Seung-Won Park has noted, one of the reasons why singing and music have played such an important role in Korean Presbyterian worship has to do with the fact that Koreans have always loved singing. Even today, the influence of Korean pop music (“K-pop”) and its singers upon other Asian and European countries is significant. Nevertheless, the relationship of Korean church music with Korean indigenous culture warrants further examination and critique in order to assess possible future directions for Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy.

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91 Park, “Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea,” 199.
A. The Influence of 19th Century Hymnody on Korean Churches

The preponderance of 19th century American hymns in Korean worship remains influential, while the number of Korean hymns is much smaller. Moreover, although there are significant cultural and linguistic differences between Western and Korean music, Korean Presbyterian churches still tend to rely on the lyrics and music of 19th century America. What is it about the content and theology of 19th century revivalist songs that has so deeply shaped Korean worship? And why has indigenous Korean music fared so poorly in the missiological transaction?

First, despite the fact that the content of the hymns of 19th century revivalism varies somewhat by theme and focus, certain commonalities persist. Promoting and encouraging particular emotions is a common goal and objective. While, arguably, all music evokes emotional response in human beings, these songs functioned to place people in a particular community of shared emotion. Sandra Sizer’s rhetorical analysis—an “historical sociology of religious language”92—demonstrates that the rhetoric of 19th century revivalist hymnody was “aimed at creating a community of feeling made up of individuals who had put passion in its place, who had domesticated their affections and thereby purified their lives.”93 As “a community of feeling” suggests, participants came to share common emotions through 19th century gospel hymns. Through affective states associated with related revival phenomena, the effectiveness and influence of lyrics and songs could be determined and evaluated.

92 “By this phrase I mean to suggest a perspective which employs insights and methods from several disciplines, especially those varieties of anthropology and literary criticism that emphasize cultural phenomena as linguistic phenomena intimately related to particular social settings.” Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion*, 10-19. See the appendix (161-173) for a detailed description of her methodology, an integration of historical, anthropological and structural analyses in specific eras.

As briefly noted in Chapter One, Charles Grandison Finney, a revivalist, was a pioneer in the use of such an approach. As the chief architect of the methods of 19th century revivalism, he employed very specific strategies for revivals and evangelism in what came to be known as the Second Great Awakening. His methods or “New Measures” used various styles of meetings, prayer, music, instrumentation and preaching as practical means to evoke and employ various emotions aimed at conversion. Convinced that God does not require a certain pattern of worship and evangelism, Finney’s New Measures also constituted a critique of established Protestantism’s “old measures,” characterized by a lack of emotion and over-rationalized attachment to creeds, sacraments, liturgy, and church hierarchy.

Among Finney’s practices for revival meetings, the “anxious seat” was an especially representative example. Sometimes also called the “anxious bench,” it was a pew or seat, set in full view of the revival gathering or congregation, where the troubled worshipper, convicted of their sin, anxious about their eternal well being and seeking to get right with God, would sit to receive individual prayer, counsel or reassurance while being led to confession and conversion.

Finney believed that the relationship between the laws of the mind and the laws of revivals involved two distinct steps or stages of conversion: being awakened and being

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94 A noticeable difference between the First and Second Great Awakenings was that Finney considered the reason for the success of the “Second” movement to be “a purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means” and methods of evangelism, rather than solely the “surprising work of God” which Jonathan Edward emphasized in 1735 in Northampton. It is not that Finney denied God’s power, but that he also emphasized the role of psychology and various specific means (“New Measures”) for directing peoples’ experience of conversion. See McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism, 11-12; 65-121, and Charles G. Finney, Revivals of Religion: Lectures by Charles Grandison Finney, ed. William Henry Harding (London: Morgan and Scott, 1910).

95 Finney, Revivals of Religion, 280-313.
convicted. He insisted that the necessity of emotion and feeling in the experience of conversion required that preachers employ such understanding in their preaching.  

In this approach, the anxious seat was the functional climax of a revivalist gathering through which preachers explicitly linked the two steps of awakening and conviction. The anxious seat functioned as that moment by which preachers could determine whether they had been successful at winning souls.

Finney’s New Measures encouraged musicians and lyricists of 19th century gospel hymns to write songs which emphasized emotional and individual aspects of conversion in a worship service or revival meeting. Thus, the forms of rhetoric of 19th century gospel hymns consisted of “prayer, testimony, exhortation, and music,” modes of expression directly applicable to Finney’s New Measures and “his invention, the anxious seat.” In this “community of feeling” the boundaries of the community included not only religious gatherings, such as local congregations and denominations, but also various social groups. While, as Sizer also notes, “the revivals of the late nineteenth century were . . . not totally divorced from social, political, and economic considerations,” an individual’s conversion was understood as “the gateway into social changes.” As a result, the content of 19th century gospel hymns emphasized the more individual and emotional components of Christian faith, rather than its intellectual, doctrinal, dogmatic, ecclesial, or social dimensions.

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97 McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism*, 87.


100 An individual and emotionally-centered approach to conversion did not start with 19th century
Influenced by the original rhetoric of 19th century gospel hymns, *21st Century Hymnal* largely features lyrics and songs focused on personal conversion and the emotional aspect of Christian faith, rather than other content such as the Christian year, the Bible, doctrinal subjects or social engagement. It is somewhat ironic that songs and lyrics drawn directly from the Bible are rarely found in Korean Presbyterian hymnody, given that missionaries considered the Bible to be a primary source for mission. Indeed, as missionaries introduced songs and lyrics from the West, the resources of Psalter hymnals were often omitted from collections. Since the rhetoric of 19th century gospel hymns tended toward individual and emotional aspects of faith, many other aspects of Christian faith have scarcely been sung or experienced by Korean Presbyterian Christians.

Not only did the content of 19th century gospel hymns influence current Korean hymnals, they also reflected the status of missionaries in Korean society. As noted in Chapter One, the relationship between Western missionaries and Korean pastors was far from equal, and the resulting repertoire of hymnody was overwhelmingly determined by the missionaries themselves, with little or no input by Korean churches, pastors or musicians. While the missionaries’ sacrificial efforts and passion for God’s mission have been revered and respected by many Korean Christians, since the 1980s some Koreans have started to re-evaluate their mission history, including from postcolonial critical perspectives. Geum-Suk Son’s study is a case in point:

In modern Korea, church musicians have confronted the paradox of the missionaries’ role. The missionaries’ image as the carriers of advanced Western civilization forced the Korean church to accept their music as the example to follow. On the other hand, acknowledging the missionaries’ role as being assisted

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revivalism. It was also present in the First Great Awakening. Chase argues that the double concept of individual salvation and emotional acceptance provides the main thread in the course of musical revivalism in America. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co, 1966), 47.
by or assisting imperialism forced them to reexamine current musical practices that developed based on missionaries’ ignorance of indigenous culture. While the conventional view of missionaries in Korea emphasizes the universal values of the traditions of Western church music, the emerging and critical view of missionaries focuses on the perspective that their authority is a cultural product within a specific social context. Since the movement for cultural identity in the 1980s, Korean nationalists claimed to reinterpret the missionaries’ role in modern Korea not merely as evangelists of Christianity but more as political and diplomatic agencies relating with the politics of their home country.¹⁰¹

In Son’s view, the influx of gospel hymns from 19th century revivalism resulted not only from the missionaries’ evangelical passion but also from their imperialist assumptions and worldview. Whether they intended it or not, imperialistic notions and associated cultural influences flowed into the Korean churches through the missionaries’ work and power.¹⁰² Son observes that “the relationship between missionaries and Western imperialism has been often justified by missionaries themselves as both natural and, more significantly, providential in making straight the path for the spread of the gospel.”¹⁰³ But even here we can catch a glimpse of the pragmatic view held by most Western missionaries in relation to their mission work. They were captivated by the pragmatism of acquiring as many Korean converts as possible, regardless of any imperialistic effects or cultural consequences. Motivated by the methods of 19th century revivalism, they were eager to see numerical results. In their evangelical eagerness and eschatological urgency, they were less concerned with the cultural implications of introducing the Gospel and


¹⁰² According to Son, perspectives on missionaries in Korea are varied. Some consider them as people with strong religious conviction, others see them as gentle carriers of an alternative culture who became mediators of two-way cultural influence, and still others regard them as coercive influences who were ignorant of the Korean culture. In any case, the political relationship between their home country (the United States of America) and Korea caused missionaries to be seen as diplomatic figures of influence. Son, “Korean Church Music,” 17-20.

educating Koreans than with using whatever means they could to win souls for Christ. As a result, and with considerable irony, the newly introduced gospel hymns and lyrics of 19th century revivalism came to be viewed as “traditional Korean hymns.”

It is interesting to note that a few missionaries actually had a good general impression of Korean traditional music, its tunes and indigenous instrumentation. However, even they concluded that “it could not be called music” because it could not be rendered by the Western system of notation. It was “missing half-steps” and therefore incapable of achieving “advanced musicality.”

Finally, one should not underestimate the missionaries’ socio-political and cultural role in prompting a Korean denial of cultural inheritance and the acceptance of Western hymnological forms. The status of American missionaries, not only as preachers or evangelists but also as political and diplomatic agents, influenced Korean Christians to accept their suggestions as superior to those of their own culture and authority.

Missionary activity, in a wide sense, was not confined to the efforts of professional mission tasks, but included a direct religious and cultural impact of their cultural values upon their converts. The music that missionaries brought with them became identified as a symbol of Western power . . . . Since missionaries were offering Christianity to any who would have it, and since their own musical culture in a sense constituted as exhibit of a Christian civilization, they did not meet any opposition to imposing their music into their mission field.

Whether they are viewed as “heroic evangelists” or “prompters of Western colonialism,” it is clear that missionaries had political and cultural influence over Koreans and Korean churches. And since Protestant missionaries began their mission in close relationship with the Korean court, Koreans viewed missionaries as high class, not

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104 Son, “Korean Church Music,” 47.

105 Son, “Korean Church Music,” 27.
only socially but also economically.¹⁰⁶ Missionaries were admired by Koreans because they led relatively wealthy lives compared to Koreans.¹⁰⁷ Since many Koreans in the early 19th century were not familiar with Western culture and its material affluence, consumer products and life-style, the items missionaries brought to Korea had a great impact on the impression of Koreans. Even economically modest missionaries “found themselves rich.”¹⁰⁸ Unlike the poor living conditions of the Koreans of the time, missionaries enjoyed a relatively high standard of living, which Koreans admired as part of the prosperity of the Christian way of life. Such admiration easily spread to all that the missionaries proposed, including hymnals, orders of worship, and policies for mission and ministry.

In summary, 19th century revivalism and its hymns influenced the Korean Presbyterian churches’ hymnody and its development in profound ways, not only because of the methods of the missionaries and the emotional power of the hymns but also because of the perceived superiority of missionaries over Koreans in social, economic and cultural terms. Even a desire for relative material wealth and prosperity lurks within the history of the missionary experience. Indeed, today’s frequent critique of the current Korean churches and their material greed, financial abuses, prosperity gospel and luxurious church buildings does not function in a vacuum but can also be placed in the

¹⁰⁶ Son, “Korean Church Music,” 16-20, 23.
¹⁰⁷ There were some missionaries who took issue with other missionaries’ use of power and financial support from their home countries and denominations. One vivid example was William J. McKenzie, a Canadian missionary from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, who sought to adopt Korean culture, including food, clothing and housing, by living with and like Koreans. Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 192-194.
¹⁰⁸ The archival records of Henry G. Appenzeller, the first Methodist missionary in Korea, H. Allen, Allen F. Decamp, and Lottie Bell, a missionary’s wife, reveal that they disparaged Korean living conditions and enjoyed a high standard of living. Son, “Korean Church Music,” 29-40.
context of the multidimensional colonial imperialism of missionary activity. The influence of 19th century hymnody is multifaceted, indeed.

B. The Influence of the Praise and Worship Genre on Korean Churches

Nineteenth-century gospel hymns are not the only factors which have formed the congregational song and music of Korean churches. During the 1980s another powerful musical influence became widespread. The Praise and Worship movement and its genre of music were popularized in Korea especially by one particular “megachurch,” the Onnuri Church. Onnuri Church and its large organization of satellite congregations in Korea and around the world came to be known as All Nations Worship and Praise Ministry. Their weekly worship service took place on Thursday evenings, typically lasting three hours from beginning to end, a large portion of which was allotted to contemporary Praise and Worship music.

While the Praise and Worship song genre became popular in Korea in the 1980s, its origins can be traced to the American Jesus movement of the 1960s, black gospel, Pentecostalism, and popular music styles in the United States. As scholars of this genre have pointed out, the Praise and Worship movement changed the spiritual posture of American Protestant Christians from the pedagogical and intellectual to the emotional and experiential. In particular, the Jesus movement, which became the cradle of

109 The standard definition of a megachurch is a Protestant congregation “with a sustained average weekly attendance of 2000 persons or more in its worship services, counting all adults and children at all its worship locations.” See http://hirr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/definition.html, accessed June 19, 2017. For more information on Onnuri Church see http://www.onnuri.org/ and Myoungho Yang, “Congregational Participation in Worship: A Study of the Korean Praise and Worship Movement in the 1980s as a Model for Inspiring Active Participation” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Drew University, 2009).
Contemporary Christian Music (CCM), emphasized testimony to the experience of personal salvation.\textsuperscript{110}

However, for Korean Protestant Christians, Praise and Worship music was not so different from the Western influence of 19th century gospel hymnody to the extent that it also emphasized experiential and emotional aspects of Christian faith and spirituality. Unlike those American Protestant churches that include explicit liturgical dimensions in their hymnody—one.g., Psalter hymnals, liturgical responses or acclamations, specific songs for the seasons and Sundays of the Christian year and its associated lectionary readings—Protestant Korean churches have very little experience with such music. In the absence of broader liturgical traditions of music, Praise and Worship music met with an easy reception in Korea. Several consequences of such reception are noteworthy.

First, the Praise and Worship movement tended to reinforce and further entrench the lack of liturgical breadth in Korean churches. “Praise and Worship services appear informal, focus on one topic or theme each Sunday, and present the gospel in an oral and musical style”\textsuperscript{111}—in contrast to a more formal, structured, liturgical style. Thus, Korean churches experienced not only swift numerical growth, unparalleled elsewhere in the world, but also a continuing narrowing of their liturgical experience.


\textsuperscript{111} Andy Langford, Transitions in Worship: Moving from Traditional to Contemporary (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1999), 26.
In other words, a significant degree of liturgical inexperience among Korean pastors and Christians stems not simply from their lack of experience with liturgical forms and the sacraments in their worship, but from the very sources of the American churches’ worship and liturgy which were used to evangelize and attract Korean nonbelievers. As Langford describes it, “the shape of Praise and Worship is twofold: worship and teaching. Worship consists of singing some traditional but mostly contemporary music for an extended time, interspersed with extemporaneous prayers.”

With the increased portion of worship given to singing congregational Praise and Worship songs, Korean churches have been so formed as to remain unaccustomed to—and perhaps uninterested in—other liturgical activities, including the celebration of the sacraments in public worship services.

This context also renders more complex what Korean Christians and North American Christians each mean by “traditional” or “contemporary” worship. The ambiguities are not limited to the Korean context. Thomas H. Schattauer suggests that the term “traditional” needs to be reconsidered and replaced with an alternative term, “conventional.”

There are certain general characteristics in what is regarded as conventional. Conventional worship—and with it, conventional Christianity—focuses in one direction on the maintenance of the church as an institution and in the other on the individual as the recipient of spiritual benefits; it tends to support the social and political status quo. One form of conventionality among North American Protestants is the tall-steepled church where worship is shaped around the preacher and the music program; people come to worship to hear the sermon, to

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113 This does not necessarily mean that Korean churches have denigrated the sacraments, per se. While they remain important components of Christian worship and have continued to be practiced with sincerity, their practice remains infrequent. They have not been a significant focus of faith formation, liturgical practice or theological reflection, remaining secondary to an emphasis on personal salvation, individual conversion and church growth.
listen to the choir and organ, to sing some hymns, and to say a confession and perhaps recite the creed; participation at worship and life in the congregation is part of a set of commitments that make people upstanding citizens in the larger community.  

According to Schattauer, conventional worship can be any type or style of worship service that has fixed sensory approaches and prejudices aimed in a particular direction in order to perpetuate the existing system, structure and ethos of the church. Following this logic, one may note how North American evangelical, revival and Frontier churches have been conventionally centered on preaching and music—a practice wholly taken up by Korean Protestant churches. A consequence of this historical connection between North American churches and Korean churches has been to allow the non-sacramental conventionality (or “tradition”) of the Praise and Worship movement in Korean Presbyterian worship to be reinforced and intensified. From this perspective, there is nothing very “contemporary” about the Praise and Worship movement in Korean worship. It is simply a somewhat modest updating of “traditional” or “conventional” Protestant Korean worship.  

Second, although the Praise and Worship movement easily reinforced a degree of liturgical inexperience in Korean Presbyterian worship, this does not mean that the movement has had a bloodless entry into Korean churches. Despite the fact that the Praise and Worship movement has clear continuity with the ethos of Korean Presbyterian worship as shaped by the influence of 19th century missiona
and music introduced by the movement have evoked not only positive responses but also significant challenges. As Schattauer notes, the so-called contemporary worship movement takes as its distinctive goal “to reach those outside the churches, to make disciples, and to grow the church.” As a part of this agenda, the Praise and Worship movement has kept to the existing goals of Korean Presbyterian worship while seeking to accommodate a new generation and their changed cultural tastes. However, the liturgical, musical, architectural and technological pressures of the Praise and Worship movement—such as adopting particular orders of service, constructing functional worship spaces, and using electronic musical instruments and technology—are sometimes considered by Korean church leaders and Christians to be a threat to the missionaries’ ideals.

Considerable tension regarding the adoption of new approaches to worship, new congregational songs and new structure of worship services have caused deep conflicts among Korean churches. Widespread division and schism over appropriate styles and music for Christian worship have become painful issues intensifying antagonism among Korean Christians.

As a solution for resolving conflict over worship, many Korean churches provide “alternative” worship services featuring designated styles of worship and music, allowing members to worship according to their individual taste, interest, age or convenience. In the American context, Schattauer argues that “the principle source for this alternative to conventional worship” is neither theological nor liturgical, but “the cultural context of the worshiping community, specifically the values and patterns of consumption in a market

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economy and the closely related values and patterns of entertainment.” In the Korean context, one cannot help but suspect this as evidence of the rampant consumerism of Korean culture—an especially powerful and particularly successful contemporary import from the West. While this study will offer some theological reflections on the significance of this development later, the proliferation of several styles of worship services in one congregation in Korean churches is, in itself, noteworthy as a common outcome of the influence of the Praise and Worship movement in Korea. And while it may seem to ease tensions regarding worship styles and music, it can also be argued that such a strategy does nothing to actually address the deeper causes or issues at stake. The tensions have not actually been eased or removed but, in a sense, disregarded. The conflicts and divisions still exist, but they have been camouflaged under the expansion of choices and options for worship.

A third consequence of the Praise and Worship movement suggests both strength and weakness for Korean Presbyterian worship. Arguably, one of the positive influences of the movement is that it has continued to provide opportunities for expression of the emotional sensibilities of young Korean Christians. As the Psalms would suggest, emotions and their appropriate expression are important and significant for the journey of faith. The Praise and Worship movement has provided the time and space for young Korean Christians to express their emotions as well as their reliance on and excitement about God, through various genres of music set within a culturally contemporary and technologically familiar environment. Because of the cultural familiarity and intimacy

\[117\] Schattauer, “God’s Mission and the Christian Assembly,” 147.

\[118\] Langford suggests that the new technologies of the Praise and Worship movement encourage the participation of the congregation, allowing people to “lift up their eyes and voices and free their hands.”
of the movement, young worshippers often feel better able to open their hearts to God in an active manner, fostering spiritual encounter and a personal, experiential relationship with God. It is clear that since the Onnuri Church’s introduction of a Praise and Worship approach to worship, there has been a proliferation of many similar gatherings, with worship bands and worship leaders, for young Korean Christians. These have contributed significantly to the formation and development of young Korean Christians’ spirituality, emphasizing an emotional and experiential relationship to and faith in God.

Arguably as well, there have also been negative aspects to the affective emphasis of the Praise and Worship movement. While emotions are an important part of a person’s faith formation, they do not comprise its total scope. Other components, including intellect, will, and discipline, are also crucial. Where the Praise and Worship movement has tended to focus only on the participants’ emotional responses, it has often resulted in what John Witvliet has called an “imbalanced musical diet.” The spiritual dieticians of the church’s nutrition have not been the broad range of composers and lyricists of hymns, but those in charge of publishing Praise and Worship music, and selecting congregational songs. In many Korean churches, 21st Century Hymnal has become simply an option among several other idiosyncratic congregational collections. In the absence of theologically and liturgically literate curation on the part of its ministers of music, the Praise and Worship movement’s influence upon Korean worship has meant that many worshippers suffer from a kind of emotional obesity or theological malnutrition. Former

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worship leader and musician Dan Lucarini left the contemporary Christian music movement over just such concerns.\footnote{Dan Lucarini, \textit{Why I Left the Contemporary Christian Music Movement: Confessions of a Former Worship Leader} (Webster, NY: Evangelical Press), 2002.} Regarding one issue, the language of Praise and Worship music, Langford warns:

> Texts are still often predominantly filled with gender-exclusive language, both for persons and for God, with the primary image of God being the more archaic ‘Lord’ (for which no contemporary Christian has any real reference—it brings to mind pictures of men who live in foreign countries, have lots of money, and dress extravagantly). Much of the language also focuses on personal experiences, emphasizing “my” relationship with God or how “I” praise God.\footnote{Langford, \textit{Transitions in Worship}, 30.}

Issues of language and theology persist in the music of the Praise and Worship movement as well as is its connection to the lucrative CCM industry, which continues to outsell jazz, classical, blues and Latin music.\footnote{The Gospel Music Association reports that in 2015 the sales in Christian music and gospel was 6.6 percent of music sold, which was higher than Latin, jazz, classical and blues. According to this report, 215 million people have listened to Christian music in the past month. Commercial sponsorships include Cracker Barrel, McDonald’s, Coca-Cola, Starbucks and Target. See \url{http://www.gospelmusic.org/2015-industry-overview/}.} The increasing popularity of Praise and Worship music in Korean churches provided additional fodder for the commercialization of Christian music. Much money is to be made by selling albums and musical scores. While spreading the Gospel can cost money, the power of money can easily corrupt. This is not only the case with Korean churches. The Praise and Worship movement in North America has also revealed the dysfunction of the commercialization of Christian music. Scheer notes that “behind the Praise & Worship songs that are sung in local churches each Sunday is a multimillion-dollar worship industry. Music businesses that began by selling albums from the backs of vans in church parking lots have grown into hugely profitable companies that sell worship ‘products’ ranging from CDs to worship aerobic
videos.” He continues, “even secular companies want a piece of the action; Chevy was the corporate sponsor of the Come Together and Worship tour, and a number of secular companies have forged distribution deals or outright purchases of Praise & Worship publishers. Whether the industry has sold its soul to the devil or not is hard to say, but profit is certainly one of its major motivations.”

The increasing industrialization and commercialization of Christian music in Korean churches reveal an ethical dilemma: what are we to make of the relationship between Praise and Worship music and an enormously profitable CCM industry?

C. Historic and Contemporary Responses

In addition to considering the influence of both 19th century American revival music and the Praise and Worship movement on Korean churches, it can help to examine some characteristic historic and contemporary responses. Most notably, 19th century Presbyterian theologian and educator John W. Nevin was against Finney’s method of revivalism. Much more recently, Marva J. Dawn has offered an influential critique of the Praise and Worship movement. In addition, the publication of new hymnals from two American denominations, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the Christian Reformed Church of North America, provides contemporary case studies in negotiating the influence of traditional hymns, Gospel hymns and the Praise and Worship movement on Presbyterian worship. Finally, an analysis of more recent trends in “the trajectory of Global Song” and Asian music suggest that hybrid practices are a significant emerging practice. By examining these figures and forces—each of which is relevant

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124 Swee Hong Lim, “‘Where is Our Song going’ vis a vis ‘Where Should Our Song be going?’”;
to historic and contemporary development of Korean Presbyterian worship—Korean churches can begin to appreciate how a more balanced approach to worship music might be undertaken.

John W. Nevin

Unlike most advocates of 19th century revivalism in America, John W. Nevin did not support Finney’s New Measures and its popular methods. In order to grasp the substance of Nevin’s critique and its significance for the churches which came to accept Finney’s methods, it helps to appreciate some of Nevin’s theological influences.

First, Nevin was greatly influenced by German thought, philosophy and theology. His formation began with rigorous Old School catechetical training, resulting in his deep interest in the scholarly aspects of theology, the Church and its ministries. After studies at Union College, Schenectady, NY and Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, NJ, he was received into the German Reformed Church and appointed as a professor of theology and biblical literature at the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, Mercersburg, PA in 1840. His understanding of the structure of the Church, its creeds, and the theology of contemporary revivalism was greatly affected by Neander, Schleiermacher, Lutheran theology, and German literature. The impact of German philosophical and theological perspectives led him to apply them to his own country and context. For example, unlike popular revivalist approaches, Nevin highlighted the importance of preserving the historic creeds of the Church, and his efforts were

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welcomed by recent European immigrants seeking to maintain their cultural and religious identity.125

Second, Nevin’s concerns regarding revivalism and Finney’s influence were not only focused on their historic or creedal weaknesses but also on the theological and ecclesial implications of their reviver strategies of worship, especially concerning the Eucharist.126 Related to this was his understanding of liturgy and the role of human emotion and rationality in worship. According to Nevin, the way of practicing the Lord’s Supper in the 19th century Protestant Church represented a major departure from the faith of the 16th century Reformers because it amounted to entertainment rather than a theologically-grounded proclamation. He felt that the domestic varieties of revivalism were “unchurchly,” “unsacramental,” “subjective,” and “sectarian.”127 Calvin’s perspective on the Lord’s Supper was the driving force behind Nevin’s theological approach.128 In particular, Calvin’s doctrine of “mystical union” differed from the instrumentalist view of revivalism. As such, Nevin criticized revivalists and Reformed


126 Nevin was inspired by Edward Irving and his efforts to recover a vigorous doctrine of church, sacraments, and ministry in the Reformed churches. Howard G. Hageman, Pulpit and Table (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1962), 93.


128 Leonard I. Sweet argues that Finney’s New Measures were based on both an optimistic and pessimistic understanding of human beings. His optimism was about human ability and the responsibility to convert oneself. His pessimism had to do with human sinfulness. Since Finney believed that the cause of sin was not human nature but human will, he was vehemently opposed by the Old School Calvinists.

ministers who made merely pragmatic use of the sacraments a means to simply promote revivalist conversions. From his perspective, practices of the Lord’s Supper in contemporary Reformed and Protestant churches and revival gatherings were too instrumental. As he put it:

> We communicate—in the Lord’s Supper—not with the divine promise merely, not with the thought of Christ only, not with the recollection simply of what he has done and suffered for us, not with the lively present sense alone of his all-sufficient, all-glorious salvation; but with the living Savior himself, in the fullness of his glorified person, made present to us for the purpose by the power of the Holy Spirit.129

Nevin also considered Finney’s efforts at a new approach to be marked by a denunciation of classical Reformed ecclesiology and its principles—that is, they excluded the communal aspects of faith and were too focused on an individualistic understanding of the meaning of being Christian and the Church. In particular, Nevin could not support the motivation of the infamous anxious seat. Such practices were seen by Nevin as fundamentally divisive.

> Thus a whole Babel of extravagance has been let loose upon the community, far and wide, in the name of religion, one sect vying with another in the measure of its irregularities. In these circumstances, it has not been easy for the friends of earnest piety always in the regular churches, to abide by the ancient landmarks of truth and order. The temptation has been strong to fall in, at least to some extent, with the tide of fanaticism, as the only way of making war successfully on the dead formality that stared them in the face in one direction, and the only way of counteracting the proselyting zeal of these noisy sects in the other.130

For Nevin, Finney’s New Measures and the anxious seat did not unite the minds and hearts of 19th century North American people but scattered and divided them according to their own interests, amidst the prevailing individualism of the time, fueling antagonism towards any established authority and tradition, and creating competition among churches.

129 Nevin, The Mystical Presence, 34; see also 105-116.

130 John W. Nevin, The Anxious Bench (Chambersburg, PA: Weekly Messenger, 1843), 4-5.
Last, in Nevin’s view, Finney’s anxious seat was an obstruction rather than a means of progress to true godliness. For him, the function of the anxious seat was the opposite of Finney’s claims. It supplanted the role of God’s action and empowerment, created hindrances to true conversion by exerting unnecessary pressure on those who sought conversion, forced people to endure artificial anxiety and obligations, and pressured them to go to the anxious seat as a superficial expression of the conventions of conversion. Nevin maintained that a person’s conversion and progress were much more complicated and multi-dimensional than Finney’s New Measures suggested. Finney held that human beings had the ability to make a decision or convert themselves when exposed to the appropriate methods. Nevin countered that the New Measures commit a significant error by excluding God’s agency and spiritual power from the conversion of a person’s whole life and growth in faith. In short, Nevin considered Finney’s approach to be too artificial and thus not divinely directed. He called the anxious seat “quackery,” criticizing it for not promoting authentic repentance, but rather encouraging ostentatious conversions lacking inward virtue and power.

Moreover, for Nevin, the anxious seat also distracted the thoughts of the truly serious by causing people to focus on being seen at the seat rather than on responding to Christ, tempting a kind of works righteousness in which faith was merchandized as spectacle, status or property. There was no space in a revival meeting, he argued, where participants could have a moment or opportunity to sincerely contemplate what

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133 Nevin, *The Anxious Bench*, 33-34.
they were doing before making a decision for Christ. “A whole congregation may be moved with excitement, and yet be losing at the very time more than is gained in a religious point of view.”134 While the anxious seat appeared to signal the number of conversions, conversion cannot be reduced to such methods.

While Nevin remained a minority voice against the popular trend of 19th century revivalism, his theological and liturgical concerns remain a relevant critique of revivialist, methods and its legacies in music.

ii Marva J. Dawn

More recent voices have also raised concerns about the current practices of liturgy, worship, music and pragmatic approaches to evangelical revival and church growth. In particular, Marva J. Dawn sounds her own warning about the instrumentalist usage of music and the arts in contemporary liturgy and alternative worship. As a Lutheran evangelical, her critique of worship-related church growth strategies such as “seeker-sensitive” worship services have attracted the attention of Protestant evangelicals around the world, including those among the Korean churches.135

Dawn argues, first, that music and the liturgical arts should not be considered the focus of worship. God should be both the subject and object of worship.136 If Christians


135 See, for example, Marva J. Dawn, Keeping the Sabbath Wholly: Ceasing, Resting, Embracing, Resting (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991); Reaching Out without Dumbing Down: A Theology of Worship for the Turn-of-the-Century Culture (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995; A Royal “Waste” of Time: The Splendor of Worshiping God and Being Church for the World (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999); How Shall We Worship. Vital Questions Series, ed.. Daniel Taylor (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House, 2003); The Sense of the Call: A Sabbath Way of Life for Those Who Serve God, the Church, and the World (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006). Three of them have been translated into Korean and have received significant attention.

136 See especially chapter 5 of Marva. J. Dawn, Reaching Out without Dumbing Down: A Theology of Worship for the Turn-of-the-Century Culture (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 75-104
adhere too narrowly to particular styles of music or liturgical practices, it can confuse the subject and object of worship with the musical and liturgical traditions themselves. Moreover, this confusion leads too easily to unnecessary polarization, division and sectarianism. The main role and function of music and the arts in worship should be, first, to equip worshippers (including liturgists, musicians, and artists) to acknowledge God as the true subject and object in worship, and second, to form Christian character and build the Christian community as the one body of Christ.

Dawn asserts that the integrity of North American churches has been weakened as preferences for individualistic needs in worship have come to dominate communal needs. Her argument relates not only to ways of practicing music and liturgy in American churches but also to overall ecclesiological misconceptions about what music and the liturgical arts symbolize in the Church. “We must . . . consider not only the factors from the outside culture but also the voices from within that influence how the Church understands itself. . . . we must ask new questions about the meaning and means of worshiping and living in the family of faith and of welcoming our children and strangers to live there, too.” Dawn’s concern includes not only the cultural means that liturgies employ but also the theological and ecclesiological dimensions that are expressed in worship and its content.

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137 Dawn, Reaching Out without Dumbing Down, 82-86.

138 Her work has not been beyond criticism. See, for example, reviews of Reaching Out without Dumbing Down, by Robert Brusic, Word & World 17 (Winter 1997): 106-108; Anita J. Baly, Lutheran Quarterly 1, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 236-237; and Timothy J. Ralston, Bibliotheca sacra, 153 no. 611 (Jl-S 1996): 382-383. Dawn has responded by clarifying, for example, her intention to argue for a balance between contemporary and traditional forms of music within a concern for God as the center of worship. Other evangelistic goals such as aesthetic and cultural preferences are to be placed in this context. See her response in A Royal Waste of Time, 149-152.

139 Dawn, Reaching Out without Dumbing Down, 10.
For example, Dawn suggests that contemporary American churches are confused about the biblical meaning of community: “for too often the concept of community is perceived merely in terms of a feeling of coziness with God or compatibility with other members of congregation.”\(^{140}\) She believes that the meaning and characteristics of community have been misunderstood by American Christians. Attractive and comfortable environments for specific groups cannot be the main criteria by which the authenticity of community is identified. The biblical vision of community is not about building a homogeneous and intimate group but about embracing and enduring difference, and even conflict.

Community in the biblical sense is more open to the realities of differences, more openly gracious to all, more deliberate, an act of will. It does not depend upon feelings of affection. In fact, sometimes (perhaps always?) God seems to put us in a community together with people whom we don’t like so that we learn the real meaning of agapē— that intelligent, purposeful love directed toward another’s need which comes first from God and then flows through us to our neighbor. To develop a community that practices biblical principles is very difficult in this technologically efficient society. It takes a lot of work and time, sacrifice and commitment.\(^{141}\)

Community in the biblical sense is a practice of interdependence, established through negotiating the complex difficulties and conflicts related to different cultural tastes, styles of worship and conflicting expectations. Worshipers should not avoid, exclude or ignore challenging realities, but should engage them at the very moment and place where worship and liturgy are practiced. Using convenient and efficient methods focused primarily on church growth and emotional satisfaction causes participants to


believe these are the marks of authenticity in their worship. Quantity does not equate with quality.\textsuperscript{142}

It is interesting to note how Dawn and Nevin raise similar concerns about “contemporary” Christian ways of using music, the arts, communion and altar-calls for pragmatic goals such as individual repentance, public displays of conversion, response and emotional satisfaction. Both question whether the goal of numerical growth and emotional affect can justify such liturgical methods. They each doubt the intentions and integrity of such styles of worship. Their concerns are both theological and ecclesiological.

Nevin and Dawn argue that pragmatic and populist liturgical practices are too often predisposed towards individualistic responses, concerns and preferences rather than towards the mysteries of worshipping God. The focus is too often psychological rather than theological. If God is the true subject and object who inspires and empowers participants to acknowledge their sin, it is God’s presence that reveals the need and scope of conversion in the context of Christian community. They are both skeptical about the invention of pragmatic and populist ways of worship which focus merely on increasing numbers of converts and the accompanying visible displays of emotion.

For Nevin, the mysterious and revelatory power of God in Christ and by the power of the Holy Spirit in the Lord’s Supper was the main barometer of his assessment of the distorted theology of contemporary revivalists. For Dawn, the way contemporary Christians confuse God as the true subject and object of worship with worship styles is

\textsuperscript{142} In Dawn’s view, overemphasizing quantity comes from lacking any tools to judge quality, and the emphasis on quantity leads to competition among churches. Dawn, \textit{Reaching Out without Dumbing Down}, 51-52.
the main problem. For example, she is particularly concerned about Christians’ lack of ability to know and praise God, because they confuse the true meaning of praise with happiness. “Some worship planners and participants think that to praise God is simply to sing upbeat music; consequently, many songs that are called ‘praise’ actually describe the feelings of the believer rather than the character of God.”143 For Dawn, what praise in worship should demonstrate is not the emotion of the participants but God’s character, sovereignty and grace, even (perhaps especially) when participants are in difficult or challenging circumstances. The meaning of praise should not be confused with worshipers’ feelings of happiness.

Nevin and Dawn, each in their own time, express serious concerns about the distorted theologies and imbalance in many “contemporary” worship and liturgical practices. Their critiques go to the heart of both 19th century revivalist and 21st century “contemporary” worship in both American and Korean contexts. They sound a warning to all who would rely on merely pragmatic and instrumentalist strategies at the expense of theological and ecclesiological substance. And they issue a caution against methods which all too often end up polarizing Christians along the lines of preferred styles, cultures and liturgical traditions.

iii Continuing Developments in Hymnody and Music

While both the hymnological and musical influences of American 19th century revivalism and the modern Praise and Worship movement have been dominant in Korean churches, historic and contemporary counteractive critiques of both forces, like those of Nevin and Dawn, have not been actively considered by Korean churches. Such

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perspectives offer a more balanced counterpoint. In addition, American churches have made efforts to transcend the polarization around hymnody and to renew their perspectives and practices of music. Such efforts are focused not only on the lyrics of existing hymns and Christian music but also on the range and diversity of genres, styles and cultures of music in worship.

In his essay, “Discipleship and the Future of Contemporary Worship Music,” John D. Witvliet offers various proposals for the future of American churches and their worship touching on several areas of consideration, including theological, liturgical, rhetorical, pastoral and even economic dimensions.\(^{144}\) Witvliet’s approach suggests that liturgical renewal through substantive consideration of hymnological and musical diversity has become more dynamic in contemporary churches than either the Praise and Worship movement or popular Korean models of worship would lead one to think. He argues, “The well-balanced Christian life is strengthened through intensely felt and shared experiences, well-told stories, and well-developed ideas. Likewise, it can be strengthened by music that pursues each of these three aspects.”\(^{145}\) The function and role of music has to do with more than simply provoking certain emotions, moods and responses to effect numerical growth in church members. Music is meant to tell stories, to effectively teach ideas about beliefs, and to express the shared experiences of the worshiping community for the holistic growth and strength of Christians. Music and


\(^{145}\) His use of the term “well-balanced” refers also to the range of perspectives of the contributors to the book, The Message in the Music, in which various theological themes, images, ideas and emotions are integrated in a vision of the role of music in Christian worship. See Witvliet, “Discipleship and the Future of Contemporary Worship Music,” 171-173.
hymns should not be treated merely as a prelude to preaching or reduced to a strategic tool for Church growth; rather, they bear witness to who the worshiping community believes in and praises, what it believes, why it keeps persisting in faith and hope, how it lives in and engages the world.

An examination of the approach of some recent hymnals can also help articulate a more robust vision of the role of music in worship which extends beyond instrumentalist strategies. New hymnals have been published in several American Protestant churches, including the Christian Reformed Church in North America (CRCNA), the Reformed Church in America (RCA) and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA)—denominations which have had, and continue to have, significant relationships of partnership with the Presbyterian churches in Korea. While it might seem to revert to a new form of colonialism to appeal to such American practices, the fact remains that the Korean Presbyterian church has tended to be very selective about drawing on the resources of its global partners, usually based on 19th century presuppositions which are, in fact, no longer at play in the founding denominations themselves. Thus, I would argue, the Korean Presbyterian church can benefit from a more broader engagement and reflection with its ecumenical siblings in a contemporary context.

Although Christian Contemporary Music continues to enjoy wide usage in worship, key American mainline Reformed Protestant churches have nevertheless continued to publish new hymnals. I would suggest that Korean churches have been missing some important ongoing and emerging musical and liturgical developments while continuing to steadfastly assume that their theology, music and worship practices
preserve and follow the Reformed theological and liturgical practices of American churches.

For example, *Lift Up Your Hearts: Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs* was jointly published by the CRCNA and the RCA in 2013, after extensive research that began in 2010. The relevant committees were made up of theologians, representative of each denomination, and staff members. Its stated reasons for the need to publish a new hymnal were: 1) to bridge the cultural and generational gap between the older, previous, hymnals and new ones, 2) to reform language, which changes continuously with theological and cultural changes, 3) to source liturgical models that embrace and reflect the most recent social, cultural and religious issues.\(^\text{146}\) In response to the specific “Frequently Asked Question,” “Why another hymnal?” the compilers respond:

> In worship, one of main ways we praise and honor God, give voice to our prayers, and communicate the wonders of God’s work is through song. Through the underlying gospel message doesn’t change from generation to generation, the concerns, prayers, and social context of each generation do. Since the publication of *Rejoice in the Lord* and the 1987 *Psalter Hymnal* we have seen sociological change with a move toward postmodernism and witnessed the exponential growth of technology—our world is very different today than it was 25+ years ago. The words we use for worship need to express theses new realities that form the backdrop of our worship—a new hymnal for a new generation.\(^\text{147}\)

In short, the context has changed. The previous hymnals no longer provide sufficient resources for contemporary Christians who live in places where the circumstances and issues are now different or have become more complex. The CRCNA and RCA both acknowledge the necessity for cultural adjustment to the changed context of their worship, music and ministry.

\(^\text{146}\) For detailed information about this hymnal and the characteristics of its contents, refer to *Lift Up Your Hearts*, http://liftupyourheartshymnal.org/ (accessed July 11, 2017).

Similarly, the PCUSA published its new hymnal, *Glory to God*, in late 2013, after four years of work by its Presbyterian Committee on Congregational Song (PCOCS). As staff member Mary Margaret Flannagan put it:

> The diversity and the continual creation of congregational song is a wonderful celebration of the Reformed motto: *Ecclesia reformata, simper reformanda*. ‘The church reformed, always being reformed.’ Presbyterians, as theologically Reformed Christians, believe that God continues to work within us, re-forming us and re-creating us—perhaps even inspiring new understandings and new interpretations of God’s unchanging presence. What was right or good for previous generation may not be sufficient for a later generation in whom God brings new life.

Like the CRCNA and RCA, the PCUSA also felt the need for cultural adjustment. This was not only a socio-cultural decision based on the perception of a continuously changing culture, but also a theological and soteriological principle rooted in their Reformed theology of God’s continuous and unfolding salvific activity in the world.

Regarding the content of these new hymnals, in addition to a general updating of the range of musical styles and tastes, both *Lift Up Your Hearts* and *Glory to God* also made significant efforts to integrate cultural components in the area of language. Both hymnals include not only new songs and music but also linguistic changes representative of their current context—including, especially, significant use of inclusive language embracing diversity in gender, race, ethnicity and ability.

For example, *Glory to God* includes twelve Korean songs. *The Christian Post*, a Korean Christian newspaper in Canada, noting the inclusion of diverse languages such as English, Korean and Spanish in the hymnal, suggested that the resource could enhance

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and support multi-ethnic and intercultural worship in the PCUSA. Such linguistic dimensions to the new hymnal reflect the fact that congregations of the PCUSA have experienced significant cultural changes not only between the generations but also among social, ethnic and linguistic groups in their communities. Similarly, *Lift Up Your Hearts* also includes hymns in 32 different languages.

In addition to linguistic diversity, various historic and ecumenical creeds and confessions are featured in *Lift Up Your Hearts*, including portions of the Heidelberg Catechism and other confessions and testimonies that lend themselves to recitation in corporate worship. It is noteworthy, for example, that the hymnal also includes the Belhar Confession, the anti-apartheid motivated work of The Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC) in South Africa from 1982, which continues to resonate in various churches because of its reference to the contemporary concerns of segregation, social justice and poverty—social issues not typically dealt with in previous confessions and creeds.

However, even with the most culturally-conscious music and thoughtfully revised language, it always remains to be seen how local congregations will adopt and

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use new hymnals in worship. New hymnals can represent a valuable effort in liturgical inculturation, but a long and arduous process is required to encourage local congregations to actualize what the new hymnals seek to achieve. In order to enhance the actual usage of the new hymnals, the CRCNA, RCA and PCUSA provide them not only in book form but also in electronic formats for projection and print. In addition, they have held countless hymn festivals, workshops and worship services in local congregations to, as the CRCNA and RCA put it, “promote learning about what it means to sing the whole of God’s story using hymns, songs, and resources from the new hymnal.”

Of course, while the efforts of some American denominations in publishing new hymnals cannot be the sole criterion for the renewal of music in the Korean churches, given the Korean churches’ historic connection to American practices along with the contemporary relevance of the imported Praise and Worship model, the broader perspective provided by such resources is arguably warranted.

D. Implications
We have seen how 19th century revivalism and the 20th century Praise and Worship movement have shaped the worship, music and priorities of Korean churches. We have also seen how critiques, like those of Nevin and Dawn, have not been sufficiently considered or developed in Korean churches, and how the contributions of some recently published hymnals have been overlooked. What is behind the selective importing of liturgical strategies and Korean worship practice? This section will briefly consider the implications from historical, ecclesiological, and practical perspectives.

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First, the critique of revivalism along the lines of Nevin and Dawn is also a consequence of very different church histories in Korean and Western churches. As alluded to in the Introduction to this study, revivalism was a response to the perceived spiritual lethargy of the established churches and their liturgical practices. Unlike the Western churches, Korean churches had no experience of an established or institutionalized church system, nor did they share the Western churches’ felt need and intention for revivalism. Revivalism in the Korean churches was, for the most part, the first experience of Protestant Christianity. In spite of external similarities in the success of revivalism between the US and Korea, there were profound institutional and cultural differences between them when it came to the experience of faith and worship. Korean churches proceeded directly to a more emotional and spontaneous engagement in liturgy and worship, without any previous experience of formation in the Christian tradition or its worship, for better or for worse. As a result, the revivalist approach to liturgy and worship became the traditional (or conventional) shape of liturgy for Korean churches. In this sense, revivalism became the “established” tradition—now in decline and in need of its own revival, renewal and reform.

From another perspective, Korean churches have not experienced the same socio-political ramifications of Christendom, the institutional pros and cons in which a dominant Christian population becomes influential not only in religion but also in society and government as a whole. This is not to suggest that a broad experience of established churches or Christendom is required in order for revivalism to be relevant or needed, or to suggest that the Praise and Worship movement only bears legitimacy in response to a Western-style Christendom. However, it is to note that Korean churches have experienced
revivalism and the Praise and Worship movement in a radically different context, with
different historical circumstances, cultural implications, theological connotations, and
liturgical interpretations from those of the Western churches.

It is ironic that despite the different histories of the American and Korean
churches, the Korean churches tend to regard themselves in the same light as American
churches. The worship and liturgy of the Korean churches have not been established
exclusively in Korea—they are imports, colonial ecclesial products from the United
States. It is also important to recognize that, despite the outstanding growth of Korean
churches, the Korean church has never reached a dominant percentage within the Korean
population. In other words, Christian worship in Korea is a still foreign cultural and
religious practice; it has never been dominant in Korean society. By contrast, the Western
church’s experience of 19th century revivalism and the 20th century Praise and Worship
movement represent only one or two strands of Christian worship practice within
mainstream Christianity, while in Korea it is the dominant Christian expression, resulting
in a uniquely and liturgically narrow variant of Christianity for Korea. And its apparent
success (in terms of total numbers, rather than as a percentage of the population) has
meant that alternative perspectives have had little traction.

Second, a reliance on revivalist Praise and Worship liturgical strategies carries
with it ecclesiological risks. The overemphasis on individual, emotional and pragmatic
aspects of faith and church life is the problem. Liturgy and worship music carry not only
individual, emotional and functional but also communal, intellectual and symbolic
aspects. Gordon Lathrop describes the essential aspects of liturgy as follows:

Together we will need continually to see to it that our Sunday assemblies are
actually centered in bath and table, prayer and word, accessibly present in the
heart of participating communities. . . . We will need to work on a kind of
participation that is lively—in singing, amen-saying, praying, bathing, eating and drinking, sending portions out through that open door—but still a participation that does not exclude. The participants are not insiders. All of us, including the ministers at the center of the circle, are seekers, beggars, in need of God.\footnote{Gordon W. Lathrop and Timothy J. Wengert, \textit{Christian Assembly: Marks of the Church in a Pluralistic Age} (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 51.}

Lathrop’s description points to the multi-layered meanings of liturgical actions centered more intentionally around a holistic experience of Word and sacraments, evangelism and mission, inclusivity and communal participation.

Byars signals a similar multi-faceted, ecclesial, communal vision:

The church, with its faults and its collection of diverse and sometimes incompatible personalities, is sometimes difficult, but taking responsibility for being a part of the church is part of the believer’s calling. The Spirit gives us strength for taking that responsibility as we gather together as the church to praise, confess, hear the Word, proclaim our faith, lament, make our petitions to God, and eat and drink with the risen Lord.\footnote{Byars’ list of ecclesiological actions demonstrates that all of them have communal and liturgical implications, and they need to be balanced with the individual implications of them as well. Ronald P. Byars, “Creeds and Prayers: Ecclesiology,” in \textit{A More Profound Alleluia: Theology and Worship in Harmony}, ed. Leanne Van Dyk (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 87.}

Like Lathrop’s vision, Byars’ notion of liturgy as the work of the whole people of God moves beyond mere pragmatic and instrumentalist perspectives on worship, suggesting that a quantitative emphasis on “success” is not the point. While quantitative growth is not irrelevant for the living community of faith, the qualitative dimensions of church life need to take priority.

Christendom has taught us that large numbers do not guarantee the legitimacy of particular methods of evangelism and practices of ministry. Indeed, the growth of Western churches in Christendom meant they could not continue some previously cherished practices. For example, accommodating large numbers of Christians meant restricting intimate spiritual relationships with other Christians, including the sharing of
personal witness and testimony by believers in worship. Alan and Eleanor Kreider argue that even though sharing of testimonies by participants was a crucial component of the worship of the early churches, it eventually became extinct because of the numerical growth of Christians during the growth of Christendom.

This interconnection [a connection between the communal meal, at which Jesus was remembered and worshipped, and the after-dinner conversations (symposium)] disappeared, leading to the disappearance of testimony. It’s understandable: liturgical controllers in large congregations found it all rather difficult. By AD 200, congregations grew larger. To combat heresy and disorder, church leaders began to restrict the freedom that the earlier church had known in worship. In the second half of the fourth century, liturgical writing emerged to ensure orthodox speech and order in worship. There was no longer room for speaking about what God had recently done in the lives of believers. When basilicas superseded house churches, a vital aspect of mission became almost impossible.  

While substantial numerical church growth brought formalized orders of liturgy and denominational standards for worship, it also meant the loss of traditions such as personal testimonies, through which worshipers could personally and communally identify with the narratives of the Bible. With the increase in numbers, many Christians may tend to participate in the liturgy impersonally and individualistically, lacking important interpersonal dimensions of communal relationship within the Body of Christ. Large numbers in congregations inevitably encounter practical limits in liturgy, and such limits need to be considered and discerned as Korean church leaders set growth-related goals for their congregations. Bigger is not always better; Christian worship needs to be personal without being individualistic.

Finally, practical ecclesiological limitations also hinder the nurturing capacity of Korean churches to grow indigenous liturgical resources. It is difficult to apply the principles and efforts of the American churches when it comes to the publication of high

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quality new hymnals and music for the Korean churches. Korean churches remain highly Congregationalist in their ecclesiology and polity. Even though general synods of Korean churches suggest forms and models for public worship and liturgy, each congregation is allowed to govern its own ways of worship and typically holds fast to its conventional practices. Even where a denominational general council tries to create specific musical resources for worship and liturgy, such efforts seldom have much influence on local church leaders because such leaders and their congregations are typically too independent to accept denominationally-driven decisions.

As Korean theologian Hae-moo Yoo puts it, “politically, Korean Presbyterian churches show a tendency to adopt what is actually Congregationalism, while using the Presbyterian system of government as a safety measure.” Further, he asserts, the Presbyterian system of government in Korean churches is present only in name, not in practice. Because the church growth of each congregation has become the main focus of Korean church life, the governing structure of each congregation is limited to electing a representative to Presbytery, to ordaining a pastor, and to drawing up the budget. In this circumstance, examining the practice of congregational song and publishing new hymnals by means of broad collaborative efforts are, to say the least, a challenge.

In contrast to the congregationalist tendencies of Korean Presbyterian churches, the PCUSA, CRCNA and RCA each made denomination-wide communal efforts—including ecumenical consultation—to publish new hymnals and to disseminate, promote and educate for their adoption and use, even though it meant taking a long-range view to

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158 See, 유해무, 한국교회의 공예배와 교회의 개혁, 개혁신학과 교회, 부산: 고신대, 2005 년 18 권, p.80. Yoo Hae-moo, “The Reformation of the Korean Church and Her Public Worship,” Reformed Theology and Church 18, Korea Theological Seminary, 2005, p. 80-81. [교회 정치적으로 한국장로교회는 장로교정치를 안전장치로 삼은 회중교회의 모습을 취할 때가 많다].
achieve such goals. These efforts require enormous collaborative work and a gathering of expertise among composers, lyricists, musicians, theologians, pastors and teachers from various areas, cultures, ages, and traditions. Uniting diverse voices into one process for the sake of producing one book and using it as an actual liturgical resource is a long and laborious endeavor that is likely to be a low priority to Korean Presbyterian churches.

Because Korean churches value their congregationalism, the chance of publishing new broadly-based hymnals together seems remote indeed. Korean churches have emphasized individual salvation and blessing in worship, while communal aspects and liturgical catholicity have received very little attention. Moreover, such approaches to worship tend to become deeply identified with the identity of each congregation. The interests, needs, preferred music and culture of each congregation become valued as specific to each congregation and distinguished from those of others. From the perspective of efficiency, convenience and utility, ecumenical, communal and collaborative efforts can seem counterproductive or even useless. However, in the spirit of Dawn’s analysis, perhaps Korean churches would do well to take up the laborious work of reaching a communal consensus about what to sing and what to say in worship, as a deeply meaningful and necessary step in prophetically distinguishing the Church from other communities and interest groups in a consumer-driven, individualistic world.

Might this be the next revival in Korean worship?159

159 To be sure, there remain persistent calls for renewal in the churches and their worship that resist hymnological and liturgical approaches to renewal. Historically, Finney argued that “under the Gospel dispensation, God has established no particular system of measures.” Thus, we are free to worship as we see fit. More recently, Easum has insisted that worship music needs, above all, to be culturally relevant, and that if it is, church growth and vitality will follow. He argues that church musicians resistant to change “do more to hinder congregations from sharing new life than any other staff members.” See respectively, Charles G. Finney, Revivals of Religion: Lectures by Charles Grandison Finney ed. William Henry Harding (London: Morgan and Scott, 1910), 280; William Easum, Dancing with Dinosaurs: Ministry in a Hostile and Hurting World (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1993), 88.
Finally, Swee Hong Lim, has argued convincingly that

Local songs from the Global South are continually evolving. Recent review of this corpus is revealing a trajectory towards hybridity—a comingling of both Western and local idioms. I believe this trend is a worldwide phenomenon, but it is most obvious in Asian church music where earlier efforts to adapt local culture without adopting Western idioms were resisted. But in the last decade, congregations in Asia are beginning to embrace songs that feature local cultural expression—predominantly in hybrid forms.160

While Lim’s point is directed primarily towards a critique of North American assumptions about what constitutes “Global Song,” his identification of an emerging practice in Asia offers yet another way forward beyond the colonialism of 19th century hymnody and contemporary American Praise and Worship songs towards new forms that are “a fusion of musical idioms.” Lim cites several examples, including: a South Asian version of Psalm 100 which features “a South Asian singing style . . . coupled with Western part singing . . . that is neither idiomatically strictly South Asian nor Western;” and a Japanese “tradition-inspired melody with a Western harmonic scaffold . . . creating a simple yet effective hybrid song.”161 Such developments offer options conducive to what I will be proposing in Oullim Worship.

3. Conclusions

This chapter has explored the ways music and songs from 19th century revivalism and the 20th century Praise and Worship movement have been introduced, developed and become influential in Korean churches. Meanwhile, critical voices, like those of Nevin


161 Lim, “‘Where is Our Song going’ vis a vis ‘Where Should Our Song be going?’”; The Trajectory of ‘Global Song’ in North America,” 9-10.
and Dawn, have gone largely unheeded in the Korean churches, primarily because of Korean Christians’ bias towards revivalist strategies and their limited experience of the wider context of Christendom. Successful rates of church growth have trumped a more balanced assessment. Since Korean churches are still eager to grow, music in worship continues to be used for church growth and the consumer satisfaction of participants.

Even though Reformed approaches to music have continued to evolve to address aspects of liturgical and musical inculturation, as evidenced by the publication of new hymnals by North American Protestant denominations and emerging hybrid musical forms, such efforts have been largely ignored by Korean churches. The reasons for this vary. Ecclesiologically, Korean churches tend towards congregationalism. The enormous denominational and ecumenical collaborative effort involved in publishing contemporary hymnals has not been a attractive model for Korean churches. From the early stages of its history, the Korean church has experienced fragmentation and schism, supported increasingly by a culture of contemporary individualism. While winning souls is an important part of ministry, evangelism should not be the only purpose of music in worship. Christians worship not only to evangelize but also for praise, contemplation, repentance, lament, sanctification, mission, and social justice.

Furthermore, it is often hard to distinguish cultural preferences, musical tastes, emotional appeal and quantitative growth from faithful worship and qualitative faithfulness. Even though Korean churches were understandably impressed with the incomparable growth that came from adopting Western culture and music, they have not been able to continue this trend since the early 1990s.\textsuperscript{162} Since Korean church leaders

\textsuperscript{162} Chang-Dae Gwak and Jurgens Hendriks, “An interpretation of the recent membership decline in the Korean Protestant Church.” \textit{Missionalia} 29, no. 1 (April, 2001): 55-66
have continued to associate numerical growth with the health of their congregations, their anxiety has increased, and they have tried to recover these losses by adopting other styles of music and ministry from Western churches. However, their efforts have been continuously selective and biased towards the “quick-fix” of the pragmatic and instrumentalist methods of their 19th century heritage. Other liturgical, communal, and more long-term methods have remained largely unexplored.

Sincere and authentic conversion, as Nevin argued, has continual and mystical aspects which certain pragmatic methods, emotional reactions and visible indicators cannot guarantee. The majority of Korean hymns and songs for worship are derived from the West, and the role of traditional Korean music has been minor. While the current Korean hymnal, *21st Century Hymnal*, includes many Korean hymns, anecdotal evidence and popular practice strongly suggest that the frequency of their use is limited. Korean Christians continue to prefer Western music, be it gospel hymns of 19th century revivalism or CCM, using projection technology rather than hymn books. At the same time, because of an affinity for all things Western, Korean traditional music has become unfamiliar to Korean Christians. In this circumstance, a pall hangs over the future of the Korean Presbyterian churches’ worship music. The hymns and songs they sing have been theologically and culturally skewed toward pragmatism, evangelism and Western music at the expense of their own cultural identity.

Along with this increasingly individualized, consumer-centered, and high-tech society, the culture surrounding Korean churches continues to change rapidly. If Korean churches continue to hold fast to their congregationalism in the absence of a more collective vision of liturgy and worship, they will likely suffer at the mercy of consumer
tastes and whims. In this context, perhaps considering and practicing liturgical inculturation is not so much an option as an urgent need. Music in worship should be part of such inculturation. Inculturation of hymns—as a part of a larger liturgical inculturation—need not force participants in worship to accept foreign or unfamiliar music and styles, but can guide them to rediscovery, to be more intimate with what Koreans used to sing, play and enjoy in their traditional music and culture, and to experiment with emerging hybrid musical forms.

This process points us further towards a Korean model of Oullim Worship, which will be discussed more directly in Chapter Four of this study. Before that, it will be helpful to consider some of the resources offered by a leading scholar of liturgical inculturation, Anscar J. Chupungco. Chapter Three will examine Chupungco’s theories and explore some ways in which his ideas and methods can be applied to Korean churches for the purpose of a Korean version of liturgical inculturation as Oullim Worship.
CHAPTER THREE: ANSCAR J. CHUPUNGCO AND LITURGICAL INCULTURATION

1. Introduction

The historical, liturgical and musical considerations of the previous chapters have pointed this study towards the need for a more indigenous and culturally appropriate Korean way of worship beyond its largely individualistic, affective and instrumentalist origins. For any renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship to have relevance, substance and integrity, it must also reflect the meaning and practice of liturgical inculturation. This is where the work of Anscar Chupungco can offer helpful resources for Korean Presbyterian worship.

In the context of the Korean Presbyterian church, “inculturation” is a complex and often controversial term with a wide range of potentially problematic connotations. Chupungco notes, for example, that issues of inculturation have also been addressed using terms such as indigenization, incarnation, contextualization, revision, adaptation, and acculturation. The dynamics of inculturation often employ other terms such as transculturation, deculturation, and exculturation.163

For many theologically conservative groups, inculturation is theologically suspect and tantamount to syncretism, a heretical introduction of alien beliefs or practices into the Christian faith. Some Korean churches, for example, do not allow Korean traditional musical instruments because of their association with Korean shamanism and its animist or other non-Christian ritual activities. On the other hand, more liberal groups hold that inculturation is inevitable due to the need to express the gospel in a local context.

The key argument for the necessity of inculturation is drawn from God’s incarnation in Jesus Christ, which was actualized and embodied in a particular social and cultural context—namely, first century Jewish language, identity and culture. Expanding upon this principle, the Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture, produced by the third international consultation of the Lutheran World Federation’s Study Team on Worship and Culture, held in Nairobi, Kenya in 1996, offers a typology of the relationship between Christian worship and culture encompassing aspects of worship that are 1) transcultural, 2) contextual, 3) counter-cultural, and 4) cross-cultural.\textsuperscript{164} In this view, the relationship between worship and culture is complex indeed—not a simple choice between syncretism versus “pure” Christian practices.\textsuperscript{165}

Between attempts to totally reject or deeply affirm inculturation, more theologically moderate Koreans have a range of different doctrinal and ecclesial standards for engaging with Korean indigenous culture in worship. Because Korean churches do not share a common confessional standard or directory of worship, they have largely imported these from Western churches, along with their associated cultural and liturgical forms. As a result, current worship principles and practices of Korean Presbyterian churches are rarely rooted in forms drawn from their own culture, but reflect the Western churches, where the driving forces behind worship choices are instrumentalist, pragmatic and evangelistic. Moreover, the range of responses has also often led to additional divisions within and between Korean churches. The harmonizing


\textsuperscript{165} See, for example, the collection of essays in Gláucia Vasconcelos Wilkey ed., \textit{Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland?} (Grand Rapids, MI.; Cambridge U.K.: William B. Eerdmans, 2010).
approach of the traditional Korean concept of Oullim may have something to offer here. But before exploring that in more detail in the next chapter, the following general questions are worth considering: How might Korean churches worship in theologically appropriate and culturally authentic ways? Why did many Western missionaries and early Korean indigenous church leaders devalue Korean culture? How can Korean churches recover Korean culture in their worship?

In order to explore these and other related questions, this chapter will examine the work of the preeminent scholar of liturgical inculturation, Anscar J. Chupungco. Although Chupungco’s background is Roman Catholic, he offers academically and culturally valuable insights of relevance to a broad range of liturgical traditions. In turning to his work, it is also worth keeping in mind an important distinction between the liturgical context of the Korean churches and that of other Asian countries that have been strongly influenced by Roman Catholicism. Unlike those countries, Korean Christians have experienced little impact from Vatican II and its advocates like Chupungco. Since Western Protestant missionaries did not experience the liturgical movement or its principles of liturgical renewal, they did not see the necessity of an inculturated liturgy for Korean Christians.166 Because many Korean Presbyterian churches have imported and internalized megachurch worship styles and liturgies from the United States of America, it is worth examining what might have been lost along the way by abandoning Korean culture in worship and liturgy. Chupungco has made an effort to revisit the lost parts of certain cultures in order to recover and revive them in worship and liturgy. Of course, the purpose of this chapter is not to denigrate Western liturgy and revivalist

worship and their contributions to the Korean Presbyterian churches, per se. Rather, the two goals of this chapter are, first, to explore the relationship between Christian liturgy and culture, and second, to identify concrete examples from Korean culture as potential resources for a liturgical inculturation suitable for Korean Presbyterian churches. This in turn will allow for an exploration of the evangelical and liturgical ethos of Korean churches in light of Chupungco’s method and the churches’ own context and liturgical practices.

2. Anscar Chupungco on Liturgical Inculturation

Fr. Anscar J. Chupungco, OSB was “one of the Catholic Church’s most respected liturgical scholars.” 167 As the third generation of an immigrant family from a Chinese province, Chupungco was born in 1939 in Rizal Province near Manila and was educated at the Roman Catholic Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat in Manila. When the abbot noticed Chupungco’s potential for an academic future, “he was sent to the Monastery of Sant’Anselmo to attend classes at the Pontifical Liturgical Institute.” 168 Chupungco became a passionate advocate of liturgical inculturation in the spirit of Vatican II’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, publishing several books on the subject. 169 He died from a heart attack at age 73 on January 9, 2013 while at the Paul VI Liturgical Institute.


that he founded at the Benedictine Monastery of the Transfiguration in Malabalay, Bukidnon, on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{170} His contribution to the area of liturgical studies and inculturation is widely regarded as enormous, cutting across denominational and cultural differences.

In order to understand Chupungco’s approach to liturgical inculturation, it is important to appreciate the development of his theological thought as well as his social location. Understanding the context of his theological and liturgical formation helps to clarify his notions about the need for liturgical inculturation in contemporary churches.

As noted in his memoir, \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} it was largely the pre- and post-conciliar movements and the various reactions to liturgical reform that formed Chupungco’s theological identity. On the one hand, he was trained in liturgical theology by some of those very scholars of Vatican II who revised the Roman rite.\textsuperscript{171} On the other hand, his identity as a Filipino Christian included strong cultural interactions and influences. Thus, his perspective on liturgical inculturation was shaped by both his native cultural context and the Western liturgical and cultural contexts. In addition, he did not limit his focus to the Roman Catholic context but extended his interests by participating in various ecumenical gatherings, including those of the World Council of Churches.\textsuperscript{172}

Chupungco’s thinking and the liturgical reforms of Vatican II are inseparable. He studied theology and liturgy at the Pontifical Liturgical Institute in Rome as the Council

\textsuperscript{170} Francis, “The Future of Liturgical Inculturation,” 3.

\textsuperscript{171} Chupungco \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} xiv-xv. In the preface and first chapter, for example, he notes the influence of such mentors as Adrien Nocent and Cipriano Vagaggini during his studies at the Pontifical Liturgical Institute.

\textsuperscript{172} See, for example, Lorraine S. Brugh’s introduction, “Anscar J. Chupungco: The Praxis of Liturgical Inculturation,” in Vogel, \textit{Primary Sources of Liturgical Theology}, 245.
ended and its decisions were implemented.\textsuperscript{173} Because there were diverse reactions to the liturgical reforms of Vatican II during the period of Chupungco’s training, the various tensions and theological perspectives generated by the reform had an enormous impact on his thinking.\textsuperscript{174} He characterized the main areas of the Council’s liturgical reform as six-fold: 1) liturgy and technology; 2) Sunday observance; 3) the weekday order of Mass; 4) the role of women; 5) inculturation; 6) the liturgy of the hours.\textsuperscript{175} Although these may appear at first glance to be separate subjects, only one of which is inculturation, he understood all of them as related to cultural change and its impact on contemporary Christians.

In short, Vatican II and its attentiveness to the impact of cultural change was the dominant force that shaped Chupungco’s interest in liturgical inculturation. Closely related to this was the attention paid by Vatican II to the need for the “full, conscious, and active participation”\textsuperscript{176} of worshipers in the liturgy. For Chupungco this became another key principle driving his engagement with liturgical inculturation. In a sense, this study

\textsuperscript{173} Chupungco, \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} xiv.

\textsuperscript{174} Chupungco summarized opposition to the liturgical reforms of Vatican II as having to do with: the defence of liturgical Latin, Gregorian chant, and sacred polyphony against the vernacular and the use of modern music; and opposition to “heretical” and “Protestant” characteristics in the new Missal. Chupungco, \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} 3.


\textsuperscript{176} The term “active participation” has come to represent an important aspiration of the liturgical movement. As article 14 of Sacrosanctum Concilium, makes clear, “Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy, and to which the Christian people, ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people’ (1 Pet. 2:9, 4-5) have a right and obligation by reason of their baptism.” Austin Flannery, ed., \textit{Vatican Council II: the Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents}, new revised edition (Dublin, Ireland: Dominican Publications, 1992), 8. According to Francis Arinze, the term active participation is “a leitmotive that runs through Sacram Liturgiam.” Francis Arinze, “Active Participation in the Sacred Liturgy,” \textit{Antiphon} 9.1 (2005): 6. While my interest is Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy, \textit{Sacrosanctum Concilium} remains relevant to the extent that it has influenced not only the Roman Catholic tradition but also others.
of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy can be seen as an effort to explore what “full, conscious and active participation” means in the Korean context.

It needs also to be remembered that Chupungco’s Filipino origins were neither European nor North American, but South-East Asian. Although a contextual and historical study of the Filipino context is outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that the missions to the Philippines under royal Spanish patronage were different from those under royal Portuguese patronage in other South-East Asian countries. As R. G. Tiedemann argues, “An important factor in the success of Christianity in the Philippines was the fact that many aspects of worship could be accommodated by Filipino culture. It is important to note that—except for Mindanao in the south where Islam had made some inroads—the Spanish did not have to confront the ‘high cultures’ of mainland Asia.”

Early efforts at the inculturation of Christianity were a key component in the flourishing of Christianity in the Philippines. The Philippines is made up of multiple ethnicities and cultures, and its native religions are often pluralistic, complex, and interrelated, according to the needs of each group and the relationships between the groups. It was in this cultural environment that Chupungco’s sense of the importance of liturgical inculturation was formed and nurtured. It was thus not only as the result of his theological

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178 For example, Tiedemann cites the Filipinos’ mixing of indigenous animism with Christian worship. “In a society where spirit worship was widely practiced, the vast array of Catholic holy figures was accepted as an effectual and attractive source of power. As hitherto had been the case with the ancestors, the names of saints could be invoked to obtain assistance and protection. Blessed by the priest, rosaries, crosses and holy medals became potent talismans.” Tiedemann, “China and its neighbours,” 374. One might infer from this that Christians in the Philippines are entirely comfortable with the term “inculturation.” However, as Tiedemann also notes, there has been some tension regarding the meaning and function of Christian worship in relation to indigenous religions and their practices. Although this paper will examine this matter in more detail in the next section, Korean Christianity shares some similarities with Christianity in the Philippines, even though this remains a delicate issue in terms of distinguishing inculturation from syncretism.
training in the context of Vatican II, but also in light of the interactions between his Roman Catholic faith and the contextual and historical influences of the pluralistic society in the Philippines that Chupungco developed his approach. Perhaps most significantly, because Christianity in the Philippines grew not by confrontation, but by accommodation, Chupungco experienced and found ample examples and possibilities for liturgical inculturation.

A. Chupungco’s Method of Liturgical Inculturation

Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation is where his notions of theology and culture merge in dynamic ways. He argues that the object of liturgical inculturation is “to graft liturgical texts and rites onto the cultural pattern of the local Church.” However, this does not mean that simple implantation of liturgical texts and rites into a local culture is sufficient. As the two key elements in liturgical inculturation, Chupungco values both the existing liturgical sources and the cultural pattern of the assigned local church. For Chupungco, liturgical sources and cultural patterns function as counterparts in a conversation. Therefore, liturgical sources, cultural patterns, and the dynamic interaction between them are the crucial components of his method.¹⁷⁹

i. Liturgical Sources

Chupungco argues that since liturgical inculturation is a process of adapting liturgical

¹⁷⁹ Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 37. Chupungco acknowledges that liturgical inculturation and its goals can appear one-sided when using the word “graft.” However, when he speaks of liturgical texts and rites, he includes the process of exploring or examining what those texts and rites mean to both messengers and accommodators. John D. Dadosky’s work also offers a glimpse of a possible methodological approach for acknowledging the identity of messengers and accommodators in liturgical inculturation, based on St. Ignatius and Bernard Lonergan’s ways of discerning and engaging with others in contemporary pluralistic society. See John D. Dadosky, “Methodological Presuppositions for Engaging the Other in a Post-Vatican II Church: Contributions from Ignatius and Lonergan,” *Journal of Inter-Religious Dialogue* (March, 2010): 9-24
texts and rites to suit a local cultural pattern, it is necessary to identify legitimate and authentic liturgical sources, which he refers to as the typical editions of liturgical books. The liturgical sources thus function as the point of departure for liturgical inculturation, what Chupungco calls the *terminus a quo*. In keeping with his convictions about Vatican II’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, his method of liturgical inculturation starts by exploring the meaning of the liturgical sources and their authenticity through theological, historical, and pastoral investigation.

However, Chupungco’s convictions about the function of authoritative texts do not exclude the possibility of liturgical creativity. His is a moderate position between liturgical conservatism and progressivism. Although he emphasizes the integrity of existing liturgical sources for liturgical inculturation, this does not imply blind obedience to the liturgical sources without theological discernment or without exploring contextual and cultural textures of original liturgical texts and rites. Since the liturgical sources are also influenced by cultural forms, historical factors, and theological accents from certain periods and regions, Chupungco suggests that the various elements underlying the liturgical sources need to be acknowledged and considered when they are translated and applied to the local church and its worship.

From this perspective, applying Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation in

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180 Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 32. By the typical editions of the liturgical books he means that the starting point of liturgical inculturation should be from existing models and liturgical texts published by the Vatican after the Council. In order for Korean Presbyterian churches to find suitable applications for Chupungco’s method, they will need a process for identifying the differences between Chupungco’s context and their own. Since Korean Presbyterian churches do not have authoritative editions of liturgical texts or similar liturgical resources, other starting points for liturgical inculturation will have to be identified. More will be said on this in the last section of this chapter.

181 Translation: “point of origin” or “starting point.”

a local church requires thorough examination of the liturgical sources and their cultural
texture. Furthermore, he argues that when the liturgical sources are translated and used in
the local church, synonymous and corresponding expressions from the local church also
require careful examination and research in dynamic and non-literal ways. As an example,
Chupungco notes the value of the Constitution’s notion of “careful investigation:”

This involves exegesis of the original Latin text and research on the meaning of
the gestures and symbols employed by the rite. The art of interpretation includes
the science of semiotics, which examines the meaning, function, and relation to
each other of the various persons and objects mentioned in liturgical texts and
rubrical directions. Let us consider the following rubric: “When the people are
assembled, the priest and the ministers proceed to the altar, while the entrance
song is chanted.” If this rubric, which says more than meets the eye, is to be
subjected to the process of inculturation, it is necessary to examine the three
things to which it directs the reader’s attention. They are the coming together of
the people, the action of the priest and ministers, and the entrance song. Not until
these are placed under semiotic scrutiny as to their why, when, how, and where,
can they enter into the process of inculturation.183

For Chupungco, simply translating original liturgical texts and imitating them in a
different context does not constitute authentic liturgical inculturation. Because simple
translation and imitation cannot ensure worshipers in a different cultural context will
participate in their liturgy with the same level of appreciation that the liturgy seeks to
evoke, there are risks associated with cultural misconceptions. In the above example, if
participants of the local church are unfamiliar with the meaning, significance, and
arrangement of the worship space, of the hierarchical orders of Roman Catholic
leadership as they are expressed in that space, of the flow and movement of the liturgy,
and of semiotic characteristics of certain gestures and songs within the liturgy, they will
not be able to grasp what they are doing, nor will they participate fully in that liturgy,

183 Chupungco, Liturgical Inculturation, 34.
even if they are pronouncing the translated liturgical texts and following liturgical rites with their words and gestures. Simple translation and imitation of liturgical texts and rites can sometimes cause more confusion than meaningful participation.

Even though Chupungco affirms the hierarchical order of the Roman Catholic Church, he argues that there is a need for clarification of the function and goal of leadership in the church. Even though, as the Body of Christ, Roman Catholics have a responsibility for accepting what the hierarchy teaches, this does not mean that the bishop, clergy, and leaders can do whatever they want. They are not omnipotent; they have another responsibility.\textsuperscript{184} From Chupungco's perspective, the role of leaders of liturgy is not only that of presiding over their liturgical tasks, but also entails serving the participants. “The other word for hierarchical order is servant leadership. It pertains to the nature of the Church, and it is the chief duty of the hierarchy to prove that it is not an empty word.”\textsuperscript{185} Thus, as we consider Chupungco’s convictions about liturgical sources, it is important to remember that his fidelity to the authoritative liturgical sources is not aimed at protecting the privilege of church leaders, but at sacrificially serving the faithful and their community—the church—in ways which are authentic.

\textbf{ii} Cultural Patterns

For Chupungco, in addition to the integrity of “typical” or authoritative liturgical sources, identifying cultural patterns is equally important. While Chupungco sees the authoritative editions of Vatican II’s liturgical texts as the \textit{terminus a quo}, he also needs a point of

\begin{footnote}{184} By introducing two Latin axioms, \textit{Sentire cum Ecclesia} and \textit{Sentire esse Ecclesiam} (translation: to feel with the Church and to feel to be the Church), Chupungco emphasizes the responsibilities of all Christians’ awareness and ownership of liturgy and its implications. Chupungco, \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} 142.\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}{185} Chupungco, \textit{What, Then, Is Liturgy?} 143.\end{footnote}
arrival, a *terminus ad quem*.\(^{186}\) The destination and goal of liturgical inculturation is where the liturgical sources and cultural patterns converge, and their interaction is the result of careful methodological discernment. “The process of liturgical inculturation seeks to make them [the authoritative editions of liturgical texts and cultural patterns] meet and interact, so that from their union a new *terminus ad quem*, a liturgy for the local Church, may be brought into existence. How this union can successfully be arrived at is a matter that pertains to methodology.”\(^{187}\)

In order to understand Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation, it is necessary to appreciate his idea of the point of arrival, *terminus ad quem*, and its relationship to cultural patterns. According to Chupungco, a cultural pattern is both “an innate quality of every sociocultural group and is normally shared by the members born into the group, as well as a place in which various cultural groups can be similarly categorized in a particular pattern.”\(^{188}\) He employs the term “cultural pattern” instead of simply “culture” to emphasize the dynamic flow and tendencies of a culture rather than any definitive or static characteristics, per se. Because society changes and evolves in continuous and dynamic ways, what liturgical inculturation entails is not a reductionistic definition of culture, but engagement and integration with “the typical way a particular

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\(^{186}\) Translation: “point of arrival” or “terminal point.” Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 32.


\(^{188}\) “A society can be distinguished from another on the basis of differences in cultural pattern. However, different societies can share common cross-cultural traits. That is why we can speak in a generic way of European, African, Latin American, Asian, and South Pacific cultural patterns.” Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 36.
group of people, in the concrete circumstances of life, collectively thinks, speaks, and expresses itself through rites, symbols, and art forms.”

iii  Three Models

In order to enable authentic conversations between liturgical sources and the local church, while promoting active participation in liturgy, the methodological challenge is to establish a way in which terminus a quo (as liturgical sources) and terminus ad quem (as cultural pattern) can be linked and interact so as to achieve liturgical inculturation. For Chupungco, there are three models of interaction that have been successfully employed: 1) dynamic equivalence, 2) creative assimilation, and 3) organic progression.

Dynamic equivalence entails replacing an element of the Roman liturgy with something in the local culture. Chupungco defines it as “reexpressing the liturgical ordo in the living language, rites, and symbols of a local community.” As an example, consider the Mass of the Filipino people. Since the words of “anamnesis (remembrance)” and “epiclesis (invocation of the Holy Spirit)” are critical to the Eucharistic liturgy of Roman Catholicism, Filipino bishops successfully proposed to Rome that the traditional words be translated with more idiomatic Tagalog phrases, tandang tanda pa namin (literally, “how clearly we remember”) and lukuban ng Espiritu Santo (literally, “may the

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Holy Spirit take under his wings.”)\textsuperscript{191} The resulting expressions convey more directly the Filipino experience of anamnesis and epiclesis without having to resort to the technical terms themselves for exegesis or explanation.

Another model, creative assimilation, entails adopting pertinent rites and linguistic expressions, religious or otherwise, used by contemporary society. Chupungco points to the baptismal liturgy of the patristic age and its assimilation of social rites such as anointing, the giving of milk and honey, and footwashing, as prime examples. Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Ambrose all adopted socioreligious rites and linguistic expressions to establish and communicate the structure of the Christian baptismal liturgy. Thus, creative assimilation is an age-old method of liturgical inculturation, a necessary task that the Church has undertaken throughout its history.\textsuperscript{192} Here previously non-Christian ritual activities and vocabulary were employed and transformed into Christian liturgy because they helpfully functioned as means through which the faithful could meaningfully participate in the liturgy and therein acknowledge and embody the meaning of being Christian. From this perspective, anamnesis and epiclesis, understood as ritual remembrance and the Holy Spirit’s blessing of Christian identity continue to be realized. In the example of baptismal celebration, creative assimilation effectively links Christ’s ancient baptismal command to the Church’s contemporary witness and understanding.

The third, organic progression, involves “supplementing and completing the shape of the liturgy established by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and by the Holy

\textsuperscript{191} For these and other examples of dynamic equivalence, see Chupungco, \textit{Liturgical Inculturation}, 37-43.

\textsuperscript{192} Chupungco, \textit{Liturgical Inculturation}, 44-46.
See after the Council.”¹⁹³ To put it bluntly, it “moves onward from where the framers of
the Constitution on the Liturgy or the revisors of the typical editions stopped.”¹⁹⁴
Chupungco notes that “all over the world, especially in the mission, there was a clamor
for new forms, some of which the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy had not and could
not have foreseen.”¹⁹⁵ Thus, it is inevitable that adjustments need to be made to liturgical
practices in relation to changing cultural patterns. From this perspective, one must be
attentive to the local culture and its inherent characteristics in order to ensure
continuously authentic ways of worshiping God as the contemporary Body of Christ.

Chupungco even goes so far as to assert: “Christian life is richer in content and
scope than the Roman liturgy. There is more to life than what the Roman formularies and
rites are able to embody. In short, inculturation alone cannot fully satisfy all the
requirements for a truly renewed liturgy of a local Church.”¹⁹⁶ Since the model of
organic progression starts from acknowledging the reality and limits of possible or partial
revisions to existing liturgical texts and practices, it demonstrates the necessity of an
ongoing interactive dialogue between the terminus a quo and the terminus ad quem in
liturgical inculturation. Moreover, patience is an indispensable part of organic
progression.

One provocative example of organic progression can be found in Chupungco’s
observations about the liturgical year. He argues that since the existing liturgical year is
based in the northern hemisphere, there are serious cultural challenges regarding how

¹⁹³ Chupungco, Liturgical Inculturation, 47.
¹⁹⁴ Chupungco, Liturgical Inculturation, 48.
¹⁹⁵ Chupungco, Liturgical Inculturation, 49.
¹⁹⁶ Chupungco, Liturgical Inculturation, 53-54.
those in the southern hemisphere might feel, understand, and receive the Christian
festival of Easter in their autumn and Christmas in their summer. Chupungco uses the
examples of the seasons to argue forcefully that the relationship between the gospel and
culture is not fixed.

Encounter and dialogue between the gospel and culture is a continuing process.
Nothing in this process is final except the message of the gospel. Everything else
is relative and provisional, because culture and traditions, like the passing
seasons of the year, are always subject to change and further completion. That is
why liturgical feasts need to be periodically revised, adjusted, reinvented, and
recreated. In a word, inculturation did not end with the New Testament or the
ecumenical councils or the subsequent church reforms. The church is a pilgrim
people. It does not settle in the past and the present but moves on toward new
horizons. An ever-renewed liturgical year that satisfies the spiritual and cultural
longing of Christians is evident proof that the gospel and culture are in
dialogue.197

Chupungco even admits that he has a divided mind as a theologian and liturgist when it
comes to endorsing the existing northern presuppositions of the liturgical year. While he
values the seasonal messages and their liturgical implications, and supports participants’
active involvement with seasonal gratitude in liturgy, he also suggests that the struggle
can be resolved by observing other seasonal highlights of the southern hemisphere, and
projecting these into the existing liturgy. For example, “Autumn is the season of
transition between the maturity of summer and the death of winter. It is melancholic but
dazzling. It is a perfect image of the Easter feast of Christ’s transition from death to
resurrection.”198

Thus, the seasonal implications and descriptions of the liturgical year in the
northern hemisphere need to be reconsidered and revised when applied to the southern

(2010): 64.

hemisphere. And the contributions of each hemisphere to the other’s understanding needs to be valued and appreciated. Nevertheless, for Chupungco, the fundamentals of the liturgical year and its dates are not negotiable. The local church needs to find approaches to adapt the existing liturgy to its context. Again, despite respect for each culture and its dignity, Chupungco insists that the starting point of his method of liturgical inculturation remains the essential structures of the Roman Catholic liturgy.

B. Summary
Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation starts with an identification of two key ingredients, *terminus a quo* (the authoritative liturgical texts) and *terminus ad quem* (cultural patterns), and continues by exploring their theological, historical, and cultural dynamics. Since he values these two places as the key conversation partners in the process of liturgical inculturation, he seeks to establish a communication channel within which they can encounter, influence, and interact with one another. In such communication, simple translation or imposition of the Roman liturgy is not the ideal means of liturgical inculturation. More successful models include dynamic equivalence, creative assimilation, and organic progression.\(^{199}\) Coming as he does, not only from the Roman Catholic tradition but also from the Philippines, he brings a sensitivity and empathy to both Roman Catholic tradition and culturally diverse contexts. He seeks to lead these two contexts into conversation, not in an authoritarian or combative manner, but in creative, respectful and attentive ways.

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\(^{199}\) Francis emphasizes that Chupungco views each of these approaches as various modes of the overall process of inculturation. Francis, “The Future of Liturgical Inculturation,” 6.
However, as his terms *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* suggest, the authoritative weight in liturgical inculturation tends towards the authorized liturgical texts. While such a starting point for liturgical inculturation might seem reasonable for those who have such liturgical sources, it can prove problematic for those who have relatively few, such as in the case of the Korean Presbyterian churches. When this principle is applied to that liturgical context, it too needs to be qualified, contextualized, inculturated. To his credit, Chupungco is careful to acknowledge that “Christian life is richer in content and scope than the Roman liturgy.” Moreover, his model of organic progression demonstrates that even when it comes to the official liturgical sources, it is necessary to supplement what is lacking.

3. Implications for the Worship and Liturgy of Korean Presbyterian Churches

Roman Catholic and Korean Presbyterian churches employ different perspectives on theology, liturgy, church structure, and the sacraments. As already noted, at the very least, Korean Presbyterian churches do not have mandatory standard liturgical books. But despite such significant differences, there is nevertheless a need for liturgical inculturation within a changing Korean society in order for people to express the gospel and participate fully in their worship and liturgy. From this perspective, it is worth examining some of the implications of Chupungco’s method more closely, not only to help discern the liturgical needs and challenges of Korean churches, but also for the purpose of facilitating and benefiting from further ecumenical dialogue and cooperation. However, in order to more fully assess the applicability of Chupungco’s resources for
Korean liturgical inculturation, it also helps to consider Korean churches’ complex relationship with their own indigenous culture.

A. Western Churches and Indigenous Culture

In contrast to the long history of Christendom in the Western world, Korean Christian history has been relatively brief, beginning in 1879 as discussed in Chapter One above. Further, because Christianity was introduced by Western missionaries along with attendant cultural institutions—e.g., an educational system, medical facilities, and literature—Koreans experienced Christianity not only as a religion but also as a mediator of Western culture. Seun Joong Joo argues that Koreans consider Christianity a religious import of Western missionaries, and it remains largely foreign to them. “Christianity in Korea is still not rooted in the hearts of the people, as many Koreans see Christianity as having been imported by foreign missionaries. For this reason, Korean Protestant Christianity does not yet have a harmonious relationship with Korean traditional culture.”

Korean Christians have been pressured to depart from their own culture, including their ritual activities, symbols, and worldview. Koreans have typically assumed that becoming a Christian means abandoning their own culture. A prime example is the lack of Korean traditional musical instruments in Korean worship. Christianity has even encouraged a departure from their own social values. According to Andrew Eungi Kim, the contributions of Christianity to the modernization of Korea have functioned such that an acceptance of the gospel was viewed as a means of improving social and financial

standing, attaining advantages in a changing and unfamiliar social context, and sharing in national prosperity. In other words, Christianity in Korea has functioned not only as a religion but also as a vehicle to adopt a new foreign culture, a different socio-political paradigm, and a competitive world view.201

However, in spite of this degree of alienation from their own culture, Korean churches are nevertheless unlike Western churches. The multi-religious characteristics of Korean culture have also shaped and influenced Korean churches.202 Korean churches resemble immigrant groups who feel that they belong in neither their home country nor in their country of residence. Korean Christians can sometimes feel like aliens in their own land.

Many Korean Christians have negative perspectives on their own culture, especially when it comes to the religious practices of Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, and ritual practices such as ancestor worship. This tendency separates these Christians from their own indigenous culture. Such alienation of Christianity from Korean indigenous culture was first advocated by early Protestant missionaries because they considered Korean culture pagan, while at the same time presenting American culture as genuine Christian culture.203 Consequently, many Korean Christians not only have a negative view of their own culture but also a submissive and inferior self-image in


202 According to Chin Hong Chung, Korean religious culture is more naturally “a multiple faith system,” which is to be distinguished from syncretism in that it does not impose the integration of diverse religions but rather highlights selective variables within a plurality of multiple religions including Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. He argues that Korean religious culture has a kind of religious gene which selectively chooses sympathetic components of religions in order to utilize them for its own purposes. See Ke Joon Lee, ed. Theology of Korean Culture (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2002), 31.

203 Joo, “A Traditional Thanksgiving Festival in South Korea,” 97.
relation to American churches, theology, and culture. Although 19th century revivalism and the Nevius Plan contributed to numerical growth in the Korean churches, it did not address the experience of the alienation of Korean Christians from their own culture—indeed, they contributed to it.²⁰⁴

To complicate matters, even though Korean Christians have paradoxically been pressured to depart from their own culture—especially from its religious and ritual practices—they still adhere in more subtle ways to the influence of Korean indigenous culture. This conflicted identity distinguishes Korean churches from many mainline Western churches in terms of liturgy and various emphases of Christian spirituality. For example, a key characteristic of Korean religious culture is to seek material blessings, not only out of a desire to be prosperous in this world but also as a mark of faithfulness and a pious life. While, of course, many people, regardless of their ethnicity, culture, class, and generation, may be more attached to materialistic desires and values since the emergence of modernity, Korean religious culture has had a long history of materialism associated with the shamanistic value system.²⁰⁵ As a result, Korean churches have not only been influenced by Shamanism but have also employed it particularly in relation to their growth, limiting their focus to those Christian doctrines which can be linked to the worldviews of Korean religious materialistic culture and shamanistic customs. As Andrew E. Kim describes it:

²⁰⁴ Perhaps Charles A. Clark sensed part of this problem when he criticized the old mission methods of the Western Presbyterian churches, arguing that without local self-support and self-government, financial gain was as strong a call as genuine conversion. See Chapter One, above, and Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods, 18-19; and Keun Hwan Kang, 한국교회 형성과 그 요인의 역사적 분석, 142-154.

As such, Shamanism has been the enduring core of Korean religious and cultural thought, exercising a profound influence on the development of Korean attitudes and behaviors as well as cultural practices. Its influence was so powerful that newly introduced religions had to compromise with and absorb elements of Shamanism in order to be accepted by the Korean populace. Protestant Christianity was no exception: It had to be “shamanized” considerably in order to be more agreeable to the religious imagination of the Korean people. Protestant churches selectively stressed Christian doctrines that are similar to shamanistic beliefs and incorporated many aspects of shamanistic rituals.206

From this perspective, the numerical growth of the Korean Protestant churches, and their influence on Korean society stem not only from the devout efforts of Western Protestant missionaries to teach Christian doctrine (as packaged in Western culture), but also from a mixture of Korean shamanistic culture with strategically selected aspects of Christianity—particularly those aspects which could be associated with an apparent evidence of God’s grace and blessing expressed in material form, as in the prosperity gospel. While more could be said of Kim’s definition of “Shamanism” and “shamanized,” his point reveals the distinction between the Christian churches that Western missionaries assume they have planted, and the Korean churches that have taken root in Korean cultural soil. It also suggests that perhaps Korean and Western churches have not rigorously investigated the potential difference between the inculturation of the gospel and the misappropriation of the gospel.

To the extent that Korean Christians have mixed their theology of God’s grace and experience of God’s blessings with material fortune by projecting Christian belief onto shamanistic desires and customs, Korean Presbyterian churches can be considered a transformed version of Korean shamanism—a Christianized version of shamanism, or a shamanized version of Christianity. Kim’s research on the motives of conversion in

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Korean Protestants shows that a majority became Christians not so much for their spiritual salvation or eternal life but for material enrichment and a more prosperous life in this world. In short, while the population of Korean Protestant Christians grew enormously during the 20th century, Korean Christians’ materialistic value system has not departed significantly from its shamanistic roots.

This raises anew and in a new context the tension between syncretism and inculturation. As a guide in discerning between the two, it is worth examining further implications and applications of Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation for the worship and liturgy in Korean Presbyterian churches.

B. Chupungco and Korean Presbyterian Churches

As already indicated, there are some significant differences between Chupungco’s context and that of the Korean Presbyterian churches. However, in spite of the gap between them, important contextual and cultural similarities do exist. An important contextual similarity between the Filipino and the Korean churches is that both arise out of a historical background which experienced imperialism and colonialism along with the entry of the missionaries. Although the colonizing countries that occupied the Philippines and Korea were different, Western churches that sent missionaries to both nations were eager to evangelize indigenous people, and their sending countries were equally eager to expand their national influence. As Jagessar and Burns note, “European Christians found in what is sometimes referred to as the ‘Great Commission’ (Matt. 28:18-20) inspiration

207 Because Kim’s observations are based largely on the study of a single congregation, the Central Full Gospel Church in Seoul, it cannot be said to represent all Korean Protestant and Presbyterian churches. However, the significance of the study should not be underestimated given the influence of this particular megachurch. It may well reflect the motives of many Korean Christians for becoming Christian, and their definition of being blessed by God. Kim, “Korean Religious Culture and its Affinity to Christianity,” 121.
for conquering foreign lands and their peoples."

The evangelical motives of the missionaries inevitably worked hand in hand with the cultural imperialism of the time, whether the missionaries intended this or not. Such imperialism was evident in the texts, symbols, spaces, and worldviews of the missions to the indigenous people in the Philippines and Korea.

Chupungco and the Korean churches also share a similar historical dynamic in the Christian tradition in their countries. As noted earlier, in spite of the unavoidable imperialism of the time, the royal Spanish patronage was not met with high levels of resistance to its missionary methods in the Philippines. Similarly, despite the fact that Western missionaries considered Korean religious culture pagan, they did not find themselves having to use overly aggressive methods to evangelize Koreans. Protestant churches in Korea took pride in the rapid growth of new members and their resulting social influence.

Furthermore, Western missionaries even borrowed and employed a few key concepts from Korean indigenous religions, in what could arguably be viewed as an early example of dynamic equivalence. For example, a crucial connection between Christianity and Korean religious culture was found in the latter’s resemblance to Christian monotheism. Andrew Kim notes that the monotheism of Korean religious culture was already present in “the traditionally revered concept of Hananim (‘god in heaven’).”

Thus, Yahweh could be easily substituted for concept of Hananim, the highest deity

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209 According to Kim, there are several similarities between the God of the Old Testament and the Korean concept of Hananim, including the portrayal of God as almighty, omnipotent, omniscient, and a righteous judge who will punish the wicked, reward the faithful, and answer the prayer of the faithful. Andrew E. Kim, “Korean Religious Culture and its Affinity to Christianity,” 122-124.
among all other gods. Because Korean Christians did not have to give up their concept of Hananim, they could easily accept Christianity’s monotheistic view of God. There was no conflict between the two on the level of meaning, and the use of an indigenous term for the Christian God helped Christianity gain acceptance among the native Koreans and win new converts.210 While it remains debatable as to whether the consequences of this decision to transform Hananim into a Christian concept has been uniformly helpful for Korean churches, it is nevertheless a potential case study in dynamic equivalence, not unlike the less aggressive methods of mission in Chupungco’s own Philippines.

However, there remain important differences between the Roman Catholicism of Chupungco’s context and the Protestantism of the Korean churches. In addition to those already mentioned, two obvious ones relating to theology and church structure are worth noting. First, there is a clear distinction when it comes to the sacraments. While the Roman Catholic Church recognizes seven sacraments, Korean Presbyterian churches recognize only two: Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.211 While an examination of the historical and theological perspectives on the sacraments is not the subject of this study per se, we may generalize by saying that the reasons have to do with differing understandings of the authority of both tradition and scripture.212 In any case, because the primary liturgical contexts and key liturgical structures for liturgical inculturation are different in each tradition, these differences should be borne in mind as we attempt to


211 The seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church are Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Anointing of the Sick, Holy Orders, and Matrimony.

apply Chupungco’s methods to the Korean context. Despite the fact that the principles of Chupungco’s approach can support aspects of the Korean churches’ liturgical renewal, there will inevitably be a gap between Chupungco and the Korean churches in terms of actualizing the principles in particular liturgical practices—especially with respect to the sacraments. As hinted at earlier, Chupungco’s methods themselves also require a certain measure of Korean inculturation.

Second, it bears repeating that, unlike in Chupungco’s Roman Catholic liturgical tradition, there are no standard liturgical books in Korean churches. However, although Chupungco emphasizes normative texts as a crucial point of departure for liturgical inculturation, this does not mean that the lack of such resources makes it impossible to employ his method in the Korean churches. Korean churches have followed many unwritten yet persistent liturgical practices. Identifying these as established liturgical sources can facilitate employment of the Chupungco’s principles of liturgical inculturation.

For instance, if Chupungco’s approach to liturgical inculturation involves a sort of decoding of the Roman rites for the local church, the direction of the Korean churches’ liturgical inculturation could be characterized as being both similar and different—decoding both the unwritten rites of the local church and encoding the theology and culture of the congregation into the liturgical practices. To elaborate, because Chupungco regards normative liturgical texts as the starting point of liturgical inculturation, he holds that it is necessary to decode their meanings and implications—i.e., examine the meaning of culturally comprehensive components such as language, symbol, and music. And because the normative liturgical texts are authoritative sources which are already encoded
theologically within the Roman Catholic Church structure, their decoding is regarded by Chupungco as the main process of liturgical inculturation. However, unlike Chupungco’s context, Korean churches do not have such authoritative structures in which the theology of particular institutionalized liturgical practices and orders are encoded. Thus, it is necessary to both encode theological meanings and reasons behind liturgical practices by means of communal consultation and consent, and to decode the content, rationale, and existing liturgical practices of Korean churches.

As we have seen, unlike Chupungco’s context, Korean churches were shaped by Protestant missionaries from North America, and many were influenced by frontier anti-ritualism directed against the colonial practices of the established church. Because of this historical background, present-day Korean churches share sympathy with the ethos of American individualism and modernity. However, just as Chupungco attempts to reconsider his tradition by inculturating it in his context, so too Korean churches need to reconsider their missionized traditions of liturgical practices, including what they lost in pursuing the liturgical practices and experience of the missionaries. For example, because Korea regards communal identity and shared ritual practices as cherished parts of its indigenous culture, liturgical inculturation of Korean churches should include restoring the lost communal identity of Korean Christians in order to counter and resist current individualized liturgical settings. To this end, the introduction of a more balanced, indigenous Oullim Worship requires careful examination of current liturgical traditions—both an encoding and decoding of practices—whether these have been written down or not.
C. Some Areas of Liturgical Inculturation for Korean Churches

Although some groups of Korean churches may oppose inculturation and consider it a syncretistic approach to Christian worship, it is undeniable that inculturation has taken place from the beginning—as we have seen in the example of the Korean concept Hananim as God. Indeed, such inculturation likely contributed to the Korean churches’ growth. It should not be considered innovative or strange to find there are other areas suitable for liturgical inculturation in Korean churches. While this study will later propose further principles and practices for the inculturation and renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship, two examples may help to suggest a way forward: the relationship between Korean traditional feasts and the Christian year, and the place and the value of Korean traditional music.

i Towards a Korean Christian Year

A significant development in the liturgical inculturation of Korean churches would be to incorporate Korean traditional feasts and seasonal observances into the Christian year by highlighting their Christian implications and meanings. One reason many Koreans still consider Christianity foreign is because Korean churches not only use a different calendar, but also consider Korean traditional feasts pagan or inappropriate, especially when these include such ritual practices as ancestor worship, which Korean Christians typically regard as idolatrous.213

There are three important thanksgiving feasts in Korean culture: Mackchu Kamsajol, Thanksgiving Day for the Harvest of Barley, observed on the first Sunday of July; Chusok, the Harvest Festival of the Korean tradition on the fifteenth day of August.

213 More will said on the subject of ancestor worship below.
using the lunar calendar; and *Chusu Kamsajol*, Thanksgiving Day for the General on the third Sunday of November. Christian Thanksgiving is observed on the third Sunday of November, as introduced by early American missionaries to Korea. Given its explicit origin in American history, it is not surprising that Koreans consider Christian Thanksgiving to be a foreign, non-Korean feast. Also, the fact that Protestant churches in Korea celebrate it late in November makes for even more cultural dissonance insofar as it is already winter in Korea, long past any harvest season. Because Thanksgiving Day in November makes little sense to Korean Christians, they tend to observe it with little interest or motivation and with mixed emotions.

Seung Joong Joo has argued Korean churches need to contextualize *Chusok* by reinterpreting it in relation to the Eucharist, with a particular emphasis on its communal and corporate dimensions.\(^{214}\) While Joo’s suggested liturgical order includes Korean traditional music, instrumentation and food, the resulting structure and content are, arguably, too complicated—more presentational than participatory, more of a cultural event or display than a worship service or liturgy arising more organically from the context of Korean culture. Nevertheless, his reconsideration of the value of Korean traditional culture and its feasts is worthwhile to the extent that it affirms the potential for a celebration of the presence of God’s incarnational grace inherent in Korean culture and its theological connection to the gospel. In this respect, Chupungco’s call for the inculturation of the liturgical year shares features of Joo’s affirmation of the liturgical value of Korean traditional feasts for Korean Christians. What is needed is a meaningful conversation between *terminus a quo* (the liturgical sources—e.g., *eucharistia* or

\(^{214}\) Joo, “A Traditional Thanksgiving Festival in South Korea: Chusok,” 96-106.
“thanksgiving”) and \textit{terminus ad quem} (the cultural pattern—e.g., \textit{Chusok}). What Korean churches need for inculturating traditional feasts is to establish a framework or directory of public worship that is both theologically sound and culturally embodied, not as a simple repetition or imitation of a Western way of worship, but as an expression of the Korean churches’ own identity and unity.

ii Towards a Korean Tradition of Liturgical Music

Another important resource for liturgical inculturation would be to employ more Korean traditional music and instrumentation in Korean hymnody. As examined in Chapter Two above, hymn singing in the Korean churches was introduced and promoted by missionaries using the tunes that the missionaries sang and enjoyed.\footnote{215} When translating Western texts into Korean and learning Western melodies, Koreans had difficulty grasping the words and learning unfamiliar Western tunes. Even though Western music has become the dominant feature of current Korean hymnody, there is increasing awareness of the need for hymns drawing upon Korean traditional features. To this end, Korean composers such as Isang Yun, Un-Yung La, Byong-kon Kim, Jung-sun Kim, Boo Ki Chung, Dong Whan Kim and Hee Jo Kim have emerged since the early twentieth century to produce hymns based on Korean music.\footnote{216} However, such efforts have been limited and require more attention, interest and support among Korean churches.

As a part of liturgical inculturation, it will be necessary to counter and rehabilitate the negative perceptions Korean churches have of their own culture and music by


encouraging Korean music and the use of traditional Korean instruments. Korean
churches cannot thrive in a cultural vacuum. In spite of the degree to which
Westernization and modernization have been embraced in Korea, Koreans still have a
cultural inclination toward the beauty of their own music. This needs to be affirmed,
developed, and supported by nurturing musicians, worship planners, hymn writers and
composers who are trained in Korean music. The restoration of the value of Korean
traditional music in worship is needed to empower Korean churches with a richer sense
of their own Christian identity within their own culture and context. This does not require
a negation of what they have sung in the past, or that Western music be rejected outright.
But an affirmation of the continuing incarnation of the gospel in the Korean culture
should actively consider expanding the musical repertoire of Korean churches, producing
new, culturally-sensitive worship songs and hymnals in order to promote an authentic
participation of Korean Christians in liturgy and worship.

4. Analysis

Although the first chapter of this study has explored the evangelical roots and
liturgical ethos of the Korean Church from a historical perspective, historical observation
cannot be the sole lens through which to interpret the shape of Korean Presbyterian
worship. It is also necessary to explore these contours from a more theological
perspective and to identify them in relation to actual liturgical practices. It is necessary to
explore this unique Korean terminus a quo in order to identify its meaning, intention, and
function, before attempting to implement liturgical inculturation. An investigation of the
characteristics of Korean Presbyterian worship from more explicitly theological and
liturgical perspectives will help us to further reflect on the theological implications of Chupungco’s method as it might apply to Oullim Worship.

A. Evangelical Ethos of Korean Presbyterian Churches

As discussed earlier, the evangelical characteristics of the Korean churches stem from both external and internal influences. They were formed by the missionaries’ experiences of revivalism and developed by the aspirations of Korean Christians for church growth. During this formation and development, an overall evangelical ethos shaped patterns and practices for Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy. To use Chupungco’s categories, the evangelical ethos functioned in Korean Churches like the normative liturgical texts and resources of the Roman Catholic tradition. It is therefore necessary to explore the implications of these features for the purpose of liturgical inculturation.

i Instrumentalism

What is implied theologically in the fact that Korean Presbyterian worship has been structured around, practiced in, and directed towards evangelical needs and goals? Liturgical practices and worship focused on such needs and goals suggest instrumentalist and pragmatic understandings of liturgy and ecclesiology. Since the establishment of the Korean Presbyterian churches, evangelism through worship and its associated liturgical practices has been understood as a core task in order to fulfill “The Great Commission” (Matt 28:18-20). Since The Great Commission carries particular imperatives—go, make

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217 While Korean churches do not have set liturgical forms, some particular practices have persisted, including the preacher’s formal dress code (business attire), recitation of the Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, benediction, and singing hymns. These have been considered generally unchangeable features within the other variables of local congregations. Witvliet argues that such Protestant practices need to be taken account of in Chupungco’s method. John D. Witvliet, Worship Seeking Understanding: Windows into Christian Practice (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 122.
disciples, baptize, and teach—Korean Christians have tended to consider worship as the primary medium for carrying out these activities. This has shaped what the participants of liturgy and worship expect, want, and value as a result of worship, drawing the focus away from what they are doing in the action of worship itself. Consequently, the theological meanings and implications within liturgical practices and the historical reasons why and how certain liturgical shapes and patterns have been practiced in Korean Presbyterian worship have not attracted as much attention. For example, since the number of attendants at worship services has been considered an important criterion in demonstrating the authenticity and effectiveness of worship, efforts to increase numerical growth and an assessment of liturgical practices for that purpose have been emphasized. As a result, in spite of some variation in particular styles of worship, Korean Christians’ expectations of and interest in worship, and the reasons behind them are not much different from one another.

Such instrumentalist perspectives on worship and liturgy have driven preferences in worship, such as those in liturgical structure, space, music, visual arts and the use of presentational technologies, and have also led to intense conflicts and division over preferred styles. Nevertheless, ironically, in spite of whatever stylistic differences may appear to exist throughout all this, the underlying tone and driving force of Korean Presbyterian worship has remained largely instrumentalist and pragmatic.

Simon Chan has argued that the instrumentalist view of liturgical practices and worship does not stem from practical needs and desires per se but is rooted more deeply in an instrumentalist view of the church. Along with other evangelical theologians, he
considers ecclesiological deficiency to be one of the weaknesses of evangelicals.\textsuperscript{218} Chan’s perspective is similar to that of Nevin and Dawn, as explored in Chapter Two, who also expressed concern about the ecclesiological deficiencies of revivalism and contemporary worship. Chan would define church as “the worshiping community making a normative response to the revelation of the triune God.”\textsuperscript{219} For Chan, the church’s primary mission is not to execute particular tasks or achieve some visible goal per se, but rather to exist as the worshiping community in authentic relationship with God’s revelation. “Mission, then, must be defined in the largest sense, which is the fulfillment of God’s ultimate reason for the church’s existence: ‘to the praise of his glory.’ This is much larger than the narrowly defined idea of ‘winning souls.’”\textsuperscript{220} Korean Presbyterian worship, which has been primarily oriented and developed towards evangelical needs, tasks and numerical results, shows largely instrumentalist characteristics. Theological adjustment is required in order to balance its pragmatic and instrumentalist emphases with its ontological and ecclesiological meaning and rationale.

To press the point from another perspective, consider Romano Guardini’s argument that liturgy also contains cosmological and universal characteristics and implications. For Guardini, the liturgy and its meaning cannot be limited in space and time but is cosmologically communal and transcendentally extensive. Even though liturgy is practiced in a certain place and time, its meaning and role reaches out beyond and is in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{218} According to Chan, since the “Chicago Call” in 1977 many evangelicals have become increasingly aware of this kind of criticism of evangelicalism and have tried to recover a deeper theology with broader practices of historic Christianity. Simon Chan, \textit{Liturgical Theology: The Church as Worshipping Community} (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2006); Billy Graham Center Archives, “The Chicago Call – Collection 33,” http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/033.htm#1.
  \item \textsuperscript{219} Chan, \textit{Liturgical Theology}, 42.
  \item \textsuperscript{220} Chan, \textit{Liturgical Theology}, 40.
\end{itemize}
relationship with and embraced by all the faithful on earth. This understanding of liturgy cultivates ecumenical awareness of the church and views the participation of individual worshipers as constituting the communion of a united Body of Christ. Liturgy functions as the central means whereby individuals realize that they are part of a wondrous unity and eye witnesses of a mysterious gathering, seen and unseen. “The individual is made aware of the unity which comprehends him on many and various occasions, but chiefly in the liturgy.” Through the liturgy, Christians see and experience something of the broader and deeper community beyond where they are sitting, beyond those with whom they are participating in liturgy. He is emphatic on this point: “The individual—provided that he actually desires to take part in the celebration of the liturgy—must realize that it is as a member of the Church that he, and the Church within him, acts and prays; he must know that in this higher unity he is at one with the rest of the faithful, and he must desire to be so.”

It is interesting to consider, for example, how if missionaries in Korea had appreciated something of this ecclesiological perspective, their attitude and approach toward ancestor worship might have been very different and more meaningfully related to the Christian notion of the “communion of saints” as a potential channel of liturgical inculturation. Ancestor worship has long been a sensitive subject in Korean churches.

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223 Guardini also notes the difficulties for modern people: “All this is particularly difficult for modern people, who find it so hard to renounce their independence. And yet people who are perfectly ready to play a subordinate part in state and commercial affairs are all the more susceptible and the more passionately reluctant to regulate their spiritual life by dictates other than those of their private and personal requirements.” He also notes that contemporary people do not realize how unconsciously subordinated they are to powers such as addictions, leisure, and materialism. Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, 40.
Because missionaries prohibited it as an exclusively “pagan” shamanistic custom, many Koreans were persecuted, and Korean converts to Christianity were frequently expelled from their families and communities and ostracized from their traditional Korean socio-cultural context. Much of the antagonism seems centered on the presumption of a Western perception of the “idolatry” of ancestor “worship” rather than what could have been a more sympathetic view such as ancestor “remembrance,” a ubiquitous cultural practice in many Asian and indigenous cultures. A more viable Western terminus a quo could have been the doctrine of the communion of saints, as confessed in the Apostle’s Creed, and the calendrical Feast of All Saints or All Saints Day. The tragic result of such a missed opportunity for liturgical inculturation was to give most Korean Christians a deeply pejorative attitude towards a cherished practice of their own indigenous culture.

Liturgical theologians such as Guardini and Chan challenge the implied ecclesiology of modern instrumentalist practices and its pragmatic presuppositions. In Chupungco’s terms, such a pragmatic terminus a quo needs to be critiqued and redirected for theological and cultural reasons. Since authentic conversations between the terminus a quo and the terminus ad quem are important foci in the process of liturgical inculturation, Korean Presbyterian worship needs to be examined and practiced not merely for its practical effects and results but also for its ontological and ecclesiological reasons. To generate authentic conversations between the terminus a quo and the terminus ad quem, the concept of Oullim can open up the conversation in order to help Korean Christians realize, reexamine and readjust their instrumentalist perspectives on worship and the church. How this can be done will be explored more fully in Chapter Four.
The Purpose and Meaning of Worship

How does the evangelical ethos of Korean Presbyterian worship affect the purpose and meaning of worship and, consequently, the way God is portrayed? This is an important question, regardless of whether Korean worship leaders and preachers follow the missionaries’ historic shape, pattern, and traditions of worship, or adopt more recent styles of music, art, and technology. If worship and liturgical practices project God not as the focus of worship but as the receiver or examiner of the all-important evangelical efforts and results of a congregation, the participants of worship will be tempted to focus more on how they have performed missional tasks and on the resulting numerical growth of their group, rather than on who God is and how God is revealed in worship and in the world. Before Korean worship leaders and preachers represent God primarily as the giver of evangelical mission, and before they urge participants to fulfill evangelical goals, they need also to seriously contemplate who they really worship, how the object of worship is, in fact, the Subject of worship, and how this divine mysterious God directs the work of worship.

If worship is practiced simply to achieve certain ends or purposes, rather than to primarily acknowledge and to glorify God, it can distort not only the reasons for worship and liturgy but also the image of God itself. Chan goes so far as to present the following propositions for evangelicals to reflect upon as they consider and practice worship and liturgy: 1) worship can never be something we do for God; 2) worship is never meant to serve any other purpose except the glory of God; and 3) worship is response to God’s total character. With these propositions, Chan argues that an instrumentalist approach

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224 Chan, _Liturgical Theology_, 52-58.
to worship and liturgy causes fundamental misconceptions about the meaning and purpose of worship.\textsuperscript{225}

Guardini makes a similar argument by comparing Christians in the liturgy to children on the playground. He argues that although children can have their own very specific rules, ways of playing, and meaning in particular physical actions, there is nevertheless freedom, excitement and a kind of purposelessness in what they are doing.\textsuperscript{226} In short, play, like worship, has no “purpose” but has profound “meaning.” Guardini warns those who have instrumentalist purposes for liturgy to be careful—be it for the purpose of religious education or as a means of evangelizing—because the liturgy does not function in that way. “The liturgy wishes to teach, but not by means of an artificial system of aim-conscious educational influences; it simply creates an entire spiritual world in which the soul can live according to the requirements of its nature.”\textsuperscript{227}

Guardini’s arguments for the meaning of liturgy, as distinct from any particular purpose, may appear to discourage intentional worship planning. However, he does not deny the necessity for preparation of the liturgy and worship; rather, he objects to us locking God’s ways of working within our limited imaginations, purposes, and ways of thinking. He seeks to distinguish God from the reductionism of what could be called a human “purpose driven” liturgy.\textsuperscript{228}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[225] Chan admits that “modern people find . . . [the aimlessness of worship] difficult; it is much easier to believe that the church must exist for some useful purpose, something more earthy, more noble, such as restoring the fallen creation or serving humanity” rather than simply to give glory to God. Chan, \textit{Liturgical Theology}, 54.
\item[227] Guardini, \textit{The Spirit of the Liturgy}, 95.
\item[228] The phrase evokes the influence of Rick Warren’s book, \textit{The Purpose Driven Life: What on Earth Am I Here for?} (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), which created a sensation among Korean
\end{footnotes}
As we have seen, Korean Presbyterian pastors have been greatly influenced by Western revivalist methods in worship. Indeed, James White argues that the pattern of the Frontier Tradition of worship “still forms the outline of most Protestant worship in North America,” as well as most “mission areas overseas.” Yet, Protestant worship leaders need also to be reminded that, ultimately, the flow of God’s grace through any such “measures” cannot be controlled as if by mechanistic means, mathematics or machines. By God’s mysterious grace in the playful purposelessness of liturgy, Christians do well to be humble and patient, waiting on God’s action, while remaining joyful and open to the promise of unexpected, unplanned for, profound and mysterious experiences of God’s presence.

Of course, because people long for security in the management of their lives, experiences and plans, it can be uncomfortable or even frightening to suggest a lack of purpose in liturgy and worship. However, Guardini’s argument for the playfulness of the liturgy invites a confident conviction that God reigns over everything. As evangelicals consider and plan worship and liturgy, the sovereignty of God needs to be acknowledged in every aspect of the process, whether new and culturally-relevant methods aimed at conversion appear to be successful or not.

iii Beyond Conversion as a Prompt Decision

Why does instrumentalist-driven Korean Presbyterian worship need to be theologically re-evaluated and liturgically renewed and inculturated? Korean Presbyterian worship has

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been largely planned and practiced to promote individual conversion. However, such an overemphasis in this regard can obscure the fact that there are mysteries human beings cannot fully comprehend or explain about what happens in conversion, liturgy, worship, and how one’s journey of faith unfolds under the direction of God’s guidance. Instrumentalist-driven worship values prompt individual decisions for conversion above more gradual progressive and communal dimensions of faith development. As we saw in Chapter Two, Nevin objected to Finney and his revival methods for their impatient overemphasis on individual salvation. Or as Lathrop has put it in more explicitly liturgical terms:

> From the classic Christian point of view, if decision-making is the central matter, the meeting will not really be around God, no matter how orthodox or Trinitarian a theology may be in the mind of the “speaker.” For the Triune God comes to expression in a Spirit-gathered assembly that is immersed in the utterly central and utterly indispensable signs of the crucified and risen Christ—in word, table, and bath, side-by-side—and so is brought before the face and into the grace and life of the eternal God.\(^{231}\)

For Lathrop, it is important to leave God’s grace to God, as revealed in the context of a community gathered around the classic symbols of God’s presence in worship.

> On the other hand, this does not mean that the mysterious, continuous and communal dimensions of one’s journey of sanctification are automatically enacted by God in liturgy. For liturgical conservatives to insist on such a perspective would be simply another form of instrumentalism not unlike that of revivalism. Whether a particular liturgy or way of worship is practiced according to traditional or contemporary values, it must always guard against the theological error of excluding God’s sovereignty from the life of liturgy and the ways of worship. Such divine sovereignty is prior to any and all liturgical practice and forms.

\(^{231}\) Lathrop, *Christian Assembly*, 127.
It can also be argued that instrumentalist-driven Korean Presbyterian worship has become outdated because the *terminus ad quem* has changed. The cultural pattern and context of Korean Presbyterian worship has changed. The methods of evangelism through worship need to be revisited in the context of the contemporary Korean church. Unlike the early days of the Korean churches, most Korean Christians have been born and raised within Christian families, but not unlike many other members of the Western churches, they have left their churches and drifted away from active membership. The quantity of church members does not necessarily reflect the quality of faith or degree of participation in Christian life and witness. Korean church leaders need also to address deeper and more qualitative questions of Christian formation in and through a more robust theology of worship, which includes attention to broader liturgical practices and participation.

B. Liturgical Ethos of Korean Presbyterian Churches

While the first chapter of this study explored some of the historical reasons for the ethos of Korean Presbyterian churches, another liturgical reason is worth adding to the picture. As the Latin axiom of liturgical theology suggests—*lex orandi, lex credendi*—prayer (liturgy) and belief (theology) are mutually interdependent, forming and shaping each other in the life of the church and believers.\(^{232}\) Since faith is expressed in liturgy through embodied components such as word, music, water, bread, wine, gesture, and space, the way people practice worship and the media they employ reflect particular theological

understandings. The fact that Korean Presbyterian church members have been nurtured by an evangelical form of worship has created a particular liturgical ethos which can be described as a “free church” and preaching-centered style.

John Skoglund defines “free church” as those “churches which do not have a prescribed liturgy.” While some may be part of denominations that provide “a recommended liturgy developed by a synodical body . . . each congregation remains free to use it, modify it or ignore it.”233 Korean Presbyterians have not sought any denominational consensus around liturgical forms in their quest for growth, or shown much interest in liturgical scholarship. Indeed, Korean Presbyterian pastors have even considered worship and liturgy to be the task of other leaders in their congregations, such as the choir directors, musicians, song and worship leaders. The swift growth of the Korean church has established the free church liturgical ethos as a cherished tradition. And they understand their growth in numbers as evidence and proof of the effectiveness of their ethos of worship.

Preaching is also understood in a particular way in Korean churches. The Korean free church liturgical ethos is unapologetically preaching-centered. “Korean ministry is loaded with preaching. Nearly every Korean pastor has to preach at least eight times per week, unless the church has associate pastors and rotates the preaching.”234 Korean Presbyterian pastors’ main tasks are rooted in preaching rather than other forms of liturgical preparation.


Readers need to appreciate the history of and associations with preaching in the Korean Church context. From the time of the early Korean Church, evangelism through preaching has been strongly emphasized. For example, from 1884 to 1906, worship services in the Korean Church were much like camp meetings in 19th century North America and Australia, and the status of preaching in revival meetings took priority over any other items in those meetings because through preaching evangelists urged the participants to convert. While missionaries also provided educational and medical support for Koreans, they attributed the success of their missional efforts in Korea to “direct evangelism,” preaching the gospel. As missionaries from the Presbyterian Mission, U.S.A. in Korea reported at the time:

A third reason for the success in Korea is due to the preeminence given by the mission to direct evangelism. If the missionaries of Korea can be said to be of any distinctive type, that type must be called the evangelistic type. Not that they have not given attention to the education of their converts; not that they have not given large place to medical work. They have done both . . . . But evangelism, evangelism, EVANGELISM, has been the key note.236

Because Korean Christians witnessed the missionaries’ strong emphasis on direct evangelism through preaching, the status of preaching in Korean Presbyterian worship has remained paramount. Even though historical evidence suggests that other factors also had a significant impact on the success of mission work in Korea—including an adequate supply of mission workers, efficient organization, medical and educational work, and the success of Bible study classes—popular perception of and the missionaries’ confidence in direct evangelism was primary. Liturgical historian James White identifies “fervent preaching” as the major event of the Frontier Tradition of worship, so much so that, in

236 Brad, Around the World, 346.
effect, all else seemed preparatory for that act. While Harold Dean Trulear has argued that there can be a sense of “sacramentality” in preaching, as in the African-American tradition, normally preaching cannot represent or encompass the entire liturgical experience and sacramental economy of worship. Preaching has linguistic limits which normally cannot holistically embody or convey God’s mystical yet real presence. Preaching alone cannot be expected to convey the entire revelation of God’s Word through which Christians encounter God in worship.

One consequence of the Korean Christian preaching-centered liturgical ethos can be found in the infrequency of sacramental celebration. Many Korean churches offer Holy Communion and Baptism only twice a year. By contrast, Korean pastors routinely preach over eight times per week but rarely preside over the sacraments. Only a few groups of Korean churches, such as those which embrace the concept of Minjung community, have begun to appreciate anew the significance and meaning of Holy Communion (Eucharist), perhaps because they have come to see it as a celebrative and liberative communal meal rather than a penitential remembrance of Jesus’ crucifixion.

Heo argues that the infrequency of sacramental celebration stems historically from the lack of ordained pastors qualified to preside over the sacraments. In the process of applying the Nevius Plan, missionaries chose Korean leaders who were farmers, artisans, and traders, usually unable to undertake higher education. As a result,

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239 Park, “Worship in the Presbyterian Church in Korea,” 199.
missionaries provided only “spiritual training.” Again, even the preaching-centered liturgical ethos of Korean Christians is rooted in pragmatic and instrumentalist approaches to liturgy and worship.

It will not be easy to bring about liturgical reform and renewal of Korean Presbyterian churches, given their liturgical ethos of free church and preaching-centered worship. Suggestions by scholars, denominational bodies and Christian leaders will likely be judged by pragmatic and instrumentalist attitudes. When it comes to finding an approach to liturgical inculturation informed by Chupungco’s method, it will be important to begin by trying to generate principles for Korean worship based on Korean cultural concepts.

5. Conclusions

This chapter has explored Anscar J. Chupungco and his method of liturgical inculturation in order to discern implications and applicable principles for Korean Presbyterian worship. Using Chupungco’s perspective on liturgical inculturation, the characteristics and ethos of Korean Presbyterian liturgy were explored in order to identify and describe the existing liturgical tradition and its embedded values. These values can be viewed as components of the terminus a quo in Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation.

Despite differences between the historical, cultural, and denominational contexts of Chupungco and the Korean churches, Chupungco’s efforts to narrow the gap between the Roman Catholic liturgy and its various global contexts offers important insights for

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240 Heo, “The Korean Church Worship in Her Early Period,” 17.
the Korean churches. Since Chupungco is a faithful Roman Catholic theologian devoted to the normative liturgical sources of the Roman Catholic Church, he articulates his method according to these sources. Nevertheless, his perspectives and approach can be helpful in encouraging the Korean churches to start analyzing what they have long practiced in worship and for identifying their own liturgical sources for liturgical inculturation.

Chupungco has a keen awareness of the beauty and value of every culture. As an Asian who lived in a culture that was also victimized by imperialism and colonialism, he shares some common experiences with Koreans. Korean churches can benefit from his experience and insights as a resource for re-evaluating their own culture and for recognizing what may have been lost in abandoning it in their worship and liturgy. One of the common tasks for Chupungco and the Korean churches has to do with trying to reverse the direct or indirect influences of imperialism on worship and liturgy.

As preliminary suggestions with potential implications for Korean worship, this chapter suggested two possible areas for liturgical inculturation: linking Korean traditional feasts with the Church calendar and publishing new hymns and songs to reflect the cultural melodies, rhythms, and styles of Korean traditional music. Such efforts could help Korean Christians reconsider their negative perceptions of their own culture and encourage more participatory, communal and indigenous practices in worship and liturgy.

This chapter also examined the evangelical ethos of Korean Presbyterian churches by considering the instrumentalist character of Korean Presbyterian worship and the historical reasons behind it, and by analyzing some of the theological dimensions of the
meaning and purpose of worship. Since the dominant interest and intention of the Korean church has been focused on increasing the number of worshipers and converts, the liturgical ethos of Korean Presbyterian worship has tended to follow free-church principles rooted in preaching-centered styles. This tendency will be considered again as principles and examples of Oullim Worship are further suggested in the next chapter.

It will not be easy to define exactly what forms of liturgical inculturation will be best for Koreans because, as Chupungco writes, “The church is a pilgrim people, and it does not settle in the past and the present but moves on toward new horizons.” The church is always on the move toward the purpose of God. Within a continuously changing culture, it keeps moving to discern how God should be worshipped in more meaningful and authentic ways. Finding viable practices of liturgical inculturation is an ongoing mission. In this dynamic context, Oullim Worship, as a Korean effort at liturgical inculturation, can function not only as a facilitator and mediator linking two conversation partners—the church and culture—but also as a catalyst for authentic dialogue about the gospel and God’s grace, which are incarnated in both church and culture. Drawing on the analysis previously provided, the next chapter of this study will sketch what Oullim Worship is, what principles it can employ, and how it can be practiced.

1. Introduction: Oullim

Chapter Three employed Anscar Chupungco’s methods of liturgical inculturation in order to engage the challenges of Korean Presbyterian worship, to explore efforts in liturgical inculturation, and to suggest how Korean churches might be renewed in their liturgical practices in ways which could be theologically balanced and appropriately inculturated. Building on this and the work of previous chapters, this chapter will propose a vision of Oullim Worship, its key principles and potential practices.

At the risk of belabouring a methodological point already made, it needs again to be emphasized that it is not the intention of this study to insist that Korean churches should follow strict models of liturgy or particular “measures” of worship, per se. This would result only in yet another form of “New Measures,” similar to Finney’s approach. The goal here is to renew and revisit liturgy and liturgical practices that are more rooted in Korean traditions and Presbyterian denominational heritage. Not unlike Guardini’s quest for the authentic “liturgical act,” it is important to ask fundamental questions about the cultural context of the people and their cultic acts, rather than expecting simplistic solutions.

As the introduction to this study suggested, the Korean concept of Oullim carries connotations of harmony, balance, healthy relationships, and well-being. Koreans are

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243 See also p. 1, n. 1 of this study.
comfortable with and accustomed to living with this concept. It can be found in various
cultural forms related to food, language, traditional housing, music, and feasts. However,
Oullim and its practices have diminished with the rising influence of Western cultural
practices and perspectives. Because Oullim and its practices value communal and
harmonious relations among persons, nature, space and time, they offer prospects for
balance in the liturgical life of Korean Presbyterian churches. As we have seen, under the
influence of missionary cultural perspectives, Korean Christians have overemphasized
instrumentalist and individualistic dimensions of worship, liturgy and music at the
expense of communal, sacramental, and celebrative features. As a result, an opening
move towards liturgical inculturation in Korean churches could be to link Oullim with a
range of cultic and cultural principles and liturgical practices. By considering Korean
food, language, and music through the lens of Oullim, this chapter will suggest ways in
which Oullim Worship can enable Korean Christians to faithfully engage communality
and sacramentality in liturgy and music in worship.

To begin with a culinary example, the Korean signature staple dish, Bibimbap, is a
helpful case study in the Oullim of staple food. Bibimbap is a robust mixture of various
ingredients, including seasoned vegetables, rice, sliced meat and fried egg, in a simple
bowl. When prepared and served, the cook first places rice in the bottom of the bowl,
then groups and intentionally arranges the remaining ingredients on top of the rice.
However, as people partake of it, they typically mix all of the ingredients together, adding
spicy red pepper paste and sesame oil. While the ingredients and combinations layered on
the rice base can vary greatly, they are always harmonized and mixed together in the
bowl to make one dynamic dish.
Though it may seem illogical to carefully arrange all of the ingredients on the rice according to colors and kinds, only to then mix them together, the experience of seeing the variety of ingredients and enjoying the beauty of their colours, textures, aroma and arrangement, adds to the experience and the anticipation of the flavours that will result from their mixture. As people watch and mix all of the ingredients, they identify what they will be eating and look forward to it, while deciding how to season the dish with red pepper paste and sesame oil. *Bibimbap* is more than simply a dish of food, it is also a performative practice of creating a unique dish in concert with the cook.

*Bibimbap* also represents Koreans’ understanding and experience of community and its value in their daily practices. It is significant that *Bibimbap* can be a meal not only for one person but also for a group, family or community. Koreans will frequently employ a big basin in order to share *Bibimbap* together. It is not unusual or inappropriate for Koreans to scoop *Bibimbap* by the spoonful from a large communal bowl to serve themselves.

When Koreans prepare and eat *Bibimbap* together, Oullim is experienced. Diversity and variety are affirmed, mixed, shared and enjoyed, communally. Western individualistic preoccupations with the sanitary concerns of eating from the same bowl, or the assertion of one’s own personal culinary preferences, are outweighed by the value and experience of shared community at table. For Koreans the ritual act of sharing and eating food from the same vessel with others is culturally significant. Meal times are crucial opportunities and means by which Koreans embody their identity and relationship with one another as a part of community.
Another example of the spirit of Oullim in Korean culture is Hangeul, the Korean alphabet. Of course, the Korean language existed before the invention of the Korean alphabet in 1446, however it was written using Chinese characters. Although a detailed exploration of the invention of the Korean alphabet is beyond of the scope of this study, it is important to note that the Korean language coexisted with other linguistic and cultural influences of China while at the same time remaining a living language in its own right.

The invention of the Korean alphabet is not only a symbol of the ingenuity and creativity of Korean culture but also a sign of Koreans’ devotion to communal harmony. In Hunminjeongeum, the founding document of Hangeul, King Sejong argues for the invention of the Korean alphabet as a means to support working class Koreans, especially those who were illiterate and liable to be taken advantage of in business transactions. Thus, the Korean alphabet was invented not for the privileged classes but in order to ensure cultural equity in Korean society and the integrity of shared community. As a result, despite regional differences in dialects, the Korean language is understandable to the vast majority of Koreans. “Korea is one of the most linguistically homogeneous countries in the world – in fact, even more so than Japan.” Koreans take great pride in their language, knowing that it is a central means of building and sustaining community and supporting communication and harmony across vast geographical and regional

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244 It is noteworthy that the Korean alphabet is not borrowed but invented according to the social and cultural needs of the Korean language. “In that year [1446] some three years after an announcement of its creation had been made in the dynastic annals, the reigning monarch, King Sejong, promulgated a handbook [Hunminjeoneum] introducing the new script and explaining its use, and from that point on Korean has been a language structurally accessible to future generations of linguists.” Ki-Moon Lee, A History of the Korean Language (Cambridge, England: Cambridge UP, 2011), 1.

differences. Thus, the spirit of Oullim is very much embedded in the uniqueness of the Korean language itself and the uniquely elegant visual design of its alphabet.

Another cultural example, Korean folk music, also evokes connotations of Oullim, and is related to the Korean phenomena of *Shinmyong*. As Tae-Il Yoon defines it, “*Shinmyong* is a Korean word with the meaning of very high spirits caused by having interest and enthusiasm in something, and it may be translated into English words such as exhilaration, delight, excitement, hilarity, joviality, and enthusiasm.”246 When Korean folk music is played, *Shinmyong* evokes a sense of affinity, sympathy, and shared empathy among the performers.

*Shinmyong* is dynamically expressed as a phenomenon of Korean communication, and it was the foundation of communication in street rooting [cheerings] of Red Devils during the 2002 and 2006 World Cup, large-scale candlelight rallies protesting against government policy in 2002 and 2008, worldwide proven traditional culture products such as *Samulnori* (Korean traditional percussion music) or *Nanta* (fusion percussion music), and many other contents of the Korean Wave (so-called *Hallyu*) such as B-Boy, K-Pop, and dramas. [sic]247

In Yoon’s analysis, community is a crucial component of *Shinmyong*. It can only be actualized with others, through shared modes of cultural communication and expressions of common feelings and collective experience.248 The communality and participation experienced in *Shinmyong* are embedded in the Korean folk music tradition and has resonance with Oullim and its other cultural expressions.

Oullim is also expressed in the attitudes and practices of traditional Korean religions. While the religions of Korea—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—came to


247 Yoon, “*Shinmyoung*, the Key Concept of Korean Communication Theory,” 107.

248 “*Shinmyoung* in Korean traditional arts such as *Gut* (Korean exorcism in shamanism), *Talchum* (masked dance) and *Pansori* (singing) are all collective *shinmyoung* based on community.” Yoon, “*Shinmyoung*, the Key Concept of Korean Communication Theory,” 110-111.
Korea from or through China, they look very different from their Chinese counterparts because of their transformation into Korean variations. Korean religious culture frequently carefully selects compatible components of foreign religions in order to utilize them for its own purpose. Indigenous Koreans resist blind imitation and are used to adapting different ideas, beliefs, worldviews, and religions in culturally transformed and inculturated ways.

A seemingly insignificant but nevertheless revealing example of Oullim can also be seen in the way Koreans express and format their mailing addresses. Unlike Western practice, which begins with an individual’s name and proceeds to the broader components of their context—street number, street name and province, in that order—Koreans do the opposite, starting with the province, name of the city, street name, street number, and finally the name of recipient. While these differences might not seem significant at first glance, they symbolize significant differences between Western and Korean culture in terms of the priority of order whereby people identify their location, what they consider to be the defining elements of their context, and how they relate their location and position to others and their environment. Unlike much Western culture, Koreans understand their identity first in terms of their larger, shared context and by placing this

249 For a detailed examination of the transformed characteristics of religions, how they have influenced Korean society, and how they relate to Korean indigenous religion, see Joseph M. Kitagawa ed., *The Religious Traditions of Asia* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 333. Chin Hong Chung’s notion of a multiple faith system, alluded to in Chapter Three (n 202) is not unrelated.

250 For example, although both Buddhist and Confucian cultures have different emphases and philosophies, these different worldviews and beliefs have long coexisted within Korean religious culture. For more on how Korean religious culture has historically encountered and incorporated other religions, see Lee, *Theology of Korean Culture*, 24-26.

251 I am grateful to my colleague, Rev. Hosuk Chung, a pastor of a United Methodist Church in New Jersey, for this observation.
uppermost before proceeding to the more particular and personal dimensions of identity within that larger communal context.

Yet another expression of Oullim is found in traditions relating to Korea’s labor supply during the farming seasons and on ceremonial occasions. Traditionally, Koreans offered labor to assist others with rice transplantation, harvesting, and the preparations for feasts. When people experience labor shortages during certain farming seasons or on other occasions—such as coming of age ceremonies, marriages, funerals, and ancestral ceremonies—neighbours voluntarily offer support, assistance and participation. Such volunteers are usually thanked and rewarded with gifts or a reciprocal labor supply when they face similar needs.

In these and still other ways which shall be noted below, the spirit of Oullim is expressed in the lives of Koreans, from the small practices of daily life to communal activities, group participation and festive celebrations. Oullim is not simply an idea or abstract concept, it is a way of life; it has to do with ways of living together, of self-identification and of building understanding and relationships with others and one’s shared environment. Oullim remains an important part of the ethos of Korean culture, society, religious practice, and the Korean value system.

However, Oullim and its practices have also been diminished significantly as a result of the influence of modernization and industrialization on Korean society. This change has affected Korean thought, Korean culture and Korean perspectives on individual, family, community, and society. For instance, sharing a popular labor supply is now relatively rare in contemporary Korean society. Changes in family structure, the economy, industry, employment and housing suggest that Koreans have become more
individualistic, pragmatic, self-sufficient, and perhaps even more self-centered.

Nevertheless, Oullim and its spirit still remain deeply embedded in Koreans’ culture and worldview—even if only sometimes as a memory—and warrants revitalization in Korean Christianity and its worship. It offers a potential resource not only for local churches but also the broader Korean society, which has become severely divided. In order to further consider the value of Oullim for worship, it may be helpful to consider a more integrated snapshot of a uniquely Korean setting that reflects Oullim and the activities that occur as a result.

A. Oullim in the Madang for Korean Thanksgiving (Chusok)252

During the Korean thanksgiving season (Chusok), Kim’s family members, who left their parents to live in Seoul, the capital of South Korea, return and gather in the house of their parents to celebrate Chusok together. In the madang (or courtyard) of their parents’ house, the children of Kim’s family and those of his neighbors play hide-and-seek together.253 In another part of the madang, alongside the playing children, there is a group of women preparing food for a thanksgiving feast. The men of Kim’s family stuff rice cakes as they greet each other, enjoy conversation, share stories and experiences. It has been quite a while since they have seen each other and the neighbors, and the madang of Kim’s family

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252 This is a fictional account drawn from common Korean experience which continues in many rural and some urban areas. Chusok is one of most important holidays in Korea, and many Koreans visit their hometown to spend quality time with their family. See also, http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=811650 (accessed Nov 26, 2016).

253 “Madang” is a Korean term that refers to a courtyard in front of a Korean traditional house. During the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan, Republic of Korea, the Madang was employed as the area for welcoming participants, sharing stories, and celebrating. The official website of the WCC 10th Assembly defines madang as “a Korean term that describes a courtyard in a traditional Korean home. The madang serves as a space for encounter and sharing, celebration and fellowship, greeting a visitor and welcoming a stranger.” See World Council of Churches, “Madang,” http://wcc2013.info/en/programme/madang/madang (accessed April 14, 2014).
home becomes a place where many people—not only Kim’s family, but also the neighbors—build and renew their relationships through preparing and eating food together, sharing their stories and memories, playing together, experiencing and reestablishing a sense of community. Oullim occurs in the madang and is expressed in the convergence of various individuals of all generations, all with their different life journeys, in the environment of the house and the activity of preparing and eating food. Oullim is thus the connection and harmonization of different age groups, cultures and peoples in one particular, local setting.

In this snapshot of Oullim in the madang of Kim’s family, men, women, children, family members and neighbors are brought into relationship as they participate in the feast of Chusok. While they participate in relation to their own activities, roles, and interests, each embodies Oullim within the madang. The madang becomes a “multi-layered” place that provides a playground, hospitality-area, table, and food.254 Since the madang is both an open yet vividly distinct space surrounded by a low wall, the natural environment and human beings create harmonizing dynamics, intermingling between private and public spaces, individuals and community, and generations among adults and children.

According to Suh, the madang facilitates not only cultural, economic, ecological, and public meaning, but also symbolizes the ecumenical mission of contemporary Christians.

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254 According to Suh Kwang Sun David, madang has multi-layered functions and meanings, including not only for the purpose of a family’s daily household work, but also as a children’s playground, communal celebrations and funeral services, and as an ecological space. Kwang Sun David Suh, “Dalits and Minjung Gather Together in Madang,” Journal of Contextual Theology 16 (2011): 4-10.
Our ecumenical mission today is to be united to insure that diversity will be respected and embraced in our church madang. In our madang, people come from East and West, and from North and South, together to celebrate this convergence and conviviality, forming unity in mission . . . . For “Ecumenical” means openness, open our minds and hearts to the whole world, and engage with the world in action. It is our mission together to witness the good news to the poor, to proclaim liberation of the captives, to heal the blind, and to let the oppressed go free (Luke 4:18). And it is in our madang, we create fellowship and solidarity and share our blessings with each other for the coming Reign of God.255

Although Suh does not specifically speak of Oullim, the image and functions of the madang embody well the spirit of Oullim, valuing of diversity within the harmony of being with others. Oullim is expressed in the madang, and the madang can be a place for and symbol of where diversity is encountered, embraced, and respected. Madang is a spatial construct for the practice of Oullim.256

Worship and liturgical practices can provide a madang for Christian community. Christians encounter God and other fellow Christians and seekers in the madang of worship in a spirit of Oullim. They converse with God and others, and God’s Word and the Lord’s Supper nourish them. Revisiting and recovering Oullim in Korean liturgy and worship can contribute not only to Korean Christians but also to Korean society as a whole, insofar as both suffer from division and conflict due to political and ethnic differences; social and economic class; and generational, religious and denominational division. With this in mind, we now turn our attention more specifically to Oullim


256 During the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan, Republic of Korea, various exhibitions, performances, and cultural events were held in the madang. See, for example, the Madang booklet in the official website of the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan, Republic of Korea, http://wcc2013.info/en/programme/madang/madang (accessed April 14, 2014).
Worship and its inculturation in Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy to identify some key principles and practices of Oullim Worship for Korean Presbyterian churches.

2. Oullim Worship

Oullim Worship is an inculturated Korean liturgy which can be seen as the *terminus ad quem* for Korean Christians. As explored in Chapter Three, the *terminus a quo* (liturgical sources) of Korean Presbyterian worship tend to be exaggeratedly evangelical, preaching-centered, and pragmatic rather than liturgical, eucharistic, and theological. In order to encourage conversations between the *terminus a quo* of Korean churches and the *terminus ad quem* of Korean Oullim culture, Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation can function as a formative influence for Oullim Worship.

As noted at the outset of this study, Chupungco has identified three key dimensions of liturgical inculturation: 1) the interaction or dialogue between the church’s liturgical worship and the local culture, 2) the integration of cultural elements into the liturgy, and 3) the dynamics whereby the Christian form of worship is enriched by culture.257

As Anthony J. Gittins reminds us yet again, Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation, narrowly applied, may not adequately address the soul and faith of the people. “Liturgical correctness is not of course the ultimate criterion of true metanoia expressed in *inculturation* and *inculturation* must be assimilated into people’s souls, embodied in their Gospel-living, and incarnated as their faith, hope and love.”258 Thus,

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257 See p. 17-18 n. 24 above.

258 By italicizing the term inculturation, Gittins distinguishes his definition from others,’ preferring to define inculturation more directly as the incarnation of the faith. Anthony J. Gittins, “Beyond Liturgical Inculturation: Transforming the Deep Structures of Faith,” *Irish Theological Quarterly* 69 (2004):
Although this study posits Oullim Worship as resting on the Korean cultural heritage of Oullim and drawing on Chupungco’s method, it would not be appropriate to apply Chupungco’s method of liturgical inculturation mechanistically to Oullim Worship. There remains an ever-present need for cultural modifications.

First, although this proposal for Oullim Worship entails the renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy, this does not mean that yet another different or new style of worship should replace the previous one just for the sake of change itself. Implicit in Oullim Worship is that its principles and practices—which include not only activities in worship and liturgy but also the work of preparation and education—should be generated by, shared among, and consented to by the worshipping community. Oullim Worship involves opening channels for communicating, mediating, and harmonizing various opinions and perspectives on appropriate liturgical styles, and attending also to the social and ethical responsibilities which flow from worship, thereby encouraging the participants to become involved in these activities and responsibilities, even where they may have different views. Thus, Oullim Worship is a name for both the spirit and the process of worship, including the spirit of worship planning, one generated and developed for the continuous and ongoing renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy. Oullim Worship applies not only to the visible components of liturgy but also to the hearts of the participants in liturgy.

In addition, Oullim Worship is not intended to enforce uniformity or homogeneity in style or to regulate fixed forms according to narrow rules and regulations by
presbyteries and general assemblies of Korean Presbyterian churches. On the contrary, Oullim Worship invites and encourages Korean Christians to rejoice in a diversity of liturgical practices, styles, and possibilities, not seeing them as chaotic practices but as mutually enriching, respected, and consensual ways of worship. Oullim Worship can even be employed as a means to explore ways to overcome conflicts between different preferences regarding style, music, culture, and forms of liturgy, in order to find mutually agreeable and shared liturgical orders and practices. Indeed, an additional function of Oullim Worship is thus to promote and actualize Korean Christians’ “full, conscious, active participation”—in short, to create a madang for worship.

Even though two possible areas of liturgical inculturation for Korean churches have already been suggested in Chapter Three—namely, the Christian year and the recovery of Korean traditions of music in liturgy—these examples should not be regarded as alternative “measures or instruments” for achieving the kind of practical and evangelical goals that Finney sought to fulfill through his New Measures. They are intended simply as liturgical possibilities and points of potential contact where the church and culture might encounter, converse, and come to understand one another more deeply in the proclamation of the Gospel. Such points of contact need to be seen as possible fruits of the principles and practices of Oullim Worship.

By emphasizing, applying, and practicing Oullim, which is the cultural heritage of Korean Christians, in worship, this study can now proceed to suggest some more specific

259 Similarly, Gittins argues that inculturation should not be imposed and uniform if it is to become meaningful. He writes, “The People of God requires neither imposition nor uniformity. There are no uniform people, and there is neither a universal language nor an average or typical culture. Inculturation must embrace the faith in its totality; it must be extended to every culture under the sun; and it must be done urgently, because inculturation (the incarnation of the faith) is the fruit, the harvest of evangelization, which is the mandate of the Church.” See, Gittins, “Beyond Liturgical Inculturation,” 67.
principles and examples in order that the voice of the Korean people and their culture can be seen as a valued contribution to the ongoing evolution of the ecumenical liturgical movement. As Chupungco has indicated, it is necessary to be creative to find viable practices which can meaningfully connect Church and culture with integrity. And while Oullim Worship might appear to be a culturally specific innovation of little relevance to the Church catholic, I would suggest that it may also offer implications for the ways other denominations and traditions might revisit how they practice worship and liturgy, in order to more deeply renew and inculturate their own liturgical life.

3. Principles of Oullim Worship

The snapshot presented earlier regarding the madang and Chusok contains implicit principles and practices of Oullim Worship. These components can be brought to the fore in order to challenge the current instrumentally-driven liturgical ethos of Korean churches. In addition, they can provide a broader sense of liturgical balance because of their rootedness in Korean culture. The principles can be summarized as, in short: 1) recovering communality of worship and liturgical practices; 2) reaffirming the eucharistic character of worship as a key connection between Oullim and liturgy; and 3) promoting active participation. These principles of Oullim Worship can be used to create a conversational model for use between Korean churches and the culture in which they are embedded in order to address the imbalances of contemporary liturgical practices.

260 This is not intended to be an exhaustive proposal for proposal Korean Presbyterian liturgy. The three aspects presented here reflect the particular findings of this study and key features for preliminary consideration.
A. Oullim Communality as Dynamic Equivalence in Ecclesiology

The first principle of Oullim Worship advocates the recovery of communality in the liturgical practices of the Korean churches as a dynamic equivalent to a robust ecclesiology for Korean Christians. This can be achieved by building upon the communal features of Oullim as a key component in the practices of Christian worship. The earlier example of the format of Korean mailing addresses illustrated a distinctively Korean way of identifying and locating selfhood that begins with the largest unit of social identity in order to understand personal identity. Similarly, the cherished celebration of Chusok not only expresses thankfulness for ancestors, family, nature, and neighbors, but also acknowledges these as inseparable components and causes of the fullness of Korean life. Koreans know who they are by remembering their ancestors and by associating celebratively with others. Their sense of communality is not only strong but also deeply inherent within them. While the individualism of modernity pressures Koreans toward a loss of communal identity, they nevertheless retain an inherited communal worldview which is still evident in their daily lives and culture.

This sense of communality in a Korean and Oullim ethos is dynamically equivalent to and resonates with Christians’ identity as the Body of Christ. When Paul proclaims that “you are Christ’s body, and individually members of it” (1 Cor. 12:27), he is asserting that Christian identity is not primarily about individuality but our communion (common union) in Christ—a central biblical ecclesiological motif. Oullim offers a ready-made culturally central point of dynamic equivalence through which both the Church and Korean culture can be mutually enriched. The Church is also ecclesia, a gathering—not simply a collection of scattered (or even shared) interests, musical tastes, and minds, but a gathered group of sojourners travelling towards a common destination.
As members of a community, Christians build a united relationship and common identity through the head of the Church, Jesus Christ. And this bond among the members even transcends time and space. In liturgy and worship, Christians are called to see the wider and higher community beyond where they are sitting and beyond those with whom they are currently participating.

Where Oullim and the Church share similar features in the way both see the nature of the individual and the centrality of the communal identity of their participants, the dynamic equivalence between Oullim communality and Korean Presbyterian worship can provide synergistic influence to help recover the communality of both Korean churches and Korean society. Such an emphasis is needed to help counteract, redress and heal some of the collective cultural damage done by the divisive denominational sectarianism set in motion by the colonial missionaries to Korea. As we have seen, Korean Presbyterian ecclesiology was influenced and reinforced by a soteriological emphasis on personal conversion, a quantitative preoccupation with the number of the participants in worship, and a liturgical emphasis on instrumentalist practices aimed at individual conversion. However, the communal dimensions of regeneration and sanctification tend to have been disregarded in Korean churches. Certainly, the number of participants alone cannot guarantee a bond of fellowship or become a mark of communal identity in a local congregation. While Korean churches have been eager to adopt trends of contemporary worship from Western churches, it is doubtful whether such trends really reflect the integrity of Korean communal culture in worship. As Byars notes in his comparison between a “contemporary” and “traditional” service of worship:

The basic order of the “contemporary” service was not greatly different from the order of the “traditional” service. The differences between the two seemed to be that in the so-called contemporary service, the congregation never participated
verbally except in the singing of a succession of songs, and everything but the
singing seemed to have been diminished in size. . . . The first-person pronouns
used in prayers and songs were almost invariably singular rather than plural — “I”
rather than “We”, as though the assembly was not the body of Christ, but merely
a group of isolated individuals all doing their devotions at the same time.261

Even if a local congregation has a large number of members, it can nevertheless be an
enormous crowd of separate individuals rather than a united community. It is ironic to see
so many individuals who are not connected but isolated, all in the same place and at the
same time, with different subjective reasons and expectations for being there. Indeed, a
huge space and a vast crowd can provide opportunity and space for each individual to
hide who they really are, pay no attention to others, while maintaining the illusion that
they are part of a massive “community.”

In such circumstances, a key principle of Oullim Worship is to link the
communality of Oullim and its cultural heritage with Korean Presbyterian worship and
liturgical practices. In order to enable the participants in the liturgy to acknowledge who
they are as the Church, Oullim Worship could provide a time and a place to authentically
connect and relate, as in the madang. The madang provides not only space and time but
also the multi-layered, culturally-familiar, relational channels through which individuals
and the environment are harmonized. Even children and their games become valued and
important components. They are all included in the madang. As the terminus ad quem for
liturgy, Oullim Worship values, privileges and practices what Koreans have done in their
gatherings and feasts, how they have acquired their sense of identity and community,
where they have lived, learned and played, and with whom they have been related.

Oullim Worship calls forth a distinctly Korean ecclesiology. The sense of communality found in Oullim practices is the dynamic equivalent to the liturgical participation that constitutes Church, allowing Korean Christians to participate in liturgical practices in more familiar and meaningful ways. Although some specific examples will be explored in the next section—mainly relating to the sacraments and worship planning—it is important to stress that the ultimate purpose of this study does not rest on specific styles or liturgical orders, but rather the manner in which Korean Christians might participate in worship in a more culturally appropriate—inculturated—manner, giving them voice and drawing on the cultural heritage of Oullim.

B. Oullim Feast (*Janchi*) as Creative Assimilation in Korean Eucharist

As shown earlier, one of the most important elements of *Chusok* (Korean Thanksgiving) is the feast, the Korean *Janchi*. The meal of *Janchi* symbolizes the core values and meaning of *Chusok*, and is prepared, served, and eaten by all family members. Eating together is an important symbolic activity in Korea, embodying the relationships of all those gathered around the table. The food of *Janchi* is the medium through which family members and neighbors are connected and related. The intimate and continuing connectivity among participants in *Janchi* can enable Korean Christians to experience and understand the meaning of the Eucharist (Holy Communion or the Lord’s Supper). To put it succinctly, Korean *Janchi* warrants creative assimilation into Christian Eucharist.

Not unlike *Janchi*, the Eucharist represents both the Great Thanksgiving of the participants and their unity in Christ. Chupungco locates the Eucharist at the centre of what it means to be Church. Eucharist identifies who the members of the Church are, points to how they express their membership in the Church, and demonstrates how they
create community. Alluding to the language of the Didache, Chupungco notes, “The grains of wheat that were gathered from the hills to become one bread paint the image of the Church that was gathered from every part of the world to become one bread, the body of Christ.”

However, an expression of the Eucharist as that meal which identifies, symbolizes, nourishes, celebrates and connects the participants in the community of the Church is rarely observed in Korean Presbyterian churches. Korean experiences of the Lord’s Supper are mostly marked by commemorative and memorialist connotations, based on an instrumental application of the Biblical warrant. Such a tendency has contributed to a grave, penitential atmosphere surrounding the Eucharist with emphasis on the imperative of obedience in response to Christ’s command. However, Eucharist is also about thanksgiving, and the meaning of thanksgiving is also observed and experienced when participants acknowledge with joyfulness the abundance of God’s grace in the Eucharist as the source of their shared identity.

Furthermore, because the Eucharist in Korean churches is mainly practiced to remember Christ’s command in relation to his crucifixion, eschatological meanings and implications are rarely observed and emphasized. Liturgy requires that Christians not only remember past events but also link present liturgical actions to an eschatological vision. As Jean Jacques von Allmen argues, past liturgical events are related to both present and future. The Eucharist “does not merely commemorate Jesus’ last meal with

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262 Chupungco, What, Then, Is Liturgy, 130.

263 Luke 22:19-20 is universally cited by Korean church leaders as a proof text for communion: “And he took bread, gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to them, saying, ‘This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me.’ In the same way, after the supper he took the cup, saying, ‘This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you’.” (NIV) Although “Do this in remembrance of me,” can be translated variously, the recent version of the Korean Bible puts it: “Do and remember this.”
his disciples; it also prefigures the messianic feast at which, with his disciples, Christ will drink the new wine of the kingdom of his Father (Matt 26:29).”

Here the eucharistic liturgy bridges not only personal and communal relations but also spans chronological distance between past, present, and future. Through the lens of eucharistic celebration, worshipers can see past and future at the same time and in the same place.

As noted earlier in Chapter Three in relation to the subject of individualism and ecclesiology, such dimensions and implications of the Eucharist might well have more effectively nourished the festive culture of Korean Christians had the Eucharistic implications of Korean Janchi and its connection to “ancestor remembrance” been more sympathetically affirmed by missionaries and Korean church leaders. However, these transcendent and eschatological implications were not considered, due to both the solemn penitential piety of the Lord’s Supper among Presbyterian missionaries and their critical stands towards Korean culture. Although discernment needs to be exercised before naively assimilating all local cultural practices into Christian liturgy, it is not appropriate to hastily extinguish key practices. Such practices often represent a people’s identity and ethos. As Charles H. Kraft argues,

The way of Jesus is, however, to honor a people’s culture, not to wrest them from it. Just as He entered the cultural life of first-century Palestine in order to communicate with people, so we are to enter the cultural matrix of the people we

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265 Therefore, I would argue for the use of the term “ancestor remembrance” over “ancestor worship” to avoid the imperialistic and colonial accusation of idolatry. Ancestor remembrance and celebration in Korean and other eastern cultures is not “worship” in the sense of replacing the worship of God. As noted earlier, it is more akin to remembering the communion of saints in Christian tradition. See also pp. 123-125 above.
seek to win. If we are to witness effectively to human beings, we have to take account of the culture in which these human beings live.\textsuperscript{266}

According to Kraft, if someone tears up a people’s culture, the people not only lose that culture but can also become lost. If one wants to communicate meaningfully with people, one cannot enable those people to acknowledge what the gospel is without offering creative and assimilative points of contact between that culture and the gospel. Had Korean missionaries known and appreciated Janchi through more careful observation, they might have taken a different approach to the cultural practices of Koreans in general and Eucharist in particular—perhaps even to the point of being taught by Koreans something important about feasting and the Lord’s Supper!

Even though Korean Presbyterian Eucharist has been practiced with an overemphasis on its individualistic and penitential dimensions, Janchi (Oullim feast) has the potential to redress this imbalance. Furthermore, the eucharistic practices of Korean churches do not have to be limited to the sacrament itself. Many Korean churches provide a meal at table after their Sunday worship service. Even though the Eucharist is practiced only occasionally in many Korean churches, the weekly meal after worship has deep cultural implications and eucharistic potential. If such implications are recognized through strategic education and support, they could have a significant impact upon the Eucharist when it is practiced. In this way, a renewed Korean Eucharist could be more meaningfully related to Korean table fellowship, Janchi, and its Oullim values.

An analogous approach is suggested by Miriam Therese Winter in \textit{eucharist with a small “e”} through her emphasis on the sacramental dimensions of daily life. She argues for “a deeper integration of the sacred and the secular [which] sees the basic realities of

\textsuperscript{266} Kraft, \textit{Anthropology for Christian Witness}, 32.
life as elements of eucharist, and invites the world to join in celebrating the liturgy of life. . . whatever nourishes faith, or the ever resilient well-springs of hope, or gives rise to the manifold facets of love is potentially eucharist. From the perspective of the sacramental dimension of daily life, the Oullim feast of Janchi is a rich source of creative assimilation for Korean eucharistic practice and understanding.

C. Oullim Participation as Organic Progression in Korean Leadership

In the Janchi, the meal and table are communally prepared, served, and shared, with ample participation in cooking, stuffing of rice cakes, eating and washing up, always also with music which is communally performed, sung and shared. In Oullim culture, it is important to support others by participating in shared labour, feasts, ceremonies, and leisure. Such participation reinforces people’s awareness of where they belong, how they are related, and what they are doing and eating. In such participation, music enriches communal bonds and becomes a component of the participatory atmosphere. This rich participatory cultural heritage has the potential to enhance Korean Christians’ participation in worship and is thus another key principle of Oullim Worship for Korean Presbyterians.

Even where the previous principles are offered to congregations, participants may not grasp the intention if they themselves are not participating in the processes of liturgical inculturation, including preparation and educational sessions. Alexander Schmemann argues that liturgy must be understood holistically.

Worship simply cannot be equated either with texts or with forms of worship. It is a whole, within which everything, the words of prayer, lections, chanting, ceremonies, the relationship of all these things in a “sequence” or “order” and,

finally, what can be defined as the “liturgical coefficient” of each of these elements (i.e., that significance which, apart from its own immediate content, each acquires as a result of its place in the general sequence or order of worship), only all this together defines the meaning of the whole and is therefore the proper subject of study and theological evaluation.268

Because worship is not merely a collection of texts, ceremonies, and rituals, its flow or sequence cannot be understood and explored through isolated approaches to texts and forms of worship. Furthermore, worship includes not only texts and forms but also participants who read, follow, interact, sing and embody them. In this sense, the participants are part of the sequence, and they are as crucial as the contents and sequence of liturgy in the progress of liturgical inculturation. As performers of liturgical practices, participants are also the holders and bearers of what they sing, pray, eat, and share in and through their liturgical practices and their lives.

Although the phrase, “full, conscious, and active participation,” has become central to liturgical studies, it can still be difficult to define exactly what it means. How can participation be fully, consciously, and actively actualized? Arguably, it is not possible unless the Church and cultural patterns are mutually understood and engaged among the participants in liturgy. Gittins argues that “True dialogue requires that both parties voice their understanding or state their intuitions about the language and its meaning (connotations, redundancies and the rest).”269 He also suggests that “The real meaning of every single liturgy depends on its underlying principles, the virtues, and Gospel values it invokes, and the capacity of the community to understand and interpret


Although Gittins is somewhat skeptical regarding the possibility of the liturgical inculturation of practices and behavior, he does not deny that dynamic equivalence and creative assimilation can be meaningful if they are not “left to one translator (cultural, linguistic, or theological); they require the response of a community, lest well-intentioned communication produce only confusion.”

According to Gittins, liturgical inculturation through dynamic equivalence and creative assimilation may not be comprehended by the participants if it remains at superficial levels of liturgical order and structure, or if the participants are excluded from the process. “The Magisterium has indeed a leading role to play: but the Church is a communion, a community, and it moves together or not at all. Without subsidiarity and collaboration there will only be the exercise of hierarchical authority and prescriptive inculturation (almost a contradiction in terms).” He emphasizes further that liturgical inculturation needs to be visible in the lives of the participants. “The deep structures of Christianity must be translated into the deep structures of people’s lives or cultures, and must then generate transformations of the surface structures of people’s actual lives, so that they mirror the imperatives of the gospel more clearly.”

His argument is that true liturgical inculturation requires much more than translation, cultural adaptation, and structural change to liturgy. In order to achieve its goal, the participants should engage not only in Sunday morning worship but also in the planning process for worship and liturgical practices because participants are

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not mere followers of liturgical orders but facilitators who connect what they believe and live, living witnesses to the Gospel.

Gittins demands more depth to liturgical inculturation than mere linguistic, formal and external changes. He insists that we need to descend from theory to practice. In keeping with this, the last principle of Oullim Worship is the process of recovering and applying the participatory ethos of Korean Oullim culture to liturgical practices and processes. To achieve this step, it is important to establish a process and channel where liturgy and its participants become mutually influential. The goal would be to allow and enable all participants, whether ministers or lay members, to learn about and discuss existing liturgical practices, address and adjust misconceptions, settle disagreements and disputes, and suggest how current liturgical practices can become more understandable and meaningful. In this way, the participants can acknowledge what they are doing in liturgy, not only intellectually but also communally and in participatory ways. Insisting on particular fixed orders or ways of practicing liturgy is not how Oullim Worship should be actualized. Oullim Worship allows participants to place their hearts and lives deep within the practices of worship. Oullim liturgy seeks to be the work of the people. As Gittins puts it, “It is not enough to identify the ‘what’ of inculturation; we must also specify the ‘how’.”

It is not only about the methods of liturgical inculturation but also their execution, the process. And to this we must add the “who” of the work.

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275 Quoting a statement from Vatican II’s Gaudium et Spes, Gittins argues, “If these words are to be taken seriously, then other people—laity, local people, ordinary people—have a critically important part to play in the promotion of inculturation. Indeed it has been reiterated that the primary agents of inculturation are the Holy Spirit and the local people.” Gittins, “Beyond Liturgical Inculturation,” 59.
Oullim informed participation represents an organic progression towards for Korean leadership in worship. For Korean Christians, joining Chupungco’s methodology to Gittins’ critique can be useful in discerning what Korean Christians have been doing in worship and who they are in a swiftly changing culture. The purpose here would be to invite worshippers to examine the influence of the Western churches and to seek to restore what has been lost from their own cultural heritage. While the leadership of Western churches has led to the numerical growth, it has also resulted in theological imbalances towards individualistic perspectives on salvation, instrumentalist views of worship, and isolationist congregationalism. The price of such imbalance needs to be identified and discerned, not only by theologians and church leaders but also by lay members and participants in liturgical practices.

As part of such identification and discernment, it will also be important to encourage participants to be more deeply involved in the music of worship, not only in singing congregational songs and playing musical instruments but also in exploring, choosing and composing the music that participants hear and sing in the liturgy. Given that music is so important to Korean Presbyterian worship, it needs to play a key role in liturgical inculturation. Where the music and texts of current hymnals and resources are revisited and revised through participatory and communal examination and reflection, they can function as vessels through which participants come to know the fullness of who God is and who they are called to be.

Just as Janchi is prepared, cooked, served, and shared communally, worship needs to be prepared, practiced, and critically engaged communally through participatory leadership. And such participatory leadership should not be limited to what happens in
the building or in public worship but should reach beyond to the daily lives of the participants.

Not only is everyone invited but everyone is required to participate in the process of conversion from, conversion to, and conversion for: from sin and self, to grace and God, for everyone, everywhere. Inculturation is the process by which lives are transformed. It is not a policy designed to produce a local Church. It is not a means to an end. It produces something new: a vital, incarnated Christian community of faith and works; a hitherto unknown or unimagined part of the body of Christ; the revelation of an astonishing new facet of God’s infinitely multi-faceted splendor; a gift to the whole Church, and a work of the Spirit in our time; the rest, by any other name, is ‘praeparatio evangelii’. 276

The organic progression of Oullim participation results in liturgical inculturation that evokes the admittedly uncontrollable, spiritual and mystical dimensions of the Church, it is part of God’s grace and gift, through which communities of faith can proceed into their future with joy and hope.

What now remains is to move from the above principles of Oullim Worship to even more specific practices. While some of these have been implied in what has been said, they warrant further elaboration in relation to more particular potential practices in Oullim Worship. While not intended as definitive or absolute, they are offered as examples of Korean inculturated possibilities for Oullim Worship, aimed not only at worship practices but also suggestive for the formation of the daily lives of the participants.

4. Practices of Oullim Worship

For the purpose of this study, the principles of Oullim Worship are best applied to particular practices of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy in relation to the Word of God, sacraments, and worship planning procedures that incorporate the Church calendar

and Korea’s seasonal calendar. Because in Protestant Reformed understanding—central to Korean Presbyterian worship—the Word of God and the sacraments are the sign and seal through which Christians know, encounter, and respond to God, we shall attend to some specific suggestions for inculturating these liturgical principles.

A. Oullim Communality and Baptismal Practices

The renewal of baptismal practices can help Korean churches recover the communal identity of Korean Christians. This study has explored the historic roots of Korean Christians’ individualistic and personalized understandings of baptism, conversion and salvation, a perspective that tends to overemphasize the role of human decision and individual choice.

In contrast to the ways modern Americans understand social life as reflected in the Declaration of Independence, James V. Brownson argues that “We become part of Christ’s body because God joins us to Jesus Christ and makes us part of Christ’s body. Being part of Christ’s body is not a human option; it is a divine act.” Brownson critiques the assumptions of modern Christians who identify the Church with other social and voluntary groups. While he agrees that there are areas where human beings should consent to the divine act, he emphasizes that the distinction between becoming members of the Church and becoming members of other social groups is founded on God’s call.

Church membership means not uniformity, but the rich interaction of many gifts, perspective, and functions. Church membership springs not from our voluntary choice, but from God’s call upon us. Church membership is directed, not toward our safety and happiness, but toward God’s mission in the world. Consequently,

our thinking about the church (and our thinking about baptism) needs to begin not with our choices or our confession, but with God’s call.\textsuperscript{278}

Becoming a member of the church is more like becoming a member of a family than a social group, because a family is not constituted by individual or personal choice, but is destined by birth, love, and the dedication of family members. When it comes to restoring communality—awareness of belonging to Christ’s body—the spirit of Oullim in the baptismal practices of Korean Presbyterian churches can help Korean Christians more clearly identify who they are becoming in baptism, how and why they are connected with one another through the head of the Church, Christ, and where each member is located and functions. As the Oullim feast of \textit{Janchi} showed, all of Kim’s family members take part in the harmonization of the feast despite different ages, roles, and locations. So too baptism has similar participatory meanings and functions, through which Korean Christians acknowledge the vision and beauty of harmonization in the body of Christ, even despite differing opinions, social statuses, roles, and preferred worship styles.

To enable Korean Christians to acknowledge the communal implications of baptism and their reality in the Church community, it is helpful to link the traditional Korean concept of family—which is much wider and deeper than the current Western notion of the nuclear family—to the Church community, so that the Church community can be encouraged to take more care of the faith and spiritual life of each member. While such communal care is undoubtedly helped and supported by well-planned and careful catechesis,\textsuperscript{279} equally crucial is the understanding that baptism and progress in belonging

\textsuperscript{278} Brownson, \textit{The Promise of Baptism}, 21.

\textsuperscript{279} Note, for example, the recovery of catechesis in the modern catechetical movement in the Roman Catholic Church. For an overview, see Berard L. Marthaler, “The Modern Catechetical Movement in Roman Catholicism: Issues and Personalities,” \textit{Religious Education: The Official Journal of the Religious Education Association} 73 (Aug. 2006): 77-91.
to the Church community require communal responsibility and support from all church members. Just as children in a family need communal care from every member in the household, so too Korean churches should observe their communal responsibility for new members who are accepting God’s calling to the Church community, by educating and supporting them.

Robert J. Keeley argues that the lack of support from extended family members has had a negative impact on children in North American families, citing a report from the Commission for Children at Risk that ascribes children’s mental illnesses, emotional distress, and behavioral problems to “a lack of connectedness to people and to moral and spiritual meaning.” The more children feel isolated, the more they encounter anxiety, suffering, and other developmental and psychological problems. According to Keeley, the Church community should become like an extended family, with each member taking various roles as family members, like parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts. Keeley’s ideal family structures and functions are akin to the Korean traditional concept of family as experienced in the Oullim of madang. Although Keeley’s example is focused on the communal nurture of children in the Church community, his argument is applicable also to new adult members. They not only need careful nurturing but also embody the wellness of the Church community.

Although baptism and its practices have been treated as personal events, as individual progress or as entrance into a social group, it needs to be remembered that

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baptism is not only personal but also communal—it is an ecclesial act. Oullim Worship would emphasize the communal characteristics and responsibilities of baptism and faith formation, not through normative rules but through relationships in the Church community, which are understood as established and connected by the grace of God in Christ and manifest in the life of Christ’s body, the Church. For example, in order to promote these communal aspects of baptism, members of a local congregation could be encouraged to invite those preparing for baptism (catechumens) into their homes to hear their stories and share their spiritual journeys of faith. Such a “social catechumenate” recalls the ancient and newly recovered (in some traditions) role of sponsors but makes its communal dimensions even more explicit. In terms of explicit liturgical practices, the significance of a communal, congregational or “family” vow in the baptismal rite, pledging to join with, nurture and support the newly baptized should not be underestimated. Such practices would emphasize the communal responsibilities and privileges of baptism and point to critical dimensions of individual and collective faith formation.\(^{282}\) The linking of a Korean traditional understanding of the family to the Church community in catechesis, liturgy and congregational life could help resist the individualistic and ego-centered influence currently growing in many contemporary nuclear families of Korean society and in the Church community.

B. Oullim Feasting and Eucharistic Practices

As already noted, although the Eucharist is not celebrated frequently in many Korean

\(^{282}\) See, for example, the *Book of Common Worship* of PCUSA rite, which begins: “After the sermon, an appropriate hymn, canticle, psalm, or spiritual may be sung while the candidates, sponsors, and parents assemble at the baptismal font or pool. Care should be taken to ensure that the baptism is fully visible to the congregation.” Here it is assumed that the liturgy is an act of “public” worship. The rite also includes a vow in which the congregation vows to be faithful in their witness to and care for the newly baptized. See *Book of Common Worship* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 403-446.
churches, a regular ritual meal at table following worship is common. Such Oullim feasting has the potential to bring out the Eucharistic implications of Korean table fellowship and, conversely, the Oullim implications and unity of the eucharistic feast. As Korean Christians assimilate the Oullim feast into the Eucharist, they will participate in the Eucharist with a more intimate and profound awareness.

Oullim feasting appreciates and affirms the deep cultural symbolism of the table itself. Almost all Korean feasts are celebrated with priority given to the significance of a common table. It is there that food offered and shared gives family members and their neighbours not only something to digest and enjoy but also a means of building relationships, learning how to behave towards others, and sharing fellowship, love and care \((koinonia)\)—through the entire process from preparation beforehand to cleaning up afterwards. The table—both the symbolic seal and literal medium of unity and intimacy—represents a kind of sacramentality at the centre of Korean Oullim culture and warrants creative assimilation into Eucharistic practices.

To be sure, some Korean Christians might view such cultural adaptation of eucharistic theology and practice as a departure from the tradition and the heritage of Korea’s Christian forebears. However, it can also be seen as an effort to preserve the liturgical tradition, an elaboration of historic practices in the face of the pressures of a contemporary, changing and individualistic society. Leonard J. Vander Zee argues that the task of each Christian generation is as follows:

Each generation has the task of seeking to reframe theological tradition handed down to it in terms of its own intellectual and cultural setting. While we stand within the apostolic authority of the Bible and on the shoulders of our forebears, we need to say what it means to share in Christ at the table for us today. In some ways we will not be saying anything new but only retelling the tradition in a
fresh way. In other cases, we may be given a new insight into the Lord’s Supper because of the context in which we participate in it.  

Vander Zee’s perspective can be seen as another expression of the case for liturgical inculturation. Similarly, Oullim Worship represents not so much the overthrow of current cherished traditions and liturgical practices, but an attempt to deepen, broaden and balance them in Korean understanding and practice.

As part of such an effort, it will also be important to emphasize that, theologically, the Eucharist is not only a penitential commemoration of Christ’s death and resurrection but is also a joyful celebration of the seal of Christ’s union with the Church community and a foretaste of the heavenly and eschatological feast. According to Howard G. Hageman, evangelicals and Reformed churches also became estranged from the Eucharist and its holistic meanings because of dualism.

Whatever appealed to the mind, whether an orthodox dogmatic discussion or a liberal ethical essay, was spiritual. Whatever appealed to the senses—color, light, line, movement, or physical object—was material. Almost from the beginning, Reformed worship has been intellectualized. . . . We must recognize that this dualism is false and unbiblical. Not only is it inconsistent with the Biblical view of man, it is still more glaringly inconsistent with that cornerstone of the Christian faith, “the Word became Flesh.”

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283 Leonard J. Vander Zee, *Christ, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper: Recovering the Sacraments for Evangelical Worship* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2004), 188.

284 In the Reformed traditions, theological perspectives on the Eucharist have been delicate, controversial issues, with representative figures like John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli advocating different emphases and liturgical models. In general, while Zwingli viewed the Lord’s Supper as a meal of remembrance, Calvin emphasized it as the seal of Christ’s union with the Church community and the symbol of Christians’ unity. Hageman summarizes the characteristics of the eucharistic liturgy in the Reformed Church in America as follows: “Though much of the text is drawn from Calvin, the basic outline of a preaching service with a separate Eucharist for occasional usage is Zwinglian.” Such characteristics accurately describe those of Korean churches. For details, see Howard G. Hageman, *Pulpit and Table: Some Chapters in the History of Worship in the Reformed Churches* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1962), 13-35.

Such dualistic understandings and practices of the Eucharist continue in contemporary church communities to this day. As Vander Zee puts it, “I have come to believe that the reason evangelicals fail to appreciate the sacraments and to understand their biblical importance is that evangelicalism suffers from an inherent dualism—or worse, what Philip Lee calls Protestant Gnosticism.”

The evangelical churches, including the Reformed Church and Korean churches, are still faced with the question of how to celebrate the sacraments—especially the Eucharist—more holistically, biblically and contextually. In the first chapter of this study we saw how Korean churches took up Moffett’s simplified liturgical model for Sunday morning public worship—teaching and preaching-centered worship with an evangelical focus using alternating prayers and hymns. Such a choice was perceived as based on the contemporary needs and circumstances of Korean churches at the time—conversion in a missional/colonial context, with the stewardship of missionary resources in relation to local geography. Clearly, since then the context has changed, and the reasons for such an approach should now be questioned and its results in Korean churches scrutinized.

In general, it will be important to try to overcome the dualism of the evangelical churches and to approach the Eucharist more holistically and in light of communal perspectives. Koreans’ traditional ways of celebrating feasts have something to contribute here, not only because they are part of Korea’s indigenous culture but also because they are tangible ways in which Koreans establish relationships with others, build communities, and express thankfulness and gratitude, thereby embodying their identity. Korean churches now need to educate and help their members realize the Eucharistic

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286 Vander Zee, Christ, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, 10.
implications of the existing tradition of their meal table after worship and allow these connections to be made when the Eucharist is celebrated.

However, when it comes to assimilating Oullim feasting within a Korean Eucharist and employing it to help Korean Christians become familiar with the deeper meaning and implications of the Eucharist, it may not be helpful to insist on a specific frequency of celebration or a certain liturgical style. Even if someone participates frequently in the Eucharist or follows a particular liturgical order, this does not guarantee that they will appreciate, understand, or participate holistically in the sacrament. Although it is common for liturgists to argue for specific eucharistic liturgical styles and practices, these cannot be deemed universally applicable because of the different histories and cultural contexts of congregations and denominations.

Melanie C. Ross questions the tendency to caricature and stereotype the differences between liturgical styles as a dichotomy between evangelical and liturgical traditions. She believes that there are middle or negotiable areas that lie between dichotomous approaches to liturgical traditions. Her argument also points to the dualistic understandings of worship and the sacraments characteristic of many contemporary Christians. “Although there is no universal blueprint for overcoming the evangelical/liturgical dichotomy . . . the fact [is] that middle ground is regularly being forged at local levels. To find it, liturgical scholars must occasionally trade in the drafting board of an architect for the walking shoes of a pedestrian.”287

The first step in what can be actualized through Oullim Worship by means of an assimilation of the overlapping meanings of traditional Korean feasting and the Eucharist

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may simply be a deeper appreciation of the implications of the Eucharist. If Korean Christians can be helped to see and sense more profound meaning and grace in the Eucharist, the frequency and quality of engagement in this liturgical act in public services will likely be increased, not according to fixed rules but based on voluntary practice and communal consent, emerging from local contexts. In this way, various disagreements over the theology and practice of the Eucharist may be minimized or overcome. The praxis of such foundational engagement through Oullim feasting will also help to communicate more effectively that the Eucharist is the means of God’s grace and the seal through which Christians acknowledge their identity as the united community, the Body of Christ. Such an opportunity for deep and profound meaning and engagement should not be sidelined for merely pragmatic reasons, aspirations for numerical growth, efficiency, or liturgical propriety.

C. Oullim Participation and Worship Planning

As we have seen, preaching is traditionally a—if not the—dominant liturgical focus in Korean churches. When it comes to length and priority, preaching has occupied the largest and most central portion of Korean Presbyterian worship. This is unlikely to change very much in the near future. Korean Christians have felt that through preaching they learn something important, new and insightful about the Word of God. Here preachers tend to become like instructors and lecturers who convey information and biblical knowledge, while listeners tend towards passive spectators rather than active participants. However, Christian conviction also holds that the preached Word should

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288 Jennifer L. Lord relates the separation of worship leaders, including preachers, from the congregation to the structure of the worship space found in many churches and the theatrical notion of a fourth wall—which “marks exactly that partition between a lighted stage and an unlit audience.” Despite the invisibility of a fourth wall in a theater, it “allows the actors to proceed as if the audience does
not only inform but also reform and transform through the Holy Spirit. Jennifer Lord argues that “While authority travels through the preacher, the power and authority are God’s own and the preacher cannot claim generativity.” Lord suggests that preachers as well as their listeners need to be informed, reformed, and transformed by the Word of God, and it should not be forgotten that the preacher is also one of worshipers in the moment of preaching. If Christians perceive preaching not just as the pastor’s task or ability to convince or impress others, but as proclamation of the Word of God that is linked to other actions in the liturgy—such as reading the Scripture and praying—they will be more likely to encounter the Word of God in preaching more holistically and meaningfully.

I would argue that in order to enable both preachers and participants to listen holistically to the Word of God in preaching and to practice what they hear, it is important to establish and nurture worship planning teams. In many Korean churches, worship

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289 For example, the Christian Reformed Church in North America asserts, “an understanding that preaching is proclamation of the Word of God that results in a Spirit-charged encounter with God, not mere lecture or instruction. In this connection, it is significant that in Reformed worship the Holy Spirit is traditionally invoked not only in the context of the sacraments but also in the context of the reading and preaching of the Word (the prayer for illumination).” See, CRC Publications, *Authentic Worship in a Changing Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications, 1997), 77.

290 Lord, “The Sunday Sermon,” 266.

291 Worship planning teams can provide various opportunities through which church members can learn of and about the meaning of worship, serve their congregation with their talents, and be united in dynamic ways. Malefyt and Vanderwell chart a structure of potential worship planning team members demonstrating that such planning teams can be organized and related systematically and dynamically, where various members can participate with different roles and opinions. Norma deWaal Malefyt and Howard Vanderwell, *Designing Worship Together: Models and Strategies for Worship Planning* (Herndon, VA: Alban Institute, 2004), 37.
planning teams exist as closed groups because the choice of Scripture is limited to the
preacher, and congregational songs or hymns are chosen by the music director, worship
leaders, and praise band. In such a structure and process of worship planning, the
direction of communication is largely one-sided and unidirectional. The flow of
communication in worship planning teams should involve a more dynamic mutuality.
Worship planning teams can become channels through which the Church and its context
can become liturgy, the work of the people. In this process, Chupungco’s model of
organic progression in liturgical inculturation is realized. Planning teams do well to
consist of the preacher, representatives of lay members from various age groups,
musicians, and artists. By questioning and sharing the context of where and how they live
in relation to the worship they offer to God, planning teams can be fruitfully involved in
the preparatory processes of preaching, including choosing, studying, and reflecting upon
the scriptural text(s). In this process, they are not only able to learn how the pastor’s
exegetical studies are embedded in the theme of a worship service but are also capable of
sharing and contributing their stories and contexts with the preacher, whose sermon will
stand to be more connected to the context of the local congregation.

Because a continuously changing culture and its impact upon the Church
community can be prayerfully discerned in planning teams, such a worship planning
process can itself become a practice of liturgical inculturation. Such dynamism and
variety need not be chaotic, but orderly.292 In the process of worship planning, the Word
of God leads the collaboration as planning teams make communal and dynamic efforts to

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292 “Though worship planning in one congregation may differ significantly from that in another
congregation, supervision is generally needed on two major levels—establishing vision and policy, and
planning worship.” Malefyt and Vanderwell, Designing Worship Together, 37.
read the Scripture holistically and lift their congregation up through prayer and worship, that they might discern the leading of the Holy Spirit together. The chosen texts should be reflected not only in the other liturgical practices, such as congregational songs, the singing of the choir, prayers, and the benediction that sends church members into the world, but also in members’ actual lives—certainly another equally important aspect of worship.293

When the theme of the scripture that is chosen for preaching is engaged through communal preparation and discernment, not only will the preaching be potentially enriched but other liturgical elements can also become more deeply engraved in the hearts of all worshippers. The result is not only coherence in a liturgy which is based on the Word of God but also tangible communal participation in and involvement with that Word. Such coherence and communal involvement can also contribute to theological reflection and actualization of Christian belief, through which Korean Christians can again be helped to overcome individualistic and dualistic approaches to the Word in preaching and worship.

From this perspective, Oullim Worship is also a practice of feasting on the Word through collective worship planning. It is not an individual task or job but a communal event, experience, gift and responsibility through which all family members contribute ingredients and are fed. In Oullim feasting, although the recipes of various foods may depend upon proven rules and practices, as well as the experiment of experienced and authoritative persons in the family, the meal table itself is prepared in an orderly manner

293 As implied in Romans 12:1 “Therefore, I urge you, brothers and sisters, in view of God’s mercy, to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God—this is your true and proper worship.” (NIV)
with collaborative support in matters such as washing the ingredients, stuffing them into
dumplings, cooking them, preparing utensils, and serving them to family members. Such
collaboration in Oullim feasts are analogous to the need for culturally appropriate
structures and models for participation in worship planning teams.294

When it comes to collaborative worship planning, it is also likely that a particular
perception of time and the seasonal calendar will be used. Many of the questions that
worship planners tend to focus on often get reduced to issues of frequency and quantity.
How long should preachers preach? What is the appropriate length of a worship service?
How many times should the choir or musicians practice? How often should the
sacraments be celebrated? What festivals will be celebrated? While these are important
considerations, they reflect deeper issues. William S. Kervin has argued for the need to
shift the attention to more qualitative concerns. On the subject of the Christian calendar
he notes: “We are prone to think of this calendar mostly in a quantitative and
chronological sense, and fail to ask the qualitative, kairos question, How is this time, this
season, revealing the fullness of God’s time in our lives and in the world?”295 If worship
planning teams observe only chronological and quantitative concerns in their planning
process, their collaboration around the Word of God may fall short, and their work may
tend towards empty repetition and mindless habit. To overcome such a reductionistic
approach, Kervin suggests a more counter-cultural attentiveness to kairos. “When viewed

294 For example, Malefyt and Vanderwell suggest that while there are many models for worship
planning, “nearly all defined models are built around this basic tiered structure: A governing board that is
responsible for overall worship policy. A worship committee that oversees the worship life of the church. A
worship planning team that carries out basic work of creating worship services from week to week. A few
people, volunteer or staff, who oversee the details on an ongoing basis.” Malefyt and Vanderwell,

295 William S. Kervin, Gathered for Worship: A Sourcebook for Worship Committees, Leaders,
through the lens of God’s *kairos*, the Christian year is not so much a calendar as it is a way of life.”

Observing the Christian year is like improvising skillfully and creatively with a musical instrument, but in reference to the steady rhythm of a metronome. Similarly, we can live out our Christian life in a variety of ways, guided by the rhythm of God’s work and grace among us. “Our God is a God of history, revealed in and through time, and so it is natural for our life-shaping rituals of faith to involve daily, weekly, seasonal, yearly, and life-cycle rhythms in order for us to remember and shape our faith-in-action.”

If worship planning teams keep such qualitative and theological characteristics of their seasonal, cultural and Christian calendars in view, they can help worshippers be more deeply aware of God’s *kairos* in their time and place.

Just as an Oullim feast becomes a channel through which the people, meal table, and time are harmonized and integrated in communal action, Oullim Worship enables the participants to be connected to the time and place in which the Word of God, the participants in liturgy, and God’s *chronos* and *kairos* are interwoven. In such multi-dimensional and dynamic interrelations, worship planning teams should not limit their tasks simply to deciding techniques such as frequency of the sacraments, styles of worship, and elements in liturgy, but should extend their considerations towards revealing the deeper meanings and implications of liturgy—what God is revealing at this time, in this liturgical practice.

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298 In another model of worship planning, John W. Witvliet identifies four kinds of worship leaders for worship planning: 1) Craftspeople, 2) Directors and Coordinators, 3) Performers, and 4) Spiritual Engineers. However, he asserts that such roles do not sufficiently describe the tasks of worship leaders because all of them need to be seen in a united role which Witvliet describes as “pastoral.” Witvliet, *Worship Seeking Understanding*, 279-284.
planning processes can enable Korean churches to realize the need for and benefits of liturgical inculturation. This work includes not only exploring the Scripture for preaching, reflecting the results of biblical studies in the elements of liturgy, and making decisions about details and practices, but also the value of learning together, praying for others, and rejoicing in the Holy Spirit’s guidance in their shared work and worship.\footnote{Not unrelated, Witvliet lists three common characteristics of a pastoral leader: 1) a love of learning; 2) a pastoral heart—which is revealed as praying for others; and 3) a spirit of joy. One might well extend such desirable characteristics to all church leaders, including preachers, elders, deacons, worship leaders, etc. Witvliet, \textit{Worship Seeking Understanding}, 283-284.}

Because Oullim Worship means gathering the people of God around God’s Word—whether it is in Scripture or the Eucharist, or both—its leadership cannot be the sole propriety of only few select individuals. It is communal from its beginning, from the planning and preparation process, to the worship, and leads to sending Christians into the world to the worship that is their daily lives. Because Oullim Worship means to open channels for communicating, collaborating, learning, praying, and uniting together, varying opinions on liturgical styles, theologies, culture, and social responsibility are not obstacles to union but practices to engage, since they build the Church up as a worshiping community, locating it in a particular place and time as its members are living into God’s \textit{kairos}.

Such principles and practices of Oullim Worship can move worshippers towards a Koreanized liturgical inculturation, enabling Korean Christians to acknowledge who they are, whose they are, and what they are doing, as they build up the Body of Christ, the worshiping community, when and where they are living. Because Oullim Worship is not a fixed style or pattern, it can be practiced in a variety of local styles and Korean contexts. Its basic principles and practices are ecclesiologically communal, theologically...
Eucharistic, and culturally participatory. Because these principles are deeply rooted in Korean culture, Oullim Worship can help Korean Christians engage in Christian worship with increased authenticity, integrity and faith.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to contribute to the renewal of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy, this study has employed the Korean cultural heritage of Oullim as a means of liturgical inculturation. While Oullim Worship involves key principles and practices—communality, feasting and participation—the ultimate goal is not simply to make external changes to the style or order of Korean Presbyterian liturgy. Qualitative changes in the hearts and lives of worshippers cannot be ensured by external changes alone. Liturgical inculturation seeks to be interwoven with the external and internal aspects of worship and liturgy.\textsuperscript{300} The lives of worshippers in liturgy must mirror the “deep structures” which result from liturgical inculturation.\textsuperscript{301}

Chapter One explored the history of Korean Presbyterian churches in terms of their liturgies and their evangelical characteristics. Since Western missionaries had an enormous influence on Korean churches, two key figures, Samuel A. Moffett and Charles A. Clark, both at Pyongyang Seminary, the cradle of theological education of Korean Presbyterian churches, were explored. Although Moffett and Clark each suggested a different liturgical model, Korean churches prospered under Moffett’s approach. Instrumentalist, pragmatic and divisive—even sectarian—strategies dominated.

Liturgically, his simplified, preaching-centered model still predominates today, despite

\textsuperscript{300} One recalls, for example, Witvliet’s summary of Calvin’s four “primary liturgical sins:” 1) disobedience to the Word of God, 2) hypocrisy, 3) superstition, and 4) idolatry. About the second one, hypocrisy, Calvin writes in his commentary on Micah 6, “Hypocrites place all holiness in external rites; but God requires what is very different; for his worship is spiritual.” Quoted in Witvliet, \textit{Worship Seeking Understanding}, 130. As Witvliet puts it, “Calvin was less interested in the actions of worship than in the people who offer them.” See Witvliet, \textit{Worship Seeking Understanding}, 129-133.

\textsuperscript{301} “Specifically, the fruits of inculturation, the \textit{deep structures} of Christianity, are what we call the ‘gospel values.’ They can be identified in thematic terms like forgiveness and reconciliation, hospitality and inclusion, thanksgiving (\textit{eucharistia}) and worship (\textit{latria}), or love of God and neighbor.” Gittins, “Beyond Liturgical Inculturation,” 70.
the changed context of Korean churches. In addition, American Christianity, which has continued to bring many missionaries to Korea, was (and remains) a major influence. Such dependency has diminished indigenous Korean liturgical opportunities for experiencing and responding to God’s grace.

The historical exploration in Chapter Two looked at hymns and worship songs of Korean churches to find them dominated by 19th century revivalism and the later Praise and Worship movement. Early missionaries introduced Christianity along with Western culture and music. Later Korean Christians have adapted the songs of American churches by translating the lyrics into Korean. The Praise and Worship movement has continued to affect Korean churches with new styles and ways of worship. Korean Christians are deeply divided over the appropriate style, genre, and musical instruments for worship, but such divisions tend to focus on the external aspects of music rather than its content or liturgical function. The songs and hymns of 19th century revivalism and the Praise and Worship movement reflect a theological imbalance which needs to be addressed by Korean Christians. There remains a need to promote and nurture Korean composers for hymns and worship music appropriate to Korean culture.

In response to the tendency of Korean churches to depend on the theology and culture of American Christianity, Chapter Three explored the work of Anscar J. Chupungco and his methods of liturgical inculturation. Korean churches have become alienated from their own culture in their worship and liturgy. Chupungco’s notion of liturgical inculturation invites Korean churches to reconsider how the liturgical practices of Korean churches have developed, why it is important to participate in worship with culturally coherent components, and what has been lost in the transactions between
church and culture. Chupungco’s categories of *terminus a quo* (understood as church norms) and *terminus ad quem* (understood as culturally embedded practices), together with his three models of liturgical inculturation (dynamic equivalence, creative assimilation, and organic progression) offer critical categories and methods for Korean liturgical inculturation.

Based on the foregoing historical, hymnological, and methodological research, Chapter Four explored the Korean cultural heritage of Oullim and its potential for a unique and original model of Korean liturgical inculturation which I call Oullim Worship. Oullim Worship allows Korean Christians to both acknowledge the more profound meanings and theological implications of worship, liturgical practices, and the sacraments, as well as encouraging their fuller participation in worship, not as mere listeners or audience but as active participants in the dynamics of liturgical planning and celebration. Oullim Worship seeks to counter individualistic understandings of the Christian faith in liturgical practices, including the sacraments. In contrast to the individualistic influence of modern American Christianity, Koreans have a long and more communal understanding of their identity. Such communality is arguably culturally closer to that of the biblical origins of the early church. In short, Chapter Four identified three principles and practices of Oullim Worship—communality, feasting and participation—in correlation to Chupungco’s methods and modes of liturgical inculturation—dynamic equivalence, creative assimilation, and organic progression.

These tentative findings await more refinement, correction and elaboration through further research and the praxis of Oullim Worship. It has been the goal of this study to help overcome the dualistic, individualistic, and instrumentalist understandings
and practices of Korean Presbyterian worship and liturgy. To be sure, this proposal of Oullim Worship is somewhat speculative, and considerable work and liturgical practice will need to be undertaken to further evaluate its value. There is also a sense in which it is the fruits of Korean Christians’ lives that will be the real evidence of the integrity of an inculturated Korean liturgy. In the end, it only remains for me to express the modest hope that Oullim Worship will help, that good fruit will come from Korean Christians when together they plan and gather for worship, encounter God in Word and sacrament, and go forth to live out faithful lives in the world.
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