

A Study of Liturgy with special
reference to F. Turretin (1623-1687)
and its relevance for Korea

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INTRODUCTION

Anybody can give a definition of Liturgy. But, if asked if he has such a liturgy, nobody can say easily 'yes'. The Roman Catholic's vestiges remained in the era of Reformation. The Reformers of the sixteenth century had many efforts to build on the view of a right liturgy. But if somebody asks about the liturgy of the seventeenth century, nobody could reply easily and quickly, because a study of liturgy of the seventeenth century is very rare. As the research on John Calvin, there are so many theological studies including liturgical studies on the Reformers. Most people however were not interested in the theological studies of the seventeenth century. But the study of the seventeenth century is very important and valuable, because the seventeenth century is a period succeeding the Reformation. After all, the seventeenth century is the period when the view of liturgy of the reformers was practiced. Especially, Francis Turretin is one of the most important theologians of the seventeenth century, and he is a successor of John Calvin and Theodore Beza. Nevertheless a study on Francis Turretin is very rare. I believe that it is very difficult to do a study on the seventeenth century without the study of Turretin.

Therefore there is a deep relationship between the study of seventeenth century's liturgy and Turretin. In this way, studies of the seventeenth century and Turretin have very big value and necessity. Another value and necessity is for correcting the confused liturgies of present churches, especially; the liturgical situation of the Korean church with a view on Turretin who is one of the biggest Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century. In spite of many efforts for making things straight, many people have been leaving their church. In the life of Christian faith liturgy is a very important base for faith, but this base is shaking now. The church's service became not a purpose of God's glory but a means of church growing. There is a depth of knowledge of the Bible, but just to hear is not enough. People dislike putting God's word into practice. There is sometimes a service stressing only the sermon. There is sometimes a service only for offering. Some preaching does not even refer to Jesus' Name. When somebody is baptized, he knows that he becomes a member of his church, but he does not know the fact that he is a believer. For the Reformer the sacrament is the visible word, but for the present church the sacrament became a special event. The insensitivity of the importance of the Lord's Day service has a close relationship to the breakdown of the faith of keeping The Lord's Day. In such a serious situation, it is very important to present a right direction and to correct the liturgy Biblically. Concerning the liturgy, it is impossible to do a liturgical study of all church history, because it is so big and wide range.

As space is limited, I will concentrate on a study ranging from the Old Testament's liturgy to the liturgy of the seventeenth century. In the first chapter, I will be discussing the meanings and elements of liturgy, and then I will take a brief historical description from the Old Testament to the seventeenth century. This study of liturgy begins with the Old Testament and the study after the New Testament will be divided into four parts, that is the New Testament, the Early Church, the Medieval Church, and the Reformation period centring on the great Reformer Calvin's liturgy. In the second chapter, I will advance my study to centring on Turretin's liturgical view and his theology in comparison with Calvin's theology together with the liturgical situation of the European churches. In the last chapter, with Turretin's liturgical view that had been discussed already, I intend to explain the liturgical situations of the Korean churches together with a brief liturgical history of Korean church, and then, I will mention the problems and alternatives of the liturgy of Korean churches with the view of Francis Turretin in mind. Finally, I will give a conclusion for this study. For all of this, this study will investigate some writings, works, journals, commentaries on the Bible and others connected to this study.

CHAPTER I

What is the life of a Christian? It is a life as a liturgist. The life of Christians is the life of liturgists through and through. Therefore it is very important to understand liturgy because it is to understand the living Christian life. The liturgy helps us to recover our calling, to grow in his church, to be the children of God.¹ Therefore I will discuss the meaning of Liturgy in this chapter, and it will be followed by a chronological description of the liturgy until the fifteenth century. In the last part of this chapter I intend to compare the liturgy of the Reformation with the liturgical view of John Calvin.

1. The Meaning of Liturgy

The liturgy is a form which represents all truth of Christianity. And the liturgy is a ritual of the people who confess Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of all sinners. Therefore liturgy is the confession of life and

¹ Antonio Donghi. *Actions and Words*, trans. William McDonough and Dominic Serra, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1997, 5.

the confession of faith for God in the actual life. So it is not too much to say that Christianity is the religion of liturgy for Christian liturgy is a command of God, and based on the biblical revelation.² In the centripetal point of liturgy, nobody can be a protagonist. Jesus came to this earth and destroyed the wall between God and human beings through this historical event, demonstrated by the salvation from all sin through his resurrection from the dead. Because of this, we have to meet Christ in liturgy and meet God through him. Only when we do so, liturgical community can continue with liturgy and life.³ The liturgy is formed by God's people and the liturgist is a Christian. And he is a 'communitarian' staying in the image of the Trinity.⁴ To Winward, liturgy is the human's response to God's revelation in Christ, the work of God's people, incarnation, sacrament, and congregation.⁵ The liturgy is the life itself.

1-1 The Biblical Meaning of Liturgy

² Ralph G. Tumbull. *Baker's Dictionary of Practical Theology*, (Grand Rapids: Baker House, 1976), 364.

³ J. J. Von Allmen. *Worship: its theology and practice*. (New York: Oxford Press, 1956), 42-43.

⁴ Antonio Donghi, op. cit., 4.

⁵ S. F. Winward. *The Reformation of our Worship*, (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967), 6-8.

The Bible is using various words related to liturgy. It is very difficult to define liturgy in the Old Testament. The word expressed most often is the Hebrew 'shachah'. As the meaning of 'Shachah' is 'to head down', 'to surrender', and 'to lie flat on the ground', it is an attitude showing respect of their bodies and souls together with the religious veneration or service.⁶ Besides, in the Old Testament there are other words like 'Abbadh' meaning 'work' or 'serve' and 'Kabod' meaning 'gravity', 'nobility', and 'fame'.⁷ In the New Testament we can also find the word liturgy in many places. The New Testament uses the Greek word 'Proskuneo' a lot. It means 'lie flat on the ground' or 'doing of obedience', and 'kiss' as terms on liturgy. It is an action showing respect. This word is used twenty four times in the New Testament and mainly at the private liturgy.⁸ Another very important word in the New Testament is 'Leiturgia' originally meaning the work done in the political community of ancient Greece.⁹ English also has several words of liturgy. There are service, worship, and liturgy in the English expressions about liturgy. 'Service' is found from the Latin language

⁶ Lee Byung Ryeul. *Dart Israel*, (Seoul: Kyomin Press, 1982), 111.

⁷ The Great Encyclopaedia of the Bible, Vol. 5. Ed. by Jung In Chan. (Seoul: Kidokjihaesa, 1980), 770.

⁸ Franklin M. Segler. *Christian worship*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1967), 5.

⁹ *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* Vol. 4, ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Trans Geoffrey W. Bromiley, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 1986) p.59.

‘servus’ meaning a slave to serve his master.¹⁰ In the Old Testament ‘Service’ means simply ‘to work’, in the public places like field or office, and in the ministry and service. In the New Testament several words are expressed ‘to serve or minister’.¹¹ Another English word on liturgy is ‘Worship’. It means ‘worthship’ expressing the value of an honourable individual suitable for that worth.¹² The last English term is ‘Liturgy’. This word is modern and very close to ‘service’. The origin of this word is as secular as the Greek word ‘leitourgia’, a compound word of labour and people. It is a people’s work for others’ benefit, that is, it is the essence about the priesthood of all Christians. The Eastern Orthodox Church just refers to the Eucharist to use the word ‘liturgy’, but the Western Church uses it for nearly all public worship with a participative nature.¹³

1-2. The Elements of Liturgy

¹⁰ J. F. White. *Introduction to Christian Worship*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 31-32.

¹¹ *Wycliffe Dictionary of Theology*, ed. by Everett F. Harrison, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Carl F. Henry. (Massachusetts: Hendrickson publishers, 1999), 482.

¹² *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. by A. E. Walter. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), 1192.

¹³ J. F. White, *op. cit.*, 31-32.

There are Preaching, Sacrament, Prayer, Hymn, Confession, Benediction, Offering as the basic factors of liturgy. I will not make a comprehensive study of all these elements, but will deal with the essential elements. The Old Testament has an actual example on praise worship. The Israel people of the Old Testament worshiped God with praise when saved from Egypt to his people in the wilderness. There are also three praises in connection with Jesus' birth in the Gospel of Luke in the New Testament. The Early Church Christians used Psalms with the worship song. The Preaching, that is, the proclamation of God's Word is the best among all liturgical orders. The proclamation of God's word is the shout towards the world to the meaning of life.¹⁴ And after the Reformation sacramentalism was one in opposite of proclamation of God's word between two forms of expression of the gospel¹⁵ Although the pagan Pliny who lived early in the Second century used the word 'sacrament' in his writing, Tertullian seems to use it similarly with its nature, from the third century it was used regularly.¹⁶ In earlier ages, there were only Psalms as church music. However, presently mainly Hymn, Gospel and Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) are used as liturgical music. Pliny wrote in his writings that the early Christians gathered before the sun rose and

¹⁴ Antonio Donghi, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁵ J. N. Suggit. *The Sign of Life*, (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993), 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

sang praises to God and to Jesus.¹⁷ To believers praise is a good communication system of their confession, aid for their belief, and an effective participation tool for liturgy.¹⁸ The prayer has very often been recognised as a tool for satisfying one's desire. However it is to seek God's will. Also if one's will is in God's will he has to keep it, and if it is not it is just through prayer that he has to turn to his will toward God's. There are various kinds of prayer such as the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, Benediction, etc. The only objective of prayer is the trinity of God and we have to pray only in the name of Jesus Christ.

2. The Liturgy of the Old Testament

The origin of the present liturgy is given from the Old Testament. We need to know the liturgy of the Old Testament to define liturgy.

2-1. The Liturgy of the Patriarchal age and before

¹⁷ Carl Schalk. Key word in church music, (St. Louise: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 90-91.

¹⁸ Louise F. Benson. The Hymnody of Christian Church, (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1956), 23.

Even if the Scriptures do not make a note of it, liturgy to God originates from Adam and Eve before the fall when they had a holy communion with God. They had the privilege to come face to face with God.¹⁹ In the patriarchal age, liturgy was ritual. Also it was constrained to the family. Patriarchs built an altar to God and worshiped him wherever they went. Whenever Abraham and his family moved, they built an altar for God and worshiped him. Abraham's liturgy was to confess the holy names of God. And the Patriarchs had a circumcision as the proof of their belief. This is an entry into spiritual life through the exclusion of flesh, and it is the perfection of the covenant.²⁰

2-2. The Liturgy in the period of the Law

The life and history of Israel are connected deeply with liturgy, for the life places the focus on God's glory. The liturgy of the Israelites brought much more formalization after the Exodus, and their liturgy was characterized by Moses who was the leader of the Exodus and a man of God. The observance of the covenant law became a special feature of the liturgy of the Israel covenant community.²¹ When the Israelites

¹⁹ R. G. Rayburn. "O come let us worship", (Grand rapids: Baker Book House, 1980), 44.

²⁰ Ibid., 60.

²¹ The complete library of Christian worship, Vol. 1. Ed. by R. E. Webber. (Nashville: Star song publishing group, 1993), 95.

were in the wilderness, teachings on false liturgy emphasized idolatry and the tragic result of its worship.²² In this time there were the Tabernacle and Temple in the centre of the place of official liturgy. Offering sacrifices were only permitted at the temple. The liturgy in this period had been prescribed and even all detailed articles like the methods and contents of construction, the garments of liturgy, and kinds and methods of sacrifices, etc. In the wilderness Israel built a tabernacle where the Ark of the Covenant stayed. There was an Ark of Covenant in the middle of the tabernacle liturgy. After their settlement in Palestine, Israel worshiped in the temple. It was possible to move the tabernacle, but the temple was built on a fixed place. In the age of King David the liturgy of Israel came into Jerusalem. From King David's time the concept and character of Israel's liturgy for their God did not change to ethical perfection but the confession of their sin and the praise through music.²³

2-3. The Liturgy during the Exile and thereafter

One of Israel's main interests after the return from Exile was a liturgy: the synagogue appeared to be the new place for their nonsacrificial

²² Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1192.

²³ The complete library of Christian worship, op. cit., 97.

liturgy.²⁴ The temple liturgy was not allowed after the destruction of Judah in 586 BC. However Israel continued their liturgy in the new place. It was the beginning of a synagogue liturgy. The synagogue was started by the scattered Israelites, called the Diaspora, during the Babylonian captivity. In that new place they had something like a commentary of the Torah, recitation of the Shema or the Psalms, and prayer.²⁵ During that period, the importance of the Rabbi increased greatly; and the role of the Priest decreased. The participation of layman was outstanding, and the liturgy was performed almost every day.²⁶

3. The Liturgy of the New Testament

We have knowledge about the liturgy of the New Testament from our Lord's words and his disciples' writings.

3-1. The Lord's Teaching of the Liturgy (with John 4: 24)

²⁴ Ibid., 98.

²⁵ Ibid., 99.

²⁶ Kim Su hak, *The Reformed liturgy*, (Daegu, Bomun Press, 1982), 38.

To worship God was limited to the Israelites in the Old Testament, but from the New Testament anybody who wants to worship God can worship him. Although the liturgy in the New Testament originated in the Old Testament, we can get the most important teaching of our Lord about liturgy from the Gospel of John 4: 24. It is to worship in Spirit and in Truth. The real liturgy from chapter 4 of the Gospel of John is to offer in truth through the Spirit of Christ, the Holy Spirit. Through this liturgy, the water of life is given to the worshipper. This water indicates the Spirit and the Truth.²⁷ And also John 4:24 is our Lord Jesus' key point of liturgy to God. To worship God in our spirit is exceedingly different from the legalistic character of the Jew's liturgy in the letter, and to worship him in truth is also notably different from the Samaritan or other liturgies without this reality. He showed to us a clearer liturgy of God the Father by revealing to us the Father through himself.²⁸ And at the Last Supper our Lord gave to his disciples a new meaning of liturgy in relation to the new covenant through the sharing of the bread and wine(Mathew 26:17-30).

3-2. The Apostles' Liturgy

²⁷ D. E. Holwerda. The gospel of John, translated by Yu Ho Jun, (Seoul: Kidokyomunseosunkyowhea, 1994), 62.

²⁸ Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1193.

Like the other writings in the New Testament, we cannot find the word 'Liturgy' in the writings of the Apostle Paul. When we look at the Bible's record that the Apostles gathered together, prayed, broke bread, there was a liturgy of sharing between God and believers and also between believers. To the Apostle Paul the Liturgical action is the whole mind, will, words, and deeds only for God (Rom 12:1).²⁹ There was a liturgy of Temple or synagogue in the time of Jesus, and also after Jesus' ascension the Apostles stayed in the Temple and they gathered together there. Increasing in members they chose the upper storey. We can find Paul's conviction about the Eucharist as the Liturgy was given from the Lord Jesus Christ in 1 Corinthians 11:23. However it does not mean that he had been given revelations of the Eucharist directly from the risen Lord, but it is clear that he found that the church is caused directly by the Lord Jesus Christ.³⁰ The Eucharist is a very important liturgy to Paul. Although the Eucharist was an event before the resurrection of Jesus, Paul regards it as an important liturgy. Paul is also referring to offering as a liturgy. He asked the Corinthians and Galatians churches to gather the offerings (1Corinthians 16:1). Early Christians not only offered to God on the Lord's Day, but replaced their whole lives as offering some of their wages.

²⁹ W. Hendrickson. *Romans volume 2, the banner of thrust truth*, (1981), 402.

³⁰ J. N. Suggit, *op. cit.*, 13.

4. The Liturgy of the Early Church

The early church accepted the liturgical style of the Jews and after the church developed they added the Lord's Supper and prayers in the Name of Jesus.³¹ The liturgy of this age was a liturgy of eschatological character offered to God and expecting the Lord's Second coming. There were some elements of liturgy like preaching, baptism, offering, and prayer, but the essential form was a liturgy as a community practicing the Last Supper of the Lord. And the liturgy of the early age was a celebration of the Lord's resurrection. As Oscar Cullmann mentioned it, because the Lord's Day is the feasting day of Christ's Resurrection, early Christians gathered together and had liturgy.³² From the beginning the early Christian church had remembered and celebrated the first day of every week as the day of the Lord Jesus' Resurrection.³³ The order of liturgy in the church at the age of the apostles was not clear. While the liturgical components did not have a fixed form, all the early proofs like the New Testament or non canonical writings tell that the climax of the weekly liturgy of the Lord's Day was

³¹ Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1193.

³² Oscar Cullmann. *Early Christian Worship*. (London: SCM, 1962), 34.

³³ Harry R. Boer. *A Short History of the Early Church*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans publishing company, 1976), 143.

a sacrament for the Lord's Supper.³⁴ Around the second century, through Justin's writing, we know that the early churches had a certain liturgical order that was founded by tradition. However it was still not complex.³⁵

4-1. The Didache

The Didache called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is made up of two parts. We can find the earliest forms of liturgy in this book. This describes the acts for appreciation of the bread and wine.³⁶ "It is assumed that Didache is writing earlier than the canonical Gospels, and is also contemporary with St. Paul. Didache is taken to be the recording of a well-ordered oral scheme for the instruction of neophytes in a one-to-one relationship with a mentor of the same sex, who also administers and baptise."³⁷ This document is made up of two parts. One is an instruction about the 'Two Ways' namely the way of life and the way of death (1.1-6.2), and another is a manual for church order or practice (6.3-16.8).³⁸ During this second part it is talking about

³⁴ Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1193.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Wycliffe Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 325.

³⁷ Stuart G. Hall. The Didache. Text, Translation, Analysis, and Commentary, Journal of Theological studies ns55 no2 O (2004): 705.

³⁸ The Apostolic Fathers, ed. by Michael W. Holmes, Translated by

the Eucharist in chapter 9 and 10, and the Lord's Day in chapter 14.³⁹ This substantially prescribes the method of celebrating the Lord's Supper, it also includes the fact that prayers with fixed forms were used. This document has some directions and usages for liturgy. And it indicates the need for confession of sin before the Lord's Supper.⁴⁰

4-2. The Shepherd of Hermas

The Shepherd of Hermas is a form of an apocalypse. It is formed with a revelation series that the church made for Hermas.⁴¹ Nobody knows the author of this book, but the Christian attitude of this author becomes clear through his descriptions that the church is chosen by God. And the church is near to perfection already by the careful work of Christ.⁴² "Each revelation is accompanied by an explanation, and from these it can be seen that though the form of the book is

Lightfoot J. B. and Harmer J. R., (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989): 145.

³⁹ The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 1. Translated by Kirsopp Lake. Harvard University Press, (1977): 323-331.

⁴⁰ Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1193.

⁴¹ The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 2. Translated by Kirsopp Lake. Harvard University Press, (1965): 2.

⁴² James S. Alexander. The Shepherd of Hermas, by Osiek, Carolyn: book review. Biblical Interpretation volume IX (2001): 92.

apocalyptic and visionary, its object is practical and ethical. A matter of concern in this book is the occurrence of sin after baptism. This book is divided into three parts, Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes.”⁴³

4-3. The Liturgy from the Third century to the Fifth century

As soon as the Sunday liturgy started in the second century, we can forecast the settlement of the Christian community through the Christian meeting in the middle of that liturgy. On account of these liturgical groups the church was formed and the organization for the third and fourth century and various liturgical documents were made. In the middle of it there was a dual structure of liturgy by God’s Word and the Lord’s Supper. In particular we can find the references of liturgy of that age through documents like the ‘Didascalia’ from northern Syria, ‘The Apostolic Tradition’ of Hippolytus, and the writings of Clement, or Origen.⁴⁴ Specially, although the Clementine Liturgy of Antioch in Syria was a private compilation, we can find the liturgical rites of the early church through this document. And also this is valuable as the original form of all liturgies of the Eastern Church.⁴⁵

⁴³ The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 2., op. cit., 2.

⁴⁴ Kim Young Jae. Liturgy and Church, (Seoul: Habdong seminary press, 1997), 78.

⁴⁵ W. D. Maxwell. An Outline of Christian Worship, (London: Oxford university press, 1958), 26.

And in this time the church had many religious councils for the settlement of many religious problems.

5. The Liturgy of the Medieval Age

After A.D. 313(the Edict of Milan), the Church gained freedom of Liturgy, Sundays became the holiday as the Lord's Day, and the official liturgy was carried out every week on this day. Many Christians gathered in one place, so that the church could not help but take a big building for their liturgy.

5-1. The liturgy after the fifth century

After the Edict of Milan Christianity obtained freedom as an official religion. As a result of it, the church built more splendid buildings and had longer and varicoloured liturgy.⁴⁶ The rites and forms of the Eastern Church followed liturgical rules of Justinian's Code, and the West was influenced by the East but the West had much more adaptability. Afterward, they developed their own liturgical rites.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, op. cit., 1194.

⁴⁷ W. R. Cannon. History of Christianity in the middle Ages from the Fall

5-2. The Liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Church

The form and ceremony was a major feature of the Eastern Church. For two hundred years after the fourth century there was little change in the Eastern Church. Passing over to the seventh century liturgical rites of the East Church were nearly all, and after that time there wasn't much change.⁴⁸ There were Byzantine and Jerusalem rites in the Eastern Church, and between these two rites the St. Chrysostom rite in Byzantine was used mainly by the Orthodox Church. They also used mural paintings, holy pictures, or symbols in their liturgy. The major subject of their liturgy was the resurrection of Christ. The Orthodox rite gradually became the centre of Eucharist in the mystic rite.⁴⁹

of Rome to the Fall of Constantinople, (Nashville: Abingdon press, 1960), p. 35.

⁴⁸ W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., 34.

⁴⁹ Lee Jung Hyun. Reformed Liturgy, (Seoul: Seoul Bible Theological Seminary press, 2001), 77, 80.

5-3. The Liturgy of the Western Church (until before the Reformation)

In the sixth century, Gregory I tried reforms to maximize liturgical uniformity in the Latin West. On account of the fact that Latin was used in the liturgy,⁵⁰ most congregations couldn't understand the contents of their liturgy, and the gravity of the sermon faded away gradually. After the sixth century the liturgical rite of the Western Church divided into two styles. One was a Roman rite, another was a Gallican rite. However in the ninth century the West Roman Church unified their liturgical rite with the Roman rite. Also from that time the separation between the Baptism and non-Baptism liturgy disappeared, the Roman church forbade the receiving of the wine, and permitted only the receiving of bread. At last in the thirteenth century the Roman Church decided on the Doctrine of Transubstantiation through the fourth Lateran Council.⁵¹ One of the biggest characteristics of the medieval liturgy can be seen in the monasticism. To monks the liturgy was one of the most important parts. So the monks fixed to the rite of many parts in the liturgy. Most of medieval sermons were exegetical sermons, in which practical application was emphasized. The preaching became the very useful means of conscription for the Crusade which was

⁵⁰ The Westminster Dictionary of Church History, ed. by Jerald C. Brauer, (Philadelphia: The Westminster press, 1969), 505.

⁵¹ Lee Jung Hyun, op. cit., 80-82.

started from the twelfth century.⁵² Many converted pagan Christians influenced the rite with some mystic factors especially concerning the Lord's Supper. The Roman Mass was divided into two simple liturgies, one of the Word and the other of the Upper Room. However by degrees the communion table became an altar and was hidden behind the wall, the congregation went away from their priest. The Lord's Supper was not a thanksgiving but a fear. The congregations became just dissatisfied spectators of their liturgies; finally those who were discontent became the primary cause of the Reformation.⁵³

6. The Liturgy of John Calvin

In this unit I want to study the liturgy of the Reformation age together with the situations of that time. After considering the liturgical view of some Reformers excluding John Calvin, I will observe the liturgy of Calvin through his works and commentaries.

⁵² J. F. White. *A Brief History of Christian Worship*, (Nashville: Abingdon press, 1993), 77, 99.

⁵³ *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, op. cit., 1194.

6-1. The Liturgy of the Reformers

One of the major reasons why the Middle Ages were in spiritual darkness was the absence of theology, especially the absence of right liturgy and living liturgy which is the liturgy to meet God and to serve him. However, because liturgy did not take place in the meetings these negative results occurred. The congregation did not understand the language used in the Mass and was therefore a passive onlooker. The altar was a stage, the priest was an actor, and the main theme was that the bread and wine change to the real blood and flesh of the Lord Jesus. However there were also the mind, will, devotion, and also the spirit and truth. The sacrament rite of the medieval Roman Church was the rite of just priests, and the liturgists looked at the rite with superstitious eyes or replaced the participation by a soliloquy prayer.⁵⁴ The liturgy in God's church of this time were filled with a priest's play, superstitious adoration, misunderstanding language, offering for Mass, ignorant preaching, legends of the saints instead of God's Word. And the offering and indulgences became the source of the simony and exploitation of the Roman church.⁵⁵ This funny situation made the medieval church into a powerless and ignorant church. Referring to the liturgy it is a dialogue to give the mind and to receive the word between

⁵⁴ Na Yong Wha. *An Outline of Calvin's Institutes*, (Seoul: Kidokyo munseo sunkyowhea, 1993), 160.

⁵⁵ W. D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 72.

God and his people; John Huxtable said there is a harmony to give and take in the reformed church because there is only a giving liturgy in the mass of Catholic Church.⁵⁶ The Mass, that is, the liturgy was the most important one of the focuses of the Reformation. Luther was a starting point of this glorious Reformation and Calvin an accomplisher. In the liturgy Martin Luther's key point was a Eucharist, he believed that all churches has to practice the Eucharist every day. Luther's basic concept of Eucharist is a fellowship essentially, and he rejected the Doctrine of Transubstantiation of the Roman Catholic Church. Luther insists on the Doctrine of Consubstantiation that Christ really comes out in the bread and wine. And Luther understood that the Mass is not a repetition of Christ's death but a participation in his sacrifice.⁵⁷ To Luther the holy element on the Eucharist table is a food of Christ's grace; also it is Christ's invisible body and blood being together.⁵⁸ Because he was capable to make music, Luther made many hymns for the liturgy. Huldreich Zwingli, another Reformer started to reform Christianity in the Swiss Northern Province Zurich is using the German language.⁵⁹ Zwingli is the Reformer who insisted on the strongest

⁵⁶ John Huxtable. *The Bible Says*, (Richmond: John Knox press, 1962), p. 109.

⁵⁷ Kim Duk Ryong. *Modern Church's Worship*, (Seoul: Chongshin University press, 1985), 87.

⁵⁸ Jung Jang Bok. *Introduction of Worship*, (Seoul, Jongro books, 1994), p. 196.

⁵⁹ Earle E. Cairns. *Christianity through The Centuries*, (Grand Rapids:

reformation concerning liturgy. He wanted to change the liturgy radically because he did not permit the Mass as the norm of liturgy. He rejected all symbols in the Mass, abolished all music at the public liturgy.⁶⁰ Zwingli declared that prayer, confession, reading the Bible, and preaching was the basic factor of liturgy.⁶¹ In connection with the sacrament Zwingli did not accept the Transubstantiation of the Roman Catholic and the Consubstantiation of Luther. Asserting that the Eucharist is a simple memory, Zwingli insists on Memorialism. He reduced the practice of Eucharist from four times to once a year. The Eucharist was not the method of God's grace for him anymore. John Knox from Scotland was banished from his land to Geneva because of his opposition of the using of the Anglican liturgy form. He was influenced greatly by Calvin whom he met in his exile. He used nearly the same form of rite within Calvin's liturgical form, but he changed the contents of the liturgy slightly by his own reasoning. 'The Christian year' was abolished officially by him.⁶² Martin Bucer of Strasbourg used the expression of 'minister', 'Lord's Supper', 'Holy Table' instead of 'priest', 'Mass', and 'altar'. He also changed from the 'Nicene' to the 'Apostles' Creed' and from the 'Roman Blessing' to the 'Aaronic

Zondervan, 1972), 237.

⁶⁰ F. M. Segler, op. cit., 42.

⁶¹ Song Young Jin. The research for the right liturgical form, (Seoul: Anyang Seminary, 1998), 38.

⁶² Illion T. Jones. A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship, (New York: Abingdon press, 1953), 131.

Blessing'. And in his liturgy there are fellowship and joy.⁶³ He returned psalms and hymns that had been stopped by Zwingli, and insisted on choosing the Bible as the pastor wishes.⁶⁴ His most important contribution in the liturgy is that the whole congregation can see all of the liturgy order. As I mentioned it there are some differences among the reformers. Nevertheless all Reformers including Calvin had similar ideas. They rejected the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church because they insisted that it is the repetition of Christ's sacrifice. The reformer Luther, in his writing 'The Babylonian Captivity of the Church', pointed out the abuse of Eucharist, saying that the holy Eucharist was sinking into the exhibition ground, pub, and commodity market.⁶⁵ They rejected the 'Seven sacraments' and 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation' of Roman Catholics. Because the Medieval church believed that the bread and wine of the Eucharist became the body and blood and Christ presents into them automatically, the Reformers thought that those elements were these to receive God's blessing with faith. And they denied superstitious liturgy, Mass with God's word. And they also rejected the situation of the priest as the mediator between God and man, in fact, the 'Priesthood of All Believers' of Luther begins from here. And they insisted on the liturgy by mother tongue and the restoration of

⁶³ W. D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 98.

⁶⁴ Jung Jang Bok. , *op. cit.*, 105-106.

⁶⁵ R. E. Webber. *Worship Old and New*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982), 74.

the word.

6-2. The Liturgy of Calvin

Calvin's standard of the public liturgy rite is in the Bible as God's word and the tradition of the early church. It was not that he wanted to replace the preaching with the Mass. He did not want the formal mass but the liturgy with the balance of the word and sacrament.⁶⁶ The first point of Calvin's liturgy is 'only glory to God'. When the Roman Catholic theologian, Jacop Satoletto said man's final object is the salvation of himself, refuting that it is not a word from a theologian, Calvin said life's object is to give glory to God.⁶⁷ So there must be in all liturgies the faith that Christ is the saviour and Lord, because only Christ is the Mediator cleaning all sin between God and human, so we can be accepted into God's salvation through his holy blood. And the illumination of the Holy Spirit in liturgy is also very important to Calvin. When we worship him following his word, God works in that church's liturgy. According to Calvin in the Old Testament God supplied rites to

⁶⁶ Kim su Hak., op. cit., 52.

⁶⁷ John C. Olin. A Reformation Debate: Sadoletto's Letter to the Genevans and Calvin's Reply, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1966), 58.

Israel to worship him rightly. “God accommodated himself to weaker and unripe apprehensions by the rudiments of ceremony.”⁶⁸ Distinguishing the true liturgy and false liturgy, Calvin said that the liturgy taught in Romans 12:1-2 was true.⁶⁹ Explicating this part from his Bible Commentary, Calvin goes on to say: “Offer yourselves as a sacrifice to God, if you have it in your heart to serve God: for this is the right way of serving God; from which, if any depart, they are but false worshippers.”⁷⁰ He said there are three false liturgy types, teaching man’s own man-made teachings, pharisaic liturgy, and theatrical liturgy.⁷¹ Calvin stressed the importance of inner liturgy, that is, the liturgy of heart, because the simple external rite without it is meaningless. Through his commentary about Micah 6: 6-8 Calvin is saying that the hypocrites put in the external rite to all holiness, but God asked something very different; it is a spiritual liturgy.⁷² However if we misunderstand it, we might think that the form has no worth. His mention does not disregard the holiness of form as the respect that the form reflects to the content but stress the spiritual aspect of liturgy. The external liturgy of God is an insufficiency, for it is insufficient to serve

⁶⁸ John Calvin. Comm. on Psalms. 50:14

⁶⁹ John Calvin. Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. by John T. McNeill, (Philadelphia: The Westminster press, 1960), Bk.4. Ch.18. 16; Hereafter Inst.

⁷⁰ John Calvin. Comm. on the Epistle to the Romans. 12:1

⁷¹ Inst. 4. 10. 24, 26, 29.

⁷² Comm. on Micah. 6: 6-8.

God with our external actions, also when we do something for God; if we do not start from the internal affection of our mind, we cannot get anything.⁷³ At the same time, however, it is also not enough only to have the internal reality. It needs external expression. Calvin is explaining this fact with the example of farm work in his commentary of Genesis 12:7.⁷⁴ According to Calvin's commentary on Malachi, we must engrave in our minds that we cannot give to him the right liturgy, if we do not take the liturgy as he informed us through his revelation.⁷⁵ The centre of Calvin's liturgy was in God's word with the sacrament. The preaching to him is to give God's word to man through the preacher; also it is an evidence of God's presence as a means of grace that the invisible God comes near to the human. He defines preaching as the Word of God, and it is a very important means of the proclamation and propagation of the gospel.⁷⁶ God gives us the actual knowledge about Himself only through the Bible.⁷⁷ He insists the sign of the real church is to proclaim God's word purely and to practice the sacrament on the grounds of the institution of Christ.⁷⁸ Calvin said that the Baptism is the sign of entrance as one of God's children and the

⁷³ Inst. 4. 18. 16. And 3. 3. 16.

⁷⁴ Comm. on Genesis 12:7.

⁷⁵ Comm. on Malachi. 1:11

⁷⁶ Ronald S. Wallace. *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament*, (Edinburg: Oliver and Body, 1953), 82-95.

⁷⁷ Inst. 1. 6. 1.

⁷⁸ Inst. 4. 1. 9.

purpose of it is to help our faith and doing our confession in front of people, that is, it proves that we have consented to worship the same God with the same one faith together with all Christians, also to help our confession performing in front of saints.⁷⁹ Calvin regarded the Eucharist as covenantal. The Eucharist is the sign of the covenant between God and his chosen people. He said that the Eucharist is the visible word of God and we must think about the spiritual benefits of the bread and wine as the blood and flesh of Christ.⁸⁰ He therefore insisted on the 'Spiritual Presence' in terms of Eucharist, and stressed the mystical communion between the believer and the whole person of Christ.⁸¹ He emphasized the Confession of sin in the prayer⁸² and he said that the prayer is a familiar intercourse between God and his people.⁸³ Calvin regarded the hymn as a prayer; he mainly used the Psalms for liturgical song, and he said that hymns were made simply for sweet feelings and delights of man's ear and are not right as church music.⁸⁴ He therefore suggested that children sing the Psalm song.⁸⁵ Calvin published his first liturgical document in the early 1540's; it was

⁷⁹ Inst. 4. 14. 1, 13.

⁸⁰ Inst. 4. 17. 3.

⁸¹ Louis Berkhof. *Systematic Theology*, (London: The Banner of Truth, 1974), 653.

⁸² Thomson Bard. *Liturgies of the Western Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1980), 197-198.

⁸³ Inst. 3. 20. 16.

⁸⁴ Inst. 3. 20. 32.

⁸⁵ F. M. Segler, op. cit., 58.

influenced greatly by Martin Bucer's of Strasbourg. He published the liturgical document again in the years 1542 and 1547. In brief the Reformer Calvin said that the real liturgy is possible when the liturgy is based on the Bible and church tradition and when the right preaching and the right practice of the Sacrament only for God's glory come into operation in the Illumination of the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER II

In this chapter, I would like to mention the liturgical situations of European countries and Francis Turretin (1623-1687), one of the most prominent theologians in the Seventeenth century, which is the middle section of this thesis. In the beginning, we will examine the conditions of some chosen European churches which were at the centre stage of the Reformation after John Calvin. Next I will deal with the theological and liturgical views of Francis Turretin. In advance of that statement, however, for so little is known about him, it is necessary to consider a sketch of Francis Turretin's life.

1. The Situation of the European Churches after Calvin

In the following times of the Great Reformer, the religious awakening in the European churches was accompanied with the renewal of liturgical

rite. This period's liturgy stressed the simplicity of liturgy, for they underlined the spiritual more than the formal.⁸⁶ Calvin's Reformation was started from the little city Geneva in Switzerland and was extended in most countries of Europe from the south to the north. Although Lutheranism spread out rapidly in the early period of Reformation, their influence declined in the other countries except Germany. Rather Calvin's influence spread out largely towards the whole area of Europe.⁸⁷ Martin Luther passed away in 1546, John Calvin's final edition of Institutes was finished in 1559, the reformed confessions were compiled by the end of the sixteenth century, and the forms of the church's organization were formed mostly in this period. Cooling down the early eagerness about the Reformation by degrees, theology could not give up the conversation with the intellectual movement of that time while also having an interest in the internal development of themselves.⁸⁸ The Reformation was not a passive, but an affirmative proclamation about the Christian gospel; it was not just an opposition for the sake of opposition, because it was a protest that they proclaimed with the meaning of an important declaration. This

⁸⁶ F. M. Segler., p. 46.

⁸⁷ Lee Hyun Woong. *The research on the history and prospect of the liturgic form Presbyterian Church*, Diss. Jangshin University seminary(2004), 60.

⁸⁸ John H. Leith., *An Introduction to the Reformed Tradition: a way of Being the Christian Community*. Revised edition, (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 117-18.

affirmative character can be found from the Swiss Reformation. Huldreich Zwingli is a first runner of the Swiss reformation, since his influence was mainly in Switzerland with his powerful character as a theologian and preacher. The strong Swiss Reformation by the Word of God made to call their reformation as 'Reformed'. Therefore, all Protestant churches are generally reformed. Protestant issue and Evangelicalism were used together as the same meaning at that time. Although William Farel, another French reformer led to start the reformation of the Geneva city, a more powerful reformation was prompted by John Calvin. Calvin reformed the liturgy, and he began and supported the making of the Genevan Psalter. Geneva became the central city with very big influential power for the development of European Reformed churches by Calvin's leadership. Though Geneva was the centre of reformed movement, this city had certainly been a very great influence.⁸⁹ In the case of England, their reformation was unique. The Church of England followed Calvin in the doctrine, but their liturgical form followed the Catholics. Even though the Anglican Church had not been separated yet, their contribution to the doctrine and liturgy was very valuable. Under the reign of Henry VIII, the Church of England separated from the Vatican, but the mass continued for many years.⁹⁰ The England reformation had a great

⁸⁹ Ibid., 33-6.

⁹⁰ W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., 144-45.

influence under Edward VI (1547-1553). Martin Bucer of Strasbourg lived in England in his last years as a reformer, and Calvin corresponded with Cranmer of Canterbury, King Edward, and the lord protector Somerset. Among them 'the Prayer Book' of Cranmer shows very well the influence of the Reformation around the country. Puritanism had some opportunities so that they can contribute newly to the order of the church for twenty years after 1640 in England, but they failed, and finally the Church of England would be Episcopal.⁹¹ In England, there were the first and second Book of Common Prayers until 1552, but after them, there was not any revision until 1662, but the Westminster Directory, and there had not been any official revision on 'the Book of Common Prayer' until 1627.⁹² The next book was the book of Common Prayer which was revised in 1662:⁹³

The Liturgy of the Word

Lord's Prayer, said by celebrant Alone

Collect for purity

⁹¹ John H. Leith, op. cit., 55.

⁹² W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., 145-51.

⁹³ Ibid., 152-53.

Decalogue with English *Kyrie*

and Incline our hearts, & c.

Collect for the King

Collect of the day

Epistle

Gospel

Nicene Creed

Sermon or Homily shall follow

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Offertory:

Scripture Sentences, said

Collection of alms, etc.

Preparation of elements

Intercessions, with commemoration of departed

Exhortation

Invitation

General Confession

General Absolution

Comfortable Words

Sursum corda

Prayer of Consecration:

Preface and Propers

Sanctus

Prayer of Humble Access

Commemoration of Passion

Words of Institution with manual acts and Fraction

Communion

Lord's Prayer (Matt. doxology)

Oblation or Post-communion Thanksgiving

Gloria in excelsis

Peace and Blessing

The Reformation was started by Luther and spread to the rest of Germany. He received the support of the leading schools, and especially received big support from Philip Melancon, feudal princes and people.⁹⁴ Although through the Peace of Nuremberg in 1532 the protestant believers could take the believing life freely in their area, still the strained relationship between them and the Roman Church continued.⁹⁵ The Protestants and feudal lords found that the emperor had some conspiracy for the war against them through the 'Augsburg Interim'. Thus they formed the 'Schmalkald League' as a kind of defence confederation. In the next year after Luther's death, in 1547, tragically the Schmalkald war took place in Germany, and severe theological arguments were continued.⁹⁶ After the riot of Praha, the emperor Ferdinand severely oppressed the Protestants, and they

⁹⁴ Lion Publishing ed., *The History of Christianity*. Trans. by Song Kwang Tack, (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1989), 377.

⁹⁵ Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity*, trans. by Seo Young Il, (Seoul: Un Sung Press, 1992), 142-43.

⁹⁶ Lion Publishing ed., *The History of Christianity*. op. cit., 377-78.

resisted against the emperor, and it started the Thirty Years' War. The countries concerned, however, were not Germany, but France and Sweden. Two countries' army had to continue their war in Germany, and on account of the Thirty Years' War many German people died; later Germany became the stage of plundering, fire, and conspiracy. At last the two countries got exhausted and concluded a peace treaty with each other in 1648, namely The Peace of Westphalia.⁹⁷ Scotland is the original place of Presbyterianism. Over three hundred years, Scotland had become the central point in Europe, their hero was John Knox (1515-1572). The meeting with Calvin in Geneva during exile, became the conclusive opportunity so that Calvin's thought influenced Knox and his country Scotland. In Geneva Knox was taught about the liturgy and church policy with Calvin's theology, and he carried out the theories in Scotland. The Scottish Church forbade completely the Roman Catholics in 1560, and started to establish the Presbyterian Church as their religion.⁹⁸ After that they had troubles with the English government and the Anglican Church and they received some resistance from them; nonetheless, the Scottish Church kept firmly to their church. Scotland at last built up more completely the liturgy, creed, and organization and so on through the Westminster Conference in 1643. Since these things greatly influenced the American Presbyterian

⁹⁷ Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity*, op. cit., 211-17.

⁹⁸ Lefferts A. Loetcher. *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), 38.

church and others, the Scottish Church has been called the central point of the Presbyterian Church.⁹⁹ Following 'The Book of Common Prayer' of Scotland in 1557, 'The Book of common Order' in 1562 is named as 'The Form of Prayers' or 'Knox's Liturgy', and became a basic guide book of Scott liturgy both in name and reality until the Westminster Directory will be set out.¹⁰⁰ The Westminster Directory in 1645 followed.¹⁰¹

The Liturgy of the Word

Call to worship-'Let us worship God'

Prayer of Approach:

Adoration

Supplication for worthiness

Supplication for illuminatio

Lecton from Old Testament--one chapter in course

⁹⁹ Lee Hyun woong, op. cit., 61.

¹⁰⁰ Jung Jang Bok. *Theology of Liturgy*, (Seoul: Jangshin University Press, 1999), 167.

¹⁰¹ W. D. Maxwell, op. cit., 129-31.

Lecture from New Testament--one chapter in course

Metrical psalms to be sung before and, or, between the lectures

Prayer of confession and intercession.

Sermon

General Prayer

The Lord's Prayer

The Liturgy of the Upper Room

Offertory

Invitatory exhortation and Fencing of Tables

Setting apart of elements from all common uses

Words of Institution

Exhortation

Prayer of Consecration:

Prayer of Access

Thanksgiving for Creation and Providence

Thanksgiving for Redemption

Thanksgiving for the Word and Sacraments

Anamnesis

Epiclesis

Fraction

Delivery

Communion (Celebrant receiving first)

Exhortation to a worthy life

Post-communion Prayer:

Metrical Psalm of praise

Solemn Blessing

As days go by, the use of this common order document declined gradually. Later prayer became the style of instant prayer and very instructive content.¹⁰² By the endeavour of Andrew, Melville returned to Scotland from Geneva after finishing his studies at the Scottish Presbyterian Church and had developed enough. Although there were some deputation between Presbyterian Church and Methodist Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, still the Presbyterian Church continued in the direction of the history of the Scottish Church. Presbyterians made a display of their influence under the direction of Alexander Henderson in 1638, later also the Scottish Church maintained to continue their Presbyterian system. The Reformed tradition of Scotland influenced Reformed Churches and also the whole area of Christianity.¹⁰³ Netherland also received the great influence of the Reformation. The Dutch Reformed movement was influenced already by some movement in Netherland like 'the Brethren of the Common Life' before Luther even started the Reformation in Germany. These movements were theologically on Augustine's way, and stressed Bible study and a pious life.¹⁰⁴ In the time of the Reformation, The Holland and The Belgium had constituted a unitary state, governed by the King of Spain. The Spanish king oppressed the Protestants severely, and called the Dutch Protestants 'the

¹⁰² Ibid., 133.

¹⁰³ John H. Leith, op. cit., 41.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 38.

Beggars'.¹⁰⁵ Some people allegedly argue that Alva Duke of Spain was responsible for killing about a hundred thousand Protestants between 1567 and 1573. In 1584, the northern Netherlands formed a confederation under the leadership of William, Prince of Orange, and after long struggling, they obtained freedom from the Spanish king.¹⁰⁶ A confession written by Guy de Bres was selected by the synod at Antwerp in 1566, and it was called the 'Belgic Confession'. This confession was revised again, and became a Reformed Confession of the Netherlands with the 'Heidelberg Catechism' and 'Canons of Dort'. Dutch Reformed theology played a role as one of the origins of capable theological work, and became the central point of Reformed theology in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Arminius' (1560-1609) theology against Calvin's theology was condemned as a heretic by the Synod of Dort in 1619, and this Synod reconfirmed the doctrine of Calvinism with the doctrine of total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. This Synod in fact was decisive for the assistance of the seventeenth century Reformed community.¹⁰⁷ The French Reformed Church had big troubles of development because of several religious wars. Reformed believers were few; they also had to be patient with

¹⁰⁵ James H. Smylie. *A Brief History the Presbyterians*, Trans. By Kim in Soo, (Seoul: Daehan kidokyo seowhea, 1998), 37.

¹⁰⁶ Lion Publishing ed., *The History of Christianity*. op. cit., 382.

¹⁰⁷ John H. Leith, op. cit., 38-9.

the oppression of the king. Reformed Calvinists of France obtained the nick name 'Huguenots'¹⁰⁸. The assembly of Protestant Calvinists was influenced by the Reformation in 1555. The French Reformed Church was largely promoted as they hold a synod, and at last they adopted the profession that was made by Calvin. They also adopted 'the Book of Discipline of Presbyterianism', and it was more developed than Geneva's, and established the four assembly stages: session, Colloquy, Provincial Synod, and National Synod.¹⁰⁹ After a lot of suffering, the 'Edict of Nantes' was published under the reign of king Henry of Navarre in 1598. As a result of that edict, Protestants could not get complete but only partial freedom of faith. This edict, however, was abolished in 1685, and French Christians, that is, Huguenots scattered all over, and many of them moved to America. The number of persons left in France was presumed over three hundred thousand.¹¹⁰ Almost fifty confessions were drafted over the first one hundred and fifty years. The confession is seen as one of the most important factors in the life and faith of Christians.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ This name is origin from the king Hugo in a story of a medieval novel, is result from the simile that believers have an assembly secretly to escape the oppressions in accordance with the legend that the king's soul roams in the night. Smylie H. James, op. cit., 35.

¹⁰⁹ Lefferts A. Loetcher, op. cit., 29f.

¹¹⁰ John H. Leith, op. cit., 37.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 134.

2. The Biographical Sketch of Francis Turretin and his Scholasticism

Francis Turretin is the most credible reformed theologian following Calvin and Beza, nevertheless, Turretin has not become that well-known to people.

2-1. The life of Francis Turretin

The Modern historical theologian Justo Gonzalez explains that Turretin was a “typical exponent of Protestant orthodoxy...in his scholastic style and methodology” because “here again we find die endless and subtle distinctions, the rigid outlines, the strict systematization, and the propositional approach that had been characteristic of late medieval scholasticism. Therefore, there is ample reason to call Turretin and his contemporaries ‘Protestant scholastics’.”¹¹² Francis Turretin was one of the most prominent theologians during the orthodox time. In his grandfather’s time, his family was expelled from Lucca in Italy during

¹¹² Justo L. Gonzalez. *A History of Christian Thought*. Vol. 3, From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century, rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 276.

the period of Inquisition, and they settled down in Geneva in 1580. They obtained fame as one of the influential families in Geneva.¹¹³ Benedict Turretin, the father of F. Turretin was born in Zurich, November 9 1588, and died in March 1631. He was a celebrated pastor and professor of theology. In 1620 he assisted at the Synod of Arles, of which Peter du Moulin was moderator. He was noted for his piety, his love of union, his resolution, his learning, his gentleness, and his eloquence. Pictet speaks of him as the glory of his church and school. No man of his day was more honoured, but his career was cut short just as he was entering middle life. He had six children, of whom the third in order was Francis Turretin. He was born in 1623, the same year in which Mornay du Plessy, Father Paul, and Pope Gregory XV died, and in which the great Synod of Charenton was held. From his earliest years young Turretin gave tokens of genius. When his father found himself dying, he called Francis, then eight years old, to be brought to his bedside; and said, with faltering lips, "This child is marked with God's seal: Hic sigillo Dei obsignatus est. Francis greatly distinguished himself in his academic course, and seems to have been remarkable for the eagerness with which he attempted diversified branches of study. Upon devoting himself to the study of theology, he

¹¹³ Martin I. Klauber. "FRANCIS TURRETIN ON BIBLICAL ACCOMMODATION: LOYAL CALVINIST OR REFORMED SCHOLASTIC?". *Westminster Theological Journal*. Vol. 55. No. 1(1993): 73.

enjoyed the advantage of eminent instructors. The most noted of these was John Diodati, another Italian Protestant, who sat in the chair of Calvin and Beza. Diodati, whose biblical labours are well known, was prominent in the Synod of Dort and the Convention of Saumur; at the latter he succeeded in pouring oil on the waters of controversy, so that the Queen of France thanked him repeatedly. Another instructor of Turretin was Theodore Tronchin, also a member of the Synod of Dort and a noble defender of the truth. He lived to a venerable age, and contributed much to the theological celebrity of Geneva. His family, originally from Provence, long continued to be prominent in the little republic, where to this day it has its representatives, one of whom, the excellent Colonel Tronchin, is known far and wide among evangelical Christians. Another celebrated instructor of Turretin was Frederick Spanheim. After finishing his curriculum at home, Turretin went to Leyden, then and long after, a centre of learning and theology, where he defended theses in the schools with great *éclat*. In Holland he enjoyed the lectures of such men as Polyander; the saintly Rivet, equally known by his voluminous works and by the record of his death; Salmasius, one of the most learned men of his age, although worsted in his unfortunate controversy with Milton Heinsius, Trigland, Voet, Hoornbeek, and Golius, the linguist. At Utrecht he became acquainted with the prodigy of her age, Anna Maria Schureman. In 1645 he proceeded to Paris, where he resided under the roof of the immortal Daille; met with Falcar, Drelincourt, Albertini, and Blondel; and pursued

physical and astronomical studies under Gassendi. Next he visited Saumur, the little city on the Loire, famous for its Protestant university. There he heard Placaeus, Amyrauld, and Capellus; men whose learning, subtlety and peculiar views in theology, are fully presented in the Theses Salmurienses. He even went as far south as to Montauban, then as now, the seat of a Protestant university, where Carolus and Garissol were at that time flourishing.

Returning home in 1648, he became a pastor of the church of Geneva, and preacher to the Italian congregation, such a service being required by the great number of refugees from Italy who sought asylum in Geneva. When he began to preach, such were the flow of his discourse, the solidity of his matter, and the majestic gracefulness of his eloquence, that immense popularity attended him. In 1650, the chair of Philosophy was several times offered to him by the government. After the death of Aaron Morus at Leyden, Turretin was called to fill his place as pastor. He accepted the invitation, and remained at Leyden about a year; but the Genevese would not endure his absence longer. The venerable Tronchin having outlived his capacity for public service, Turretin was called to fill his place. He complied with the call, and assumed the theological chair in 1653. As a public teacher he was faithful and undaunted, daily inflicting severe blows upon Popery, Socinianism, and Arminianism. From the pulpit he thundered against prevailing immoralities, while with many tears he besought sinners to be reconciled to Christ. His eloquence was of a

most persuasive and irresistible character. Pictet celebrates his benignity, his pity to the poor, his care of the widow and the orphan, his hospitality, and his edifying discourse. In the year 1661 he was summoned to a new service. The people of Geneva were unable to bear the expense of fortifying their walls; they therefore appealed for aid to the States-General of Holland, and deputed Turretin as their commissioner for this purpose. His father had been sent by them on a similar errand forty years before. Passing through Basle, he was received with honour by Wetstein and others of the great men of the university there. In Holland he obtained great distinction, being complimented by the authorities with a gold chain and medal. Earnest but fruitless efforts were made to detain him, both at Leyden and the Hague. On his way home, he passed through Paris and Charenton. At the latter place he first met Claude, and preached before the vast Protestant assembly there, of which Pictet speaks with singular admiration. After his return he renewed his labours with redoubled zeal. In the year 1664 he published against the Papists and in vindication of the Reformed; and two years afterwards, his disputations concerning the satisfaction of Christ. In 1674 he published his sermons, which were received with great applause. In the same year he published his great work on Theology, 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology' (IET). It is said that he was very reluctant to give this work to the press, and finally did so only in compliance with numerous letters from the learned in all parts of Reformed Christendom. In 1687 he published on the necessity

of secession from Rome, and on other important points. In 1669 Turretin was married to Isabella, daughter of John de Masse, lord of Sauvet, whose ancestors had held the Marquisate of Saluzzo. Four children were the fruit of this union, of whom only one survived, viz., John Alfonso Turretin, who was born in 1671, and ordained to the ministry about the year 1694. He became a preacher of unusual power, held successively the chairs of Ecclesiastical History and of Theology in Geneva, and was one of the greatest writers of the age upon natural religion and the external defences of Christianity. Inferior to his father in vigour, he was his superior in elegance; and his copious and classical diction gave a charm to his writings, which secured perusal and applause beyond the pale of Calvinistic bodies. Turretin's later years were embittered by the distresses of his Reformed brethren in Piedmont and France. In the latter country, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, hundreds of churches were demolished, and Protestantism was driven from the kingdom. But for these distresses of a sympathetic soul, he may be said to have had a happy old age, being scarcely ever ill except from a few attacks of acute disease. On the 24th of September, 1687, he was suddenly seized with violent pains. To Professor Pictet he expressed his readiness to die; but said that the severity of his pain did not allow him to pray as he would, yet he knew in whom he had believed. He repeated many passages of Scripture, among them the words from the 38th Psalm-" O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger," which he had a

few days before expounded to the Italian congregation. Upon his only son he solemnly enjoined four things: the care of the Church, if he ever should be called to it; the love of truth; humility; and charity. To his relative, Dr. Michel Turretin, Pastor and Professor, he declared his faith and hope, and committed the solemn care of the Church. His charges and exhortations were numerous. His countenance was expressive rather of triumph than of death. When, as his agony increased, some of those who stood by reminded him of his last sermon, on the words, Let us come boldly to the throne of grace, he cried, as if impatient, Eamus, eamus! Shortly after he slumbered away, and so died without a struggle, at the age of sixty-four years.¹¹⁴ Turretin's sermons were indeed persuasive, instructive, and irresistible. He was benevolent, gentle, and virtuous to the poor people, helped the widows and orphans. He loved oppressed Christians before or in his time.¹¹⁵ Turretin made the 'Helvetic Consensus Formula' with Johann Heinrich

¹¹⁴ <http://homepage.mac.com/shanerosenthal/reformationink/ftbio.htm>

This biography was originally published as an introduction to a short extract of Turretin's 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology' titled The Atonement of Christ, translated in English by James R. Wilson (published in 1859 by the Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church). It is now in the public domain and may be freely copied and distributed. This material was scanned and edited by Shane Rosenthal for Reformation Ink.

¹¹⁵ Francis Turretin., Whether it can be proven the Pope of Rome is the Antichrist. Trans. by Seo Dal Seok, (Seoul: New Life publications, 2004), 9, 131-32.

Heidegger of Zurich and Lucas Gernler of Basel and that formula was approved by the Genevan city council in 1679.¹¹⁶ The formula expressed excellently about scholasticism in Reformed theology. It is against the false theology of Saumur. It argues that the Hebrew vowel serves as a device of the Massorettes for reading correctly the Texts which were inspired.¹¹⁷

He splendidly summarized his time's Reformed theology and his name is called as a synonym to Protestant Scholasticism.¹¹⁸ He wrote several theological books; especially his immortal three-volume 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology' (IET) is the peak of the growth of orthodox scholastic theology after the Reformation era.¹¹⁹ Francis Turretin's great three-volume work was published in 1679, 1682, and 1685, and it was used and read in many theological schools in America for example the famous Princeton Theological Seminary.¹²⁰ Turretin's 'Institutes' is written by the form of controversy and elenctic to correct theological errors of the scholastic era. Turretin's great work

¹¹⁶ Martin I. Klauber, op. cit., 74.

¹¹⁷ John H. Leith, ed. *Creeds of the Churches a Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, (Atlanta: John Knox press, 1977), 309.

¹¹⁸ Richard A. Muller, "Scholasticism Protestant and Catholic: Francis Turretin on the object and principles of theology". *Church History*, 55(1986): 195.

¹¹⁹ Richard A. Muller. *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 138.

¹²⁰ Martin I. Klauber, op. cit., 76.

is significant not only as a historical document, but also as a distinguished example of the scholastic mode for the Reformed Orthodoxy of his century.¹²¹ In passing, Turretin's Institutes was written with the object basically to criticize incorrect theological systems and to demonstrate Orthodox Reformism. Entering the seventeenth century, the Reformed Orthodoxy was established since Beza was attacked from various sides. Many Rationalists, like the Socinians, Arminians, and the Roman Catholics, criticized the Orthodox theology. In this condition, Turretin is demonstrating through his work his opinion and other people's errors.¹²² If there lastly is an attachment, it is not for him but his only son Jean Alphonse Turretin. Turretin himself followed the way of Calvin with progressive revelation between the Old and New Testaments. But it was not good for his son, Jean-Alphonse who opened the partial error of the Word.¹²³

2-2. Scholastic Theology and Francis Turretin's Orthodox

¹²¹ Richard A. Muller, "Institutes of Elenctic Theology, volume 1: First through tenth Topics, by Francis Turretin, Trans. By George Musgrave Geiger, Ed. By James T. Dennison, Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1992". *Calvin Theological Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 2. (November 1993): 521-22.

¹²² Lee Un Seon, Francis Turretin's Viewpoint of the Holy Scriptures. *Shinhakjipyung*, Vol. 11, Anyang: Anyang University press (1999), 193.

¹²³ Martin I. Klauber, op. cit., 86.

Scholasticism.

It is generally called the era of Orthodoxy and its' theology for the next period of Reformation. Its duration was from the end of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. With the early enthusiasm of Reformers, Christianity was absorbed into the era of Scholasticism. For the axiomatic truth and the response against theological disputes, Scholastic theology used the acute and obvious definition by logic and rhetoric with a strong emphasis. It was not only the way of defence to the Catholicism of the Roman Church but also the inner growth of Orthodox theology itself.¹²⁴

In the centre of that era, there was the great man, Francis Turretin, the Orthodox theologian, following the great Reformer, John Calvin. Jack Rogers and Donald McKim criticised incisively Turretin's thought and his scholasticism. They insisted that Turretin's style has some deep connecting point with Aristotelianism or rationalism for he used the Thomistic approach instead of Augustinian's. They also argue that Turretin's theology seceded from the Reformation's, thus we cannot find the continuity between Turretin and Reformers' theology.¹²⁵

Fortunately, progress was lately made on the re-evaluation of Turretin

¹²⁴ John H. Leith, ed. *Creeds of the Churches a Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, 308.

¹²⁵ Jack Rogers and Donald McKim. *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach*, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979), 87-8.

and scholastic theology, and the arguments of Rogers and Mckim are being reinspected.¹²⁶ Although Turretin used the method of Thomas Aquinas, his scholasticism in the seventeenth century ought definitely to be distinguished from the mediaeval or rational theology.¹²⁷ The inquiry of the role in Christian Orthodox Theology was useful largely from the argument of the Holy Supper from the early time of Turretin's era, and naturally, the most remarkable argument is detected from the theology of Turretin, the Protestant Orthodoxy synopsist.¹²⁸ Sebastian Rehnman argues about the biblical orientation:¹²⁹

“Turretin combines the biblical orientation with logic and metaphysics.....was the standard conception (at least) from Augustine and onward in the Christian tradition, and still is among Christian analytic philosophers of religion.”

The Reason is regarded as that it is enlightened by the Spirit through God's word, according to the statement of Turretin “proceeding from the light and influence of the Holy Spirit”. If the reason is similar to the

¹²⁶ Sebastian Rehnman, Alleged Rationalism: Francis Turretin on Reason. *Calvin Theological Journal*, Vol. 37, no.1 (April 2002), 255-56.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 259.

¹²⁹ Sebastian Rehnman, “Theistic metaphysics and biblical exegesis: Francis Turretin on the concept of God”. *Religious Studies*. Vol. 38(2002): 168-69.

statement of Turretin, it is obvious that the judgment of discrepancy can be, even if not objective, considered as divine.¹³⁰ Turretin claims that the reason and nature are completed by the word of God and grace.¹³¹ There are some harmonic relations between the faith and reason, the nature and grace, when they have God as a final principle. The fact that supernatural truths make the natural truths, testifies that it is also possible to stand against the false arguments by the reason.¹³² From the principles of reason orthodox scholasticism can take the energy to declare obviously the defined and restricted use about logic or heuristic frame in their theology.¹³³ If the renewed reason composes its judgement as a supernatural axiom, as a result, the sources for the

¹³⁰ The author of this book is Francis Turretin, this book is the 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology', translated by George Musgrave Geiger, edited by James T. Dennison, Jr., published by Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing company at Phillipsburg in New Jersey in 1992. This book composed as topic, question, and answer. The quoted text is a topic 1, question 10, answer 3 and 5. After this, I will use the abbreviation on the quoted text, when I will quote this book. I will express IET as Turretin's book 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology', and to the topic number, then question number, lastly answer number, according to order, instead of the page number. For example, if I quoted Turretin's Institutes of Elenctic Theology like above, I will write it as IET., 1, 10, 3,5. It means that IET is an Institutes of Elenctic Theology, number 1 is a topic number, number 10 is a question number, 3 and 5 are answer number.

¹³¹ IET., 1. 9. 3,5,15.

¹³² IET., 1. 9. 16.

¹³³ IET., 1. 10. 1.

judgement on the refutation is formed necessarily by the scripture.¹³⁴ Also the reason has the certain cognition on the concept of 'sola scriptura'; it never permits to judge from the natural or corrupt concepts.¹³⁵ The reason to Turretin is not a basis or principle that faith depends on them, but just a means for the believer.¹³⁶ For there is no other except only the Bible as the certain principle of the theology, reason has a subordinated and systematic relationship to theology. Theology is a master and reason is subordinated under the theology.¹³⁷ Due to the reason not only it is used as a simple tool on the knowledge in the theological examination, but justly the theology cannot be compounded with the philosophy.¹³⁸ The faith links to some things by the reason and reinforces the concepts of faith.¹³⁹ Claiming that there is harmony between the theology and metaphysics, in addition he argues that metaphysics is placed in the highest position among the sciences in the natural order, but he emphasises the supremacy of theology in the supernatural order.¹⁴⁰ He does not oppose the application of the logics and metaphysics for the

¹³⁴ IET., 1. 10. 1.

¹³⁵ Sebastian Rehnman, *Alleged Rationalism: Francis Turretin on Reason.*, op. cit., 168

¹³⁶ IET., 1. 8. 7.

¹³⁷ IET., 1. 8. 6.

¹³⁸ IET., 1. 9. 17.

¹³⁹ IET., 1. 9. 5.

¹⁴⁰ IET., 1. 2. 4.

comprehension of God.¹⁴¹ Therefore Turretin insist that we can realize that God is vague by nature, but certain by faith (Heb. 11: 6). The particular knowledge of genuine faith does not except, but it assumes the general knowledge by nature.¹⁴² Thus the faith understands as the consequence and the reason comprehends as the consequence.¹⁴³ In relation to the reason, further, the doctrines like Trinity or Incarnation are outside of it and super reasonable, that is, over it, and Transubstantiation and ubiquity also conflict with reason.¹⁴⁴

3. The Theology and Liturgy of Francis Turretin

For the revival of Roman Catholic liturgy, although Louis XIV had taken it audaciously, it was merely the finishing point of the distortion against the Christian Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. In this confusing time, Turretin stood to the fore as the most splendid and distinctive protector of the vision of the Orthodox Reformism.¹⁴⁵ Turretin started

¹⁴¹ IET., 1. 12. 18.

¹⁴² IET., 1. 3. 10.

¹⁴³ IET., 1. 12. 14.

¹⁴⁴ IET., 1. 9. 3,9.

¹⁴⁵ Timothy R. Phillips, "The Dissolution of Francis Turretin's Vision of Theologia: Geneva at the End of the Seventeenth Century". *Contributions to the Study of World History*, 59(1998): 77.

his theological activity a hundred years after Calvin. He wanted to build firmly and to keep certain the reformed theology. For his vision, he used the scholastic ways, emphasizing the logic or definition in theological method. As a matter of fact, the struggling for the truth of the same time against heresies like Roman Catholics, Remonstrants or Anabaptists and also the theological arguments in the Reformism itself, pressed its need. Turretin as God's man felt a duty to struggle against secularism coming into the church.¹⁴⁶

3-1. The Theology of Francis Turretin

Turretin's theology as orthodox theologian has been misunderstood. As scholastic theologian, Turretin received enough strict training in the theological tradition of the church, his thought system forms the frame of an analytic. All inquiry shows the eminence of keen inquiry for revealing the false extremes. Turretin's statements were tested in various ways to devaluate his skilled words, they were ignored as if they were some meaningless prattle. Turretin's work, however, is surely worthy as an outline of a theological tradition, has handled on past challenges excellently, appreciated, and it is very useful for the

¹⁴⁶ John H. Leith, *An Introduction to the Reformed Tradition: a way of Being the Christian Community.*, op. cit., 128-9.

future.¹⁴⁷ For the theology must be estimated necessarily in the presentation of the religion that it orders, analyzes, and defines, also the great Reformer Calvin knew about this, he wrote his theological work with the title 'Instruction in Christian Religion'. Also the Puritans and the continental Reformers in seventeenth-century saw this point, they also defined theology with the method of its actual and religious thrust.¹⁴⁸ Turretin divided into three areas the essence of theology: the soteriological stress obtained from the Reformation, his conclusive attachment about the Augustinian understanding on God as the highest good and the final aim of our enjoyment, and his choice to stand against a heresy like the Arminians with a theological truth that not only is in itself, but also can recognize objectively. Therefore theology is defined as a composed discipline, on the one hand actual and on the other hand thinking or contemplative, with the stress on the actual. This mixture presents in his perception of the object of theology; it is both of two: one is the liturgy on God as the highest good, another is the knowledge of him as the final truth. This stress on the actual side of theology also shows in Turretin's argument on the object

¹⁴⁷ Timothy R. Phillips, "Institutes of Elenctic Theology, Volume 1. By Francis Turretin. Trans. George Musgrave Giger. Ed. By James T. Dennison, Jr. (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1992)". *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*. Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1994): 610.

¹⁴⁸ James Montgomery Boice, ed.. *The Foundation of Biblical Authority*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan publishing house, 1978), 62.

of theology; it is really God, he is not merely in himself, but he is always exposing himself through his Word.¹⁴⁹ The basis of being is God and the basis of cognition is the word of God, that is, God is the origin of the being of theology, the object of theology.¹⁵⁰ The word of God is just the origin of cognition, the scripture is the only basic source of theology.¹⁵¹ The essential infinity of God is practical and final, in other words, he is indeterminate and boundless.¹⁵² In the infinite character of God, fixing boundaries by the limit of time and place is meaningless, by the space it is immensity and by the time it is eternity. God's immensity is considered as the essential boundlessness relating to the space as God penetrates everything and also appears as the effective and preservative cause of each and all.¹⁵³ Turretin shows God with the sources of infinity, perfection, and action not only controlled through his perfections, but unlimited by creatures. According to this result, Turretin does not admit the antelapsarianism. The Infinity and perfection is set under the doctrine of his covenant.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 141.

¹⁵⁰ IET., 1. 1. 7.; 1. 5. 2.

¹⁵¹ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology,"* ed. and trans. by John W. Beardslee III, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker book house, 1981), 21.

¹⁵² IET., 3. 8. 3.

¹⁵³ IET., 3. 9. 1-4, 14.

¹⁵⁴ Benjamin Thomas Inman, "GOD COVENANTED IN CHRIST: THE UNIFYING ROLE OF THEOLOGY PROPER IN THE SYSTEMATIC

Turretin argues about the accordant and synthetic work between the reason and faith.¹⁵⁵ According to him, the perfection of the Bible includes the human tradition and inferences, and it translates by itself.¹⁵⁶ Turretin sets forth his view of God with the assumption that the biblical exegesis and metaphysical statement do not contradict each other.¹⁵⁷ According to Turretin, the Word of God is the same as God-breathed, again when the scripture is called as it is, the scripture present itself that it is divine, with the authentic way and by a clear claim or evidence. This evidence is useful for the polemic against the Christians, who although permitting into themselves the Scripture, but do not oppose the others who deny it.¹⁵⁸ The fact that the Word of God must be preached in whole speeches has the same line of connection which can be translated and must be translated into every languages.¹⁵⁹ According to Louis Berkhof, Turretin distinguished between the substance and the application of the covenant. In this, the substance or essence is in accordance with the inner calling and the

THEOLOGY OF FRANCIS TURRETIN". Westminster Theological Journal Vol. 66(2004): 418.

¹⁵⁵ Sebastian Rehnman, "Theistic metaphysics and biblical exegesis: Francis Turretin on the concept of God". 171.

¹⁵⁶ IET., 1. 12. 2,8; 1. 10. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Sebastian Rehnman, "Theistic metaphysics and biblical exegesis: Francis Turretin on the concept of God" op. cit., 168.

¹⁵⁸ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology."*. 41

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 148.

invisible Church comes in through this calling, and application to the external calling and the visible Church, as compounded with those who are called externally by the Word.¹⁶⁰ Turretin insists that he is a Christian through the answer on the sixth question of the second topic of his book 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology', and it is as follows:

“question can arise about the divinity of the Bible: the first, concerning the argument on account of which I believe; the second, concerning the principle or efficient cause from which I am led to believe; the third, concerning the means and instrument through which I believe. And to this triple question a triple reply can be given. For the Bible with its own marks is the argument on account of which I believe. The Holy Spirit is the efficient cause and principle from which I am induced to believe. But the church is the instrument and means through which I believe. Hence if the question is why, or on account of what, do I believe the Bible to be divine, I will answer that I do so on account of the Scripture itself which by its marks proves itself to be such. If it is asked whence or from what I believe, I will answer from the Holy Spirit who produces that belief in me. Finally, if I am asked by what means or instrument I believe it, I will answer through the church which God uses in delivering the

¹⁶⁰ Louis Berkhof, *op. cit.*, 285.

Scriptures to me.”

The depending point of such statement is never from his independent use of reason; rather it is caused from God’s work in history.¹⁶¹ Turretin claims the absolute necessity in his book ‘The Atonement’, God has never been thought that he will forgive sin willingly, and also he cannot, though there is not any satisfying compensation to his righteousness. This is the result of the orthodox Theology, as well as his opinion.¹⁶² According to him, sin is a kind of debt that has to pay for God’s righteousness, in such meaning, the Law can be called as ‘the written code’ (Col. 2: 14), also sin is the basic cause of hostility that we are harbouring against God, and that he is harbouring against us. Due to sin we hate God and he is our foe. The sin also is a sinful act against God’s reign on the whole universe. Due to sin we became the being of the eternal death and condemnation in front of God. Turretin argues that there are three necessities for our salvation: firstly, we need to pay all our debt to God; secondly, the wrath of God needs to quiet down; finally, we necessarily need to be saved from sin. Furthermore, to accomplish this redemption, two things are needed: firstly, because the human being committed sin, man definitely has to

¹⁶¹ Sebastian Rehnman, “Theistic metaphysics and biblical exegesis: Francis Turretin on the concept of God”. 169.

¹⁶² Francis Turretin. *The Atonement*, trans. by Lee Tae Bok, (Seoul: The Reformed Faith Publishing Company, 2002), 14.

compensate; secondly, a cost of infinite value needs to remove the infinite error of sin. Thus Christ needed two natures for redemption: firstly, he needed certainly the humanity to be capable of the Law's punishment; second, as well he needed absolutely the divinity to give the infinite value on his suffering for redemption.¹⁶³ Asserting the limited atonement on the range of redemption like Calvin, through his book about the atonement, Turretin refers to the legitimacy with ten reasons.¹⁶⁴ The salvation is associated with the gospel promise regarding the goal directly designed by the proxy and as the greater good to be granted, thus it is really practiced by God's effective decree for it is only possible when given by God.¹⁶⁵ Faith and repentance is regarded as practiced and executed by man, that is, in its formal and certain being and as God makes them with the Spirit in himself. They are called as the means for salvation, for salvation is acquired clearly by faith and repentance.¹⁶⁶ God plans absolutely the promise of salvation through the condition of faith as related to salvation. Thus the basis of the truth on the gospel promise lies in God's wise bestowal of faith and repentance.¹⁶⁷ On the doctrine of God's providence and predestination, Turretin asserts that God takes providence as the revelation of his glory in accordance with the order of the creation of

¹⁶³ Ibid., 15-23.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 166f.

¹⁶⁵ IET., 4. 17. 43.

¹⁶⁶ IET., 4. 17. 42.

¹⁶⁷ IET., 4. 17. 44.

human and then permission of the fall. Then God takes predestination as the manifestation of God's glory according to the practice of his mercy and justice by the election by God of some people and the reprobation from him of other people.¹⁶⁸ The salvation has relevance with three things; the destination destined with God's election, the acquisition acquired through Christ's redemption, and the application ordained by God's calling, consequently, they have an order of destination, then acquisition, and finally application.¹⁶⁹ Three things, as a rule, show that such order is truly the most appropriate. In the Scripture it is also equal; the redemption of Christ and his mission placed in the next election (Eph. 1: 3, 4, 7; Ro. 8: 29, 30) and every saving gift of the Holy Spirit like faith and repentance follow the merit of Christ (Jn. 16: 7; Ro. 8: 32).¹⁷⁰ In relation to repentance, Turretin argues that many sufferings are the scourges of God leading us into repentance such as his blessings make us thankful to Him (Lam. 3: 39),¹⁷¹ as well according to him, the unpardonableness is a matter of God's mercy or Christ's work on the atonement from sin, but it relates to the nature of sin without repentance (Heb. 6: 6). Therefore, he who repents obtain pardon from God, he who cannot be renewed again through the repentance, cannot get pardon.¹⁷² To Turretin the

¹⁶⁸ IET., 4. 18. 21.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ IET., 4. 18. 23.

¹⁷¹ IET., 6. 9. 7.

¹⁷² IET., 9. 14. 15.

conversion is of two kinds: one is a customary or passive conversion as a temper's product or a soul's habit, as this can be called as a regeneration; another is practical or voluntary conversion as the act in repentance or faith.¹⁷³ According to Turretin's statement about the imputation of Christ's righteousness, by the distinct grace that his righteousness is imputed to us for justification, we can be safe and peaceful from God's wrath.¹⁷⁴ The unity of God's church is not conserved by speech, but it is conserved by unity of teaching. The authority of the word of God appears by the message rather than by the terms.¹⁷⁵ Although he was in Saumur academy, Francis stood against the wrong doctrines of Amyraut (1596-1664). He was a professor of that academy, had asserted the hypothetical universalism including the salvation of the whole human.¹⁷⁶ The predestination, following his opinion, is one of the sources of the Gospel, he rejected all doctrine relating to the universal grace. Turretin denied the twofold will in God, as well equally with Calvin, he argued that the Bible does not mention the whole humanity's salvation.¹⁷⁷ We can find from the Augustinian doctrine the certainty on the doctrine of Turretin and other

¹⁷³ Louis Berkhof, op. cit., 467

¹⁷⁴ IET., 16. 3. 9.

¹⁷⁵ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology"* ed. and trans. by John W. Beardslee III, 151.

¹⁷⁶ Martin I. Klauber, op. cit., 73.

¹⁷⁷ G. P. Fisher. *A History of Christian Doctrine*, ed. by Hubert Cunliffe Jones, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark LTD., 1978), 438-439.

Reformed scholastics about predestination, because such doctrine of Augustine about God's predestination can also be found from the reformed Calvin.¹⁷⁸ Turretin did not translate God's determination in the eternity for all, giving his mind to exclusion on the free choice and responsibility of human.¹⁷⁹ From his definition on the covenant of God's grace, we can find that Turretin is inheriting Calvin's theology, both the meaning and words of it,¹⁸⁰ and he distinguished the redemption covenant and grace covenant: the covenant of redemption is the consistency between God the Father and Jesus Christ for the work of redemption; the covenant of grace is the covenant between God and the elect in the work of Christ's redemption for the salvation of the elect by and because of Christ in the faith and repentance.¹⁸¹ Turretin argues about the threefold office of Christ in his book, because these three offices as the king, prophet, and priest are united in Christ, they work with their own operations each and also they go ahead at the same time with the same conduct from them.¹⁸² From the

¹⁷⁸ Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸⁰ Richard A. Muller, "Institutes of Elenctic Theology, volume Two: Eleventh Through seventeenth Topics, by Francis Turretin, trans. by George Musgrave Geiger, ed. by James T. Dennison, Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1993". *Calvin Theological Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2. (November 1994): 614.

¹⁸¹ IET., 12. 2. 12.

¹⁸² IET., 14. 5. 12, 13.

second volume of his book 'Institute of Elenctic theology' we can understand his view on the Christology, it is very worthy that especially his Christology holds the concepts about the two states of Christ and also together about the threefold office of Christ.¹⁸³ The incarnation of Christ and the satisfaction of Christ on God's righteousness are needed by the divine perfection, even if they are characterized by the freedom on God's infinity. The passive nature on Christ's death is represented through the mediator's will, and as a result of that fact, Christ's death is recognized as a divine action as well, this view rejects the Amyraldian view and asserts the universal atonement of Christ's death for all man.¹⁸⁴ It is also obvious that Turretin succeeded to Calvin in his theological way. It is very clear that all theological statements of Turretin's theology are not only the normative argument obviously, but also his theological argument is in harmony with the great Reformers' theology and all of Christian tradition. Therefore, the tendency of Reformed theology in the sixteenth to seventeenth century relating to the protest and orthodoxy can be considered as a catholic, his claims connected with reason and his theological sources show evidence of some invariable expectation that Christianity might assert

¹⁸³ Richard A. Muller, "Institutes of Elenctic Theology, volume Two: Eleventh Through seventeenth Topics, by Francis Turretin, trans. by George Musgrave Geiger, ed. by James T. Dennison, Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1993". *Calvin Theological Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2. (November 1994): 614,615.

¹⁸⁴ Benjamin Thomas Inman, op. cit., 418.

a traditional orthodoxy on the basis of God and his revelation.¹⁸⁵

3-2. The Liturgy of Francis Turretin

The glory of God and the salvation of human call for revelation, for the natural world is enough to inform us of the true God and the right liturgy on him, also it does not expose God's plan of salvation. That people not only is free from the miserable situation of sin, but also can get to the condition of the best bliss through the union with God. Thus it was a higher school on God's grace, in that he leads us to true religion through his word, to find us in worship of God, and also to guide us into the pleasure of eternal salvation through communion with God, not by philosophy or any exertion of a human.¹⁸⁶ Rational liturgy is perceived as the two senses: we can find the reason for the origin and principle of it, in reason as its subject and operating by reason as a tool. In Rom. 12:1, Paul does not use the reasonable liturgy by the first sense, because it can be absorbed into the volitional liturgy, but he uses the rational liturgy in the passage as the second is based on reason and is also performed by it. In other words, that passage by

¹⁸⁵ Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, op. cit., 145.

¹⁸⁶ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of Scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology"* op.cit., 23.

Paul indicates not the physical and external but spiritual and internal, comparing with his opinion that the Levitical and ceremonial liturgy in the Old Testament was a service which was physical. Therefore God does not ask the liturgy by the beast anymore, but he asks the rational and spiritual sacrifices from the worshippers, which the apostle Peter refers it in 1Pet. 2:5.¹⁸⁷ Everything in a human may worship God; it does not matter if they are either in the mind or will, or either in the soul or body.¹⁸⁸ Turretin divided two precepts with the Ten Commandments; the first precept is from the first to the fourth and the second is from fifth to tenth. From the first we can find the object of our liturgy that God may be worshiped; from the next precepts we can realize the method of our liturgy that God does not receive our liturgy by just images.¹⁸⁹

In the first precept, the ban on the liturgy of other gods is included also the ban on idols, as well even though it is, it does not consider that the second precept can be recognized as a just district for they are composing a different connection relating to the method of liturgy. They represent any idols or expressions on the false gods and also even any images of the true God, because even if the liturgy of images is finished about the false gods even the devil, nonetheless still has some relationship of the hearts and idea of the worshippers committing

¹⁸⁷ IET., 1. 8. 8.

¹⁸⁸ IET., 11. 6. 9.

¹⁸⁹ IET., 11. 5. 5.

a sin not about the object of liturgy, but their manner relating to the liturgy.¹⁹⁰ The liturgy on God is commanded by the word of God and bans anything against it. The liturgy on him is direct or indirect. In here, the direct liturgy includes the obligations that are directly consecrated to God and the indirect liturgy is the time when obligations for our neighbour are executed for God.¹⁹¹ Turretin stand against the saints' invocation and the liturgy on any creatures, he claims to worship God alone with the orthodox statement: first of all, through the obvious word of God he is telling the prohibition about taking any other gods in front of himself as the statement of "You shall have no other gods before me"(Ex. 20: 3).¹⁹² At the same time, he affirms that all religious rites and invocation on any other thing but God is certainly idolatrous.¹⁹³ The liturgy of relics is the same with an extra about the liturgy of the saint; therefore those liturgies are worthless, idolatrous, and also superstitious.¹⁹⁴ The saints never asked to worship themselves and they did not use the relics as a tool of their invocation, and such fact may be testified through various statements. They did not mention as the object of liturgy something like altars, images and so on. In the public liturgy of the church, they praised only God alone with hymns, preached to the first commandment of the Decalogue and the Lord's

¹⁹⁰ IET., 11. 5. 7.

¹⁹¹ IET., 11. 5. 11.

¹⁹² IET., 11. 7. 11.

¹⁹³ IET., 11. 7. 5.

¹⁹⁴ IET., 11. 8. 1,5.

Prayer, and they never had the same opinion like Roman Catholics who takes the prayer for the death.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, from his book ‘Institutes of Elenctic theology’, Turretin refers to the evangelical liturgy in spirit and truth relating to Levitical and physical liturgy, it is as follows:¹⁹⁶

“As by the Levitical and bodily worship is meant the evangelical in spirit and in truth (Zech. 14:20; Jn. 4:24); by pure offerings, prayers, giving of thanks and alms are Incant (Heb. 13:15; Ps. 141:2); by splendour and glory, the light of good works (Mt. 5:14) and the glory of the image of God in holiness and righteousness (2 Cor. 3:18); by riches and treasures, the riches of grace and glory, the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 1:27; Eph. 2:7); by the tabernacle, the church (Eph. 2:22) and the hearts of believers, in which God has fixed his perpetual seat (Eph. 3:17; 1 Cor. 1:16); and by Israel according to the flesh, Israel according to the Spirit and the spiritual seed of true believers, whom he elected from eternity as his peculiar possession and will save for ever (Gal. 6:16).”

Brian Armstrong writing about the concept on the Accommodation of Bible of Turretin asserted that his concept on Bible Accommodation

¹⁹⁵ IET., 11. 7. 17.

¹⁹⁶ IET., 18. 7. 16.

disappeared from orthodox Calvinism. Also Jack Rogers and Donald McKim accused Turretin of giving up the concept and ran off with the orthodoxy of Calvin. But their argument is not correct. We can get the right view through the statement of John D. Woodbridge. He argued that the concept on the Accommodation of Bible of Turretin was sympathetic to Calvin and it does not have the possibility of any pattern or biblical fault. More recently, Richard Muller and Timothy Phillips also argued the same opinion.¹⁹⁷ The concept of Bible Accommodation of Turretin is a very important principle in his view about the word of God, likewise to the reformer Calvin. To emphasize God's revelation about the human is the core of the Bible Accommodation by Turretin. We can consider his approach to the doctrine of the Accommodation of Bible from three categories, the distinction between the traditional theology and imitative theology, the idea of progressive revelation, and the relationship of the Old Testament and New Testament. Among them first is a distinction between the traditional theology and imitative, traditional theology is defined by Turretin as the original knowledge that God knows completely by himself, and this knowledge cannot be understood with human's wisdom, because the traditional knowledge is above the boundary of the capability of human comprehension.¹⁹⁸ Following

¹⁹⁷ Martin I. Klauber, *op.cit.*, 74

¹⁹⁸ Kang In Han, "The Biblical Views of John Calvin and Francis Turretin: with the Accommodation of Bible". *Jinlinondan*, Vol. 7., Chunan

Phillips, the traditional theology of Turretin is the theology of God himself, and it is connected with God inevitably, therefore, the concept of the difference between the traditional theology and imitative theology of Turretin coincide with Calvin's doctrine on the Bible Accommodation directly, and the reformed scholastic theologians were based on Calvin's Accommodation concept for their theological system. Consequently, imitative theology is the reflection of traditional theology.¹⁹⁹ Turretin's other important source to decide the character on the Accommodation of Bible is gradual revelation between the New Testament and the Old Testament. Turretin, maintaining the nature of the faith, exerted himself to decrease the ambiguity of the Old Testament through the completion of the Old Testament. Admitting to the fact that the New Testament is more concrete than the Old Testament, at the same time, he mentions that the nature of doctrine is transmitted gradually through the whole of the Bible. A matter of concern for Turretin was to clearly deliver the basic clauses of faith. He believed that the believers were saved by faith like the believers of the New Testament. Lastly, another necessary source to decide the character of the Accommodation of Bible of Turretin was the relationship between the Old Testament and New Testament. Of

University, (2003): 39.

¹⁹⁹ Timothy R. Phillips, "Francis Turretin's Idea of Theology and its bearing upon his Doctrine of Scripture" (Ph. D. diss.: Vanderbilt University, 1986), 125, 137-39.

course, Turretin was different from Cocceius and did not believe in the keeping of the Lord's Day or spiritualising the Law, but he intended to read the Old Testament as if from the New Testament. In the same way of the New Testament, he recognized that the Old Testament has the nature of the same doctrine including the doctrine of the Justification by Faith and other fundamental presuppositions; furthermore, the Old Testament is more superior in many parts, because it proclaims Christ is coming in the future. Nevertheless, he argued that the Old Testament was more inferior than the New Testament in the method of revelation communication, thus the Old Testament was perfect absolutely, because it included the nature of the doctrine on salvation in that situation. However, The Old Testament, when we compare the Old Testament with the New Testament, was comparatively temporary and defective. Nevertheless, the Old Testament's believers knew so much that they could be saved. In conclusion, recent investigators, like Woodbridge, Muller, or Phillips, claim that Turretin not only complimented Calvin in his concept on the Accommodation of Bible, but also his concept does not connote any possibility on biblical error. They assert that Turretin did not turn his back on Calvin, rather he complimented him. Calvin is naturally the founder of reformed thought on the principal theological system.²⁰⁰ About the necessity of verbal revelation, Turretin affirms that it is

²⁰⁰ Kang In Han, op. cit., 39-44.

certainly necessary, and the arguments of unnecessary on it are wrong. As the proof of the necessity of the verbal revelation of God He refer to the "seed" of which we are born again (1 Pet. 1:23), the "light" by which we are directed (Ps. 119:105), the "food" upon which we feed (Heb. 5:13, 14) and the "foundation" upon which we are built (Eph. 2:20).²⁰¹ The necessity of the Word of God was proved by the goodness of God, and its necessity again proves for three necessary things: (1) the preservation of the word; (2) its vindication; (3) its propagation.²⁰² Although the church before Moses did not have a written word, it is impossible to be and preserve the church as a whole without the word of God, that is, the word of God has to be together with his church.²⁰³ Also according to him, the whole written word of God is the truth, it was inspired by the Holy Spirit about the both in themselves and even in the word, and it is proved by itself as the written word.²⁰⁴ There are the external and internal proofs for the divinity of the scripture. There are four things as external proofs: 1)The origin of the Word is God and the highest antiquity of it, 2)it has survived in all severe trials, 3)the highest candor and sincerity of content, 4)the preservation through the many martyrdoms. The more important and powerful proofs are many: 1) The mysteries on the

²⁰¹ IET., 2. 1. 2.

²⁰² IET., 2. 1. 3.; 2. 2. 6.

²⁰³ IET., 2. 2. 8,10.

²⁰⁴ IET., 2. 4. 4-6.

knowledge of God cannot be found by man's reason, 2) the written style without any distinction, 3) The divine agreement and harmony of it, 4) The contents for the glory of God and the salvation of man, 5) The sharpest than any two-edged sword, immutability, always victory against the Satan or false religion.²⁰⁵ Conceding that the author of the books of Moses is Moses, Turretin rejects to deny the authorship of the books of Moses. He argues that the authenticity of the authorship of Moses' books comes from the content of those books.²⁰⁶ The fact that the authority of the word of God from both itself and our perception does not rely on the proofs of the church is proved for the church is founded by the word of God (Eph. 2:20) and also received all authority from the scripture.²⁰⁷ Through his book 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology' Turretin accepts the vowel points of the Massoretes to be kept to read more exactly the text.²⁰⁸ Turretin's argument that even the vowel points by the Massoretes in the Hebrew text were inspired by the Spirit and also is inerrant is very interesting in the Christian theology. To preserve safely the Word of God from ambiguity connected with the exact content and meaning of the word, Turretin the reformed scholastic claim that the Masoretic Hebrew text is inspired divinely and inerrant about the content and meaning, therefore it does not have any

²⁰⁵ IET., 2. 4. 7-9.

²⁰⁶ IET., 2. 4. 18.

²⁰⁷ IET., 2. 6. 10.

²⁰⁸ Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition.* , op. cit., 155.

necessity of correction by the older Hebrew manuscripts.²⁰⁹ The splendour and force of the living and active the word of God as penetrating more sharply than any double-edged sword produces the holy faith and piety in the audience's heart, and infinite immutability for confessors, as well as it emits continuously the victory from the crafty tricks of Satan and false religions.²¹⁰ The summarizer of orthodox scholastic theology, Turretin argues about the divine authority of the scripture, that is, the divinity of it, is as follows:²¹¹

“Question can arise on the divinity of the Bible: the first, concerning the argument on account of which I believe; the second, concerning the principle or efficient cause from which I am led to believe; the third, concerning the means and instrument through which I believe. And to this triple question a triple reply can be given. For the Bible with its own marks is the argument on account of which I believe. The Holy Spirit is the efficient cause and principle from which I am induced to believe. But the church is the instrument and means through which I believe. Hence if the question is why, or on account of what, do I believe the Bible to be divine, I will answer that I do so on

²⁰⁹ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of “Institutes of Elenctic Theology”*, op. cit., 135-46.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 44.

²¹¹ IET., 2. 6. 6.

account of the Scripture itself which by its marks proves itself to be such. If it is asked whence or from what I believe, I will answer from the Holy Spirit who produces that belief in me. Finally, if I am asked by what means or instrument I believe it, I will answer through the church which God uses in delivering the Scriptures to me.”

In his book the Doctrine of Scripture, Turretin proclaims his profession about the Bible as the statement that he believes that God is speaking only through the Bible as the word of God, and it is enough.²¹² The voluntary offering is what the believer is offering to God, therefore, although he is a pastor, he never can have the privilege or authority, to his satisfaction, on the offerings offered to God.²¹³ He maintains that the church can pay the wage of a pastor in various ways such as the voluntary offering of believers.²¹⁴ If the believer’s offering is offered with the pious faith, Turretin claims that it is offered in the Lord’s time through the believers’ offerings and dedications.²¹⁵ The preaching ought to be with faith, for the preaching without faith must be ignorant. According to Turretin, there is an inseparable relation between the faith and the word of God, thus it is clear that the knowledge depends on

²¹² Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of “Institutes of Elenctic Theology”*, op. cit., 211.

²¹³ cf) IET., 18. 21. 2.

²¹⁴ IET., 18. 28. 14.

²¹⁵ IET., 18. 28. 17.

faith. From John 17:3 we can find the evidence that the knowledge is derived from the faith. Therefore our knowledge of God needs the faith; as well our knowledge is everywhere demanded by faith.²¹⁶ The necessity of preaching is connected with the elect, if there is no more elect on the earth, the necessity of preaching will disappear. However the apostle gives evidence that it has to be continued till the last time of the world in Eph. 4:13. As a result of it, until that time, it is very certain that the church has to continue, and in addition, the preaching of the word of God and the right practice of the sacraments have to be clearly perpetual.²¹⁷ God, also in the present, conforms his church through the proclamation of God's word and the Sacraments.²¹⁸ Therefore, Turretin asserts like Calvin that there must be the pure proclamation of the word of God and the lawful practice of the sacraments in God's church.²¹⁹ According to Turretin, it is possible to preach privately to common believers relating to the gospel, but for the official sermon with the ecclesiastical authority, it needs the ministers as the men who are given the special calling by God to do the official work of the church.²²⁰ Therefore, to the minister, the common and official ministry of the gospel are composed with the right preaching of the word of God, the performance of the sacraments, and the training

²¹⁶ IET., 15. 9. 6-9.

²¹⁷ IET., 18. 8. 10.

²¹⁸ IET., 18. 8. 22.

²¹⁹ IET., 18. 12. 6.

²²⁰ IET., 18. 23. 2.

of holy discipline. These three things are the works with the official authority, and among them the preaching is the work on the regular right for all church members.²²¹ The word of God and the preaching on God's word are necessary and absolutely for salvation, because we cannot get the faith without it as the scripture is indicating "Consequently, faith comes from hearing the message, and the message is heard through the word of God" (Rom. 10:17).²²² According to Turretin, the origin of the word Sacrament, in the Latin language, is the 'Sacramentum' from the 'Sacrando' with the meaning of 'money' and 'oath'.²²³ Thus Turretin claims the true definition, and it is as follows:²²⁴

"In defining a sacrament, we follow Paul, who, speaking of circumcision, says, it is 'a sign and seal of the righteousness of faith' (Rom. 4:11). This is a generic definition and is rightly ascribed to the species. Therefore, this torch throwing its light before us, we say: "The sacraments are the signs and seals of the grace of God in Christ." Or a little more explicitly: "Sacred visible signs and seals divinely instituted to signify and seal to our consciences the promises of saving grace in Christ and in

²²¹ IET., 18. 23. 9.

²²² IET., 18. 24. 21.

²²³ IET., 19. 1. 4.

²²⁴ IET., 19. 1. 9.

turn to testify our faith and piety and obedience towards God”.

Turretin mentions also about the efficacy of the Sacraments, they are the signs and seals of grace morally and superbodily to believers.²²⁵ In Connection with the Sacramental Union, Turretin described it as ‘relative and moral’, while the reformed theologians described it as ‘spiritual’.²²⁶ Referring to the necessity of the word of God and Sacrament, Turretin argues that the pure preaching of the scripture and the profession of the word of God is the priority relating to the necessity because without it God’s church cannot exist. But the performance of the sacraments takes the subordinate place in comparison with the proclamation of the word.²²⁷ According to Turretin, the Baptism has to be performed by faith, it together with the profession suggests a sure, outward, and sacramental holiness.²²⁸ Eucharist and Baptism likewise with the miracles or persecutions are not absolutely a necessity of salvation, but is a help to salvation. Consequently, the Baptism with water is not the external or sacramental means, but the internal means. In Eph. 5:26 and Tit. 3:5 it mentions the internal washing by Spirit before the external.²²⁹

²²⁵ IET., 19. 8. 5.

²²⁶ Louis Berkhof, op. cit., 618.

²²⁷ IET., 18. 12. 7.

²²⁸ IET., 18. 1. 8.; 18. 3. 17.

²²⁹ IET., 19. 13. 22.

Therefore, the Baptism guides the believer through the profession.²³⁰

The foundation of the practice of pedobaptism comes not from real faith of infants, rather it is based on the promise of the covenant and universal order of all believers in the church (Gen. 17:7; Acts 2:39).²³¹

The Lord's Supper is another sacrament in the New Testament, by the breaking and receiving of the bread and wine, is proclaimed and sealed toward Christians as the communion of Christ's body which was broken on the cross as well as of Christ's blood which was shed on the cross for believers.²³² Relating to the Lord's Supper, Turretin makes a detailed explanation of ten other terms and is referring to many more terms. Among them, the first mention about it, except the Holy Supper, is connected with the Eucharist. Turretin claims that the apostles, ancient fathers, especially, Chrysostom used the term Eucharist as the Holy Supper,²³³ and the Eucharist was also called 'Eulogia' and 'Eucharistia' in Latin, and used by the apostle Paul (1Cor. 10:16).²³⁴ As another very important term, there is the Latin word 'Synaxis' and 'Leitourgia' as the origin of 'Liturgy' in English. These words are originating from the ancient fathers and ecclesiastical writers. Especially, leitourgia is a general official work, and this term was moved to the divine things and so it has a significance for having a

²³⁰ IET., 18. 4. 10.

²³¹ IET., 15. 14. 9.

²³² IET., 19. 21. 1,2.

²³³ IET., 19. 21. 3.

²³⁴ IET., 19. 21. 5.

sacred function by the usage of the public church as indicated in Heb. 10:11. As well on the basis of the scripture of Hebrew 8:2 that our Lord is a minister of the sanctuary, the apostle Paul said that the preaching of the word is the 'leitourgia'(Rom. 15:16).²³⁵ The Lord's Supper seals our spiritual nutrition and helps by Christ, in the remembrance of his death, and it is the food of life that he readied for believers.²³⁶ Thus, relating to the Holy Supper, Turretin maintains the following:²³⁷

"Therefore, the end of this whole institution can be threefold. (1) A commemoration of Christ and of his death: "This do in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19). This commemoration is not only theoretical, but also practical. (2) Our union with Christ and communion in his benefits, which are represented to us best by eating and drinking. (3) Hence follows the certainty of remission of sins (Mt. 26:28) and of eternal salvation obtained for us by the death of Christ."

Therefore, the Lord's Supper is represented and bestowed to God's people in church with the communion of Christ's body and his blood, and as well, the communion of his every benefits by the spirit on the memory of Christ's death on the cross and the corroboration and

²³⁵ IET., 19. 21. 9.

²³⁶ IET., 19. 22. 2.

²³⁷ IET., 19. 22. 3.

promotion of believers' faith.²³⁸ In the matter of repentance associated with prayer, Turretin maintains that we must use the method to inspect ourselves whether we repented our sin truly or not. When we inspected ourselves, if we repent really from our hearts, not only can we affirm that God chose us and he is in us, but also we must affirm it. However, as a result that we examined ourselves, if we did not repent truly, immediately we must apply with sincerity the means of grace that he designated to us; as well we must not only listen, read, and contemplate, but also pray to God to get the gift of faith and repentance.²³⁹ According to Turretin, the term 'to pray' is placed naturally in praying to God, because there is not any other legitimate invocation but only to pray to God. Thus, the praying provides faith (Rom. 10:14), knowledge, ability, and will in the prayer; and these things are in God who is seeking the prayer's heart and listening invocers' praying.²⁴⁰ Relating to the Apostles' Creed, Turretin asserts that it is the reason why we gave the name as the Apostles' Creed that it was not passed on by them, but formed from the apostolic teaching. Therefore the Apostles' Creed is the core and at the same time the summarization of the apostolic teaching.²⁴¹ The requirement for preaching the gospel and for the call of pastors cannot be acquired, if

²³⁸ IET., 19. 22. 16.

²³⁹ Francis Turretin, *The Atonement*, op. cit., 252.

²⁴⁰ IET., 11. 7. 12,13

²⁴¹ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology"*, op. cit., 36.

there is not the word of God and faith through the spirit in it, so that it is inevitable for salvation.²⁴² It is regrettable it seems that Turretin did not make special mention of the church music or the definition of praise, however only, relating to the general command of God, the praise of God is the absolute obligation of saints together with offering the spiritual sacrifices to God, the urge and comfort of each other, and the Hymn is a factor of public liturgy together with other factors like the preaching or prayer.²⁴³ In conclusion, to Turretin, the liturgy is relating to the proclamation of God's word as the revelation, salvation and so on, thus the liturgy is the higher valued education of grace. Therefore, our liturgy must be the spiritual and internal liturgy in Spirit and Truth and take it for only God alone.

²⁴² IET., 18. 25. 22.

²⁴³ IET., 18. 22. 14.; 11. 7. 17.

CHAPTER III

In this last chapter, I would like to mention the liturgical situation of the Korean church together with a brief statement on Korean Christianity across the history of one hundred year, and then, discuss some problems of the liturgy of the Korean church with the views of Francis Turretin in mind, and finally, present some alternatives on the problems.

1. The Liturgical Conditions of Present Korean Church

The history of the Korean church is not so long in comparison with the European church or other western churches. Nevertheless, the Korean church developed greatly. There are about twenty five percent Christians among the Korean population now.

1-1. A brief history on the liturgy of Korean church

The first organized church in Korea was started by H. G. Underwood, the first official missionary of Korea. He established the Jungdong Presbyterian church with fourteen members at his home in Jungdong on the twenty seventh of September in 1887, moved to the place Saemunan, and then it became the Saemunan Presbyterian church. The first Eucharist of the Korean Presbyterian church came into operation by missionaries on the eleventh of October in 1885; the first Eucharist together with Koreans was celebrated at the Underwood's home on Christmas day in 1887.²⁴⁴ Relating to the early liturgy of the Korean church, the Nevius methods influenced the liturgy of Korean church.²⁴⁵ John Livingston Nevius (1829-1893) was sent by the Presbyterian Church of the USA to China and published his book 'Method of Mission Work' through the Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal in 1886.²⁴⁶ At that time Underwood the Korean missionary was very interested in this method of the mission of Nevius, and after long and serious consideration and prayer, Korean missionaries included, they adopted Nevius' method and finally

²⁴⁴ Kim In Soo, *The History of Korean Protestant Church*, (Seoul: Jangshin Seminary Press, 1998), 160-63.

²⁴⁵ Kim Kyeong Jin, *The worship of Korean church through the history of the formation of worship*, http://www.wpa.or.kr/academy_bbs/view.asp, 115.

²⁴⁶ John L. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work*, (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1886).

confirmed it as the policy of their mission.²⁴⁷ Underwood gives an explanation of this new method with four understandings: he said that First, each person must remain like the situation of the time when he was called first, and we must teach them that they can live their own life with their own job living together with their neighbours as a work of Christ. Second, we must develop the methods or organizations of the church on the level that the native church can be capable of. Third, if it is possible, the native church must cope with the human strengths and finances of the church. We must find people who have good gifts, and we must let them do mission work. Fourth, we must let natives alone establish their own church.²⁴⁸ Another missionary Charles Allen Clark, at the same time, also expressed similar ideas about Nevius' mission policy. He said that First, each missionary propagates the gospel privately through the itineration of broad regions. Second, as Self-propagation, all believers are teachers and at the same times learners, every private and group must make an effort to extend the work by the layering method. Third, as Self-government, all organisations within the jurisdiction of non-payment leaders are selected among themselves; itinerant pastors within the jurisdiction of payment helpers will be pastors in the future. Fourth, as Self-support, the believers have a church which is built by their own means and as soon as each group

²⁴⁷ H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 109.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 109-10.

was established, that group must start to pay for the circuit helper, and the independent church pastor must not receive any donation from a foreigner. Fifth, every believer takes the Bible study under the control of a leader and circuit helper. Sixth, the mission church practices Biblical disciplinary punishment. Seventh, each mission company collaborate and combine with each other. Eighth, the missionary does not interfere in the matters of legalistic or similar. Ninth, against the people's normal financial means the missionary gives a normal aid.²⁴⁹ To this Nevius method, it is important that it should be a Voluntary system. Nevius argued that the mission is practiced through mostly unpaid native Christians and leaders except for a few paid helpers, that is, there is a voluntary propagation in the middle of the mission. This is the point of the three disciplines, so called, the Self-support, the Self-government, and the Self-propagation. It is that the native Christian alone propagates the gospel, establishes the church, and governs the church. In Korea, the application of these methods by the missionaries centring on Underwood was enforced by the leadership on the liturgy of natives. The missionaries in Korea felt they needed to help leaders for effective liturgy, because they were not trained but just common people. The result was, the Union liturgy was conformed. There was the union liturgy in the morning and afternoon, and it was composed with the unofficial Sunday school, the official Sunday liturgy,

²⁴⁹ Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean church and the Nevius Methods*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), 33-4.

the Scripture story training, and the catechism.²⁵⁰ There were also the Bible classes or training classes in the season of summer or winter for leaders, and it was arranged for from six to eight weeks, including the Bible study mainly and astronomy, geography, history, and common sense secondarily,²⁵¹ In fact, in the early liturgy of the Korean church, the teaching was emphasized more than the preaching. The arguments of the simplified order of liturgy and the probationary period for six months for Baptism in the Korean church were influenced by Nevius methods.²⁵² Following the Nevius' admonition, firstly the missionary S. A. Moffett proposed the simplified order of liturgy through his book 'The standard of candidates to be a church member', published in 1895. Its order is the following:²⁵³

- 1) Hymn
- 2) Prayer
- 3) Reading the Scripture
- 4) Prayer of one or two among the congregation
- 5) Psalm song
- 6) Teaching of the Scripture
- 7) Prayer

²⁵⁰ John L. Nevius, op. cit., 33.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 40-1.

²⁵² Ibid., 37-8.

²⁵³ S. A. Moffett, *The standard of candidates to be a church member* (Seoul: Chosun Yesukyo Seowhae, 1895), 13-4.

- 8) Offering
- 9) Psalm song

This liturgical order of Moffett is similar to the order of the Saemunan church in 1932 and is as follows.²⁵⁴

- 1) Proclamation of liturgy
- 2) Hymn
- 3) Prayer (an elder)
- 4) Reading aloud of a Psalm
- 5) Reading the Scripture
- 6) Praise (a choir)
- 7) Preaching
- 8) Prayer
- 9) Offering and Prayer
- 10) Announcement
- 11) Hymn
- 12) Benediction

In contrast to Moffett's order, in the order of the Saemunan church in

²⁵⁴ The church history compilation Committee of Daehan Yesukyo Janglowhae Saemunan church, A hundred history of Saemunan church, 1887-1987(Seoul: the church history compilation committee of Saemunan church, 1995), 239.

1932, although the teaching of the Scripture was changed into the preaching and the Benediction was added because the pastor had been in existence already at that time, there was not a big change essentially. When we see that most of the Korean churches are still using this order without any big difference, we can ignore sufficiently the influence of Nevius' method. The development of the Bible class system is another important motivational force in the revival of the Korean church and liturgy. The beginning of this Bible class is originally from the Bible class that Underwood started together with seven Koreans in his house in 1890.²⁵⁵ The revival movement in 1907 was a very great event relating to build up the liturgy of the Korean church. An appeal of this movement was the repentance of R. A. Hardie, southern Baptist missionary in 1903. Finally, the history of the great revival of the Korean church was started by the Holy Spirit from the Jangdaehyeon church in Pyongyang in 1907. This was a Bible class movement with the repentance.²⁵⁶ This is what is called 'the Great Revival Movement in 1907'. After the revival movement in 1907, the passion of missionaries about the salvation of spirit influenced to build up the liturgy in the early Korean church. This fact is shown surely through the evidence of Underwood:²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Kim In Soo, op. cit., 167.

²⁵⁶ Kim In Soo, op. cit., 246.

²⁵⁷ H. G. Underwood, op. cit., 188.

“They are different from their profession, liturgical rites, and method. However their true goal and object is one, it is the evangelization of Korea. The God, one faith and hope, one Father, one Savior, one Spirit wants to go one way to save this country, and it is coming soon the time that they can show their accorded faith by that they establish one united Christian church following the holy providence of God.”

After the movement in 1907, Korea had consequently produced native pastors, the Korean church started to settle gradually, and the change of liturgy was required, because, as mentioned above, there was not a distinctive establishment on the liturgical form. Thus after 1907, the liturgy of the Korean church processed a liturgy centring on preaching with the style of roadside propagation. The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church was formed in Korea in 1907. This assembly established the rules of the Sunday morning liturgy; this Sunday morning liturgy is still regarded as a very important regulation in the whole Korean Presbyterian Church.²⁵⁸ As one of the efforts for the establishment of liturgy for this age, the Junla Colloquy proposed to use ‘the Book of Forms’, but this draft was not adopted as a official.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Min Kyung Bae, *History of Korean Christianity*, (Seoul: Daehan Kidokyo Press, 1983), 21.

²⁵⁹ Jung Jang Bok, et al., *The modern society and liturgy, and preaching work* (Seoul: Academy of liturgy and preaching, 2002), 532.

The first directory of Korean church is found in 'The law of Chosun Yesukyo Presbyterian' in 1922 translated from 'The Directory for the Worship of God with Optional forms' of southern Presbyterianism in the USA, and the Directory was published in 1934 as a revised version of this directory.²⁶⁰ This Directory in 1934 influenced the Korean church and liturgy enormously passing through a few revision for several decades after that time. In this Directory the liturgy is treated from chapter two to chapter seven; in chapter two with the subject 'the gathering of church' and 'the definition of the practice of liturgy', and from three to seven with the specific orders of liturgy.²⁶¹ Although it was not direct, the historical situation of Korea influenced the form of the Korean church. The Korean churches had to overcome the compulsory occupation by Japan an aggressor in the early twentieth century, and the Korean War between South and North Korea which is named as '6. 25' in the middle of the twentieth century, as well as the split of denominations and political difficulties in 1960 and 1970's. Consequently, the Korean church was concerned about the external growth more than internal growth. As a result, from the 1970's, the Korean church achieved remarkable external growth.²⁶² In the early

²⁶⁰ Kim Kyung Jin, *The Formation of Presbyterian Worship in Korea: A Historical and Theological Study of Early Korean Presbyterian Worship, 1879-1934*, Diss. Boston University, (1999), 6.

²⁶¹ Lee Ur Jin, *The study on the liturgical movement and its influence*, Diss. Jangshin seminary, (2004), 49.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 50-1.

days of the Korean church, because American missionaries entered into Korea, the forms of liturgy were introduced into Korea coincided with the American church's. Not to speak of any specific denominations in America at that time, all churches had a tendency of liturgy centring on the word of God free from form maintaining the Puritanism, but that tendency was accorded with astonishingly the religious character.²⁶³ Because American missionaries in Korea had been familiar with Free Church style, the Korean church was influenced very strongly by them.²⁶⁴ Thus, in Korea after the 1980's, liturgies with a free style were introduced in Korea, and it is called, 'the Seeker's liturgy' or 'the open liturgy' in Korea. In the word 'Open liturgy' there are some meaning of 'to come easier', 'anybody to believe or not', 'to renew', and 'free from the formed liturgy'.²⁶⁵ The recent liturgical forms as introduced from the American church are the forms of Willow Creek Community church and Saddleback church. These forms of the American church is similar to the liturgy that the church practiced on the frontiers in the early period of American cultivation: the form was propagation camping meetings mainly for the salvation and propagation of unbelieving private. The model of Seeker's liturgy or Open liturgy is used by various cultural means like multimedia,

²⁶³ Song Young Jin, op. cit., 42.

²⁶⁴ An Soo Ho, *The Research on the Liturgy of Korean church in the place of Reformed Theology: Centring on the problems and the direction of renewal*, Diss. Anyang Missionary, (2000), 24.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 28.

music, drama, internet, etc.²⁶⁶ In Korea also these liturgical models are attempted at churches like the church of Love, Onnuri church, or Yesuchon church. The praise worship and the revival worship through the word and testimony centring on the Pentecostal line churches was influenced very largely by the liturgical form and the church growth from the 1970's to the present.

1-2. The conditions of the liturgy of Korean church

It is an axiom that the biggest object of all humanity is to glorify God. If it is so, is the Korean church following it and what is the condition of the Korean church? What is the basis and influence of the liturgy of the Korean church?

1-2-1. The liturgy for only blessing and anthropocentric liturgy

To believers, the blessing from God is a bliss and grace through and through. The blessing is divided into the blessing of salvation of the spirit, that is, the eternal life and the material blessing, but some Korean Christians are indifferent to spiritual blessing, only their mind are for material and present blessing. The material blessing becomes

²⁶⁶ Jun Jae Sung, *The method on the Renewal of Korean church Liturgy in twenty first centuries*, Diss. Mokwon University, (2005), 36-7.

a factor to believe or not. In the past there was some pastor of the Pentecostal church who preached that if there is no material blessing, also there is no salvation. He argues that if God loves and saved him, why does God not give him the material blessing? The logic is that to receive the blessing is to receive the salvation, however, it is a totally unfounded allegation. The liturgy for blessing again is connected with an anthropocentric liturgy. Although all preparation for liturgy was finished, it is not the preparation for God anymore because there is no God the object of liturgy. The God is far from their liturgy, and just there is filled by the thoughts, methods, and relations of people. Thus, instead of God, men take his glory with the emphasis on contributors, the calling of savant, the splendid appearance of the preacher, the official prayer of secular subjects, and secular announcement.²⁶⁷ The place of liturgy to God is presented occasionally as a place for political lobbying.

1-2-2. The liturgy with the pagan characters

The Korean culture was originally an anti-Christian culture. From a long time ago, Korea was influenced deeply by three religions in

²⁶⁷ Kim Chang In, *The Study on the renewal of the liturgy of Korean church: centring on the early liturgy of Korean Christianity*, diss. Christ Seminary, (1998), 38.

Korean culture, the Shamanism, the Buddhism, and Confucianism.²⁶⁸ First, under the influence of Shamanism, the liturgy of the Korean church is used for recovering from serious illness, blessing of the year, high school examinations, new car, new house, and so on, i.e., the liturgy for them is just for keeping off the evil.²⁶⁹ Moreover the liturgy of the Korean church has a character of syncretism mixing with each other the concepts of the sacrificial rite of the Old Testament, the ancestor ceremonial rite, and the Shamanic rite. Second is the influence of Buddhism: Buddhism is the one religion that influenced the Korean's mentality the most from a very long time ago. Hence Buddhism is striking root deeply in the culture, community, customs, emotion, and religious mind of most Korean people, and these things is working as an obstruction to liturgy. Although the Korean church has a firm faith for God's kingdom, there is the tendency on escapism, egoism, and the avoidance of social responsibility, because of the influence of the concept of afterlife of Buddhism. Third is the influence of Confucianism. Because Confucianism influenced the attitude of the liturgist rather than the liturgical rite itself, the Korean liturgy appeared as the liturgical style of formalism and this is the biggest character of Confucianism. Thus some people in church have a prayer rather for

²⁶⁸ Jung Yong Sub, *Theology of Renewal in Church*, (Seoul: Daehan kidokyo Press, 1989), 248.

²⁶⁹ Lee Jong Yoon, *The Reformation of Korean church*, (Seoul: Jung um Press, 1983), 90.

the maintenance of dignity.²⁷⁰ The preaching of the pastor is controlled by the taste of the congregation rather than God's will, the church choir is concerned about the pleasure of the congregation through selection of the great music rather than God's glory, what is more, the selection of music for display can be found as much as well.²⁷¹

1-2-3. The unbalanced situation of the word of God and Sacrament

As I mentioned before, in the liturgical context of the Korean church, the preaching has almost become the center from the earlier times of Korean church, but on the other hand, the place of Sacrament which is another pillar of liturgy was reduced approximately to an annual church event. In the situation that the preaching is recognized as the one and all of liturgy, the power of preaching was connected deeply with the authoritarianism of the preacher, the preaching rather degraded into the means of the preacher's sufficiency or personal attack than the right proclamation of the word of God. Although his descendants reduced the Sacrament to one or two times a year, Calvin built up the right balance between the Word and Sacrament, and the principle of the balance is recognized as the basis for the renewal of liturgy,

²⁷⁰ Lee Jong Il, *A Theoretical Basis and Practical Approach on the Renewal of Worship: In Relation to the Presbyterian Churches in Korea*, Diss. Reformed Theological Seminary, (2001), 95.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

estimated very highly by the liturgical theologians.²⁷² In the Korean church, the Sacrament is one of the annual events and an auxiliary measure.

1-2-4. The life of believer separated from liturgy

The liturgy is continued in a believer's life. It must be shown by the responsible life as a Christian. Although, however, there are many worshipers, it is difficult to find believers out side of the church. The Korean church kept strictly the Lord's Day from the early times under the influence of Puritanism. Also the Law of Daehan Yesukyo Presbyterian church, in chapter 1, section 2 in the Directory, is prescribing about the liturgy and the Lord's Day as follows.²⁷³

“This is the Lord's Day, therefore, You must keep holy for a whole day. It is right to use this day with the liturgy for God through the public meeting or individual, to rest holily for a whole day, to abolish the work of secular pleasure and all affairs, and to abstain from the worldly worry and word.”

²⁷² Jung Yong Sub, “the Renewal of the liturgy of Korean Protestant church”. *Shinhark Sasang*, Vol. 14. (1976), 450.

²⁷³ The National Synod of Daehan Yesukyo Presbyterian church, *The Law*, (Seoul: the National Synod Press, 1993), 231.

In the present time the concept of the holy keeping of the Lord's Day was indistinct, thus many people think that they fulfilled their responsibilities for the holy keeping of the Lord's Day during the liturgy of an hour in Sunday. This insensibility on the liturgy separated from the life is spreading to their offspring.

1-2-5. The power of Media and the dominance of the theory of church growth

The media, especially the super speed internet and satellite system is rapidly changing the liturgy of the Korean church today. There are many churches, sermons, Bible studies, and church music if we open the internet from the computer, and anybody can choose the liturgy following his interest without the correct information about whether the church, liturgy, and minister is Biblical or not. Introducing the theory of church growth in Korea in the 1970's, the growth and development of the church has become the most important object of Korean churches even till now, and it greatly influences the liturgy. Even if the positive function is great, also the negative function of it is no less.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Lee Won Kyu, *The Actuality and Prospect of Korean church*, (Seoul: Sungseo Eyungusa, 1994), 28.

2. Issues of Korean Church Liturgy in Turretin's View

The Korean church accomplished growth and revival that astonishes the world for the past three decades, and there was a liturgy in the middle of the result. However, it is a matter of common knowledge that the number of Koreans Christian is reducing gradually nowadays. There are many reasons, but the biggest cause in my opinion is the problem of liturgy. God, to F. Turretin, is the object of theology and liturgy,²⁷⁵ and as he is the God of order, it needs the ordered liturgy for him and his glory. From the early period, however, the Korean church was influenced by the unregulated liturgy under the influence of missionaries, and was not interested in fixed order, tradition, or the Directory, as it is, in a church without any theological investigation or development. As a result of it, the liturgical rite has declined, and also produced negative growth. The word of the gospel and preaching about it is a necessity of salvation, we cannot obtain the faith without them.²⁷⁶ Turretin prescribed the liturgy as a higher school of grace,²⁷⁷ as it were, the liturgy is the time of God's grace, for his grace, and by his grace in his grace. Also the mind of human kind is an auxiliary tool, the believer can use it as an instrument, but it is never the foundation

²⁷⁵ IET., 1. 5. 4., 11. 5. 5.

²⁷⁶ IET., 18. 24. 21.

²⁷⁷ Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of scripture; Locus 2 of "Institutes of Elenctic Theology"* op.cit., 23.

or principle of faith.²⁷⁸ Against that, in the Korean church, the emotion or the reason lead and control the liturgy centring on the praise and preaching excessively. Nevertheless it is difficult to find a conspicuous change through their liturgy, rather it is some dry. The preaching in liturgy becomes not the proclamation of God's word, but the education of Biblical knowledge. Thus the preaching can be no more than a well arranged word, not for God, but for people. Turretin and Reformed theology said that the liturgy has to be only for God alone, all liturgical acts for other things are perfectly idolatrous.²⁷⁹ The Korean Protestant has a short history, however, there are many pagan factors and those things influenced largely the liturgy. Although they have a liturgy by the name of God, sometimes the purpose of that liturgy is not God, but their profit, blessing, and welfare. They have a liturgy for keeping off evil from their new car, house, and shop, and receiving the blessing under the influence of Shamanism; also some people do not want to speak about social problems or other religions or even heresies because of the influence of Buddhism, and on the other side, some people attend, pray, and offer in the liturgy not for God, but for their honor or manner for Confucian ideas.²⁸⁰ Thus the liturgy looks like a mental culture and spiritual training for some people.²⁸¹ Turretin said

²⁷⁸ IET., 1. 8. 7.

²⁷⁹ IET., 11. 7. 11, 15.

²⁸⁰ Song Young Jin, op. cit., 44.

²⁸¹ Jang Byung Il, *the wrong acknowledge of Faith*, (Seoul: Gyaemyoungsa, 1964), 48.

that the liturgy for God must be a whole personal liturgy,²⁸² but many Christians in Korea put the liturgy for God away from their mind. According to research, twenty seven percent people go to church without their Bible, sixty seven people do not pray after coming into the place of liturgy, and nearly fifty percent do not listen to the preaching though their Bible is open.²⁸³ This fact is a proof on the separation of liturgy and life. Turretin emphasized the liturgy as the life with six commandments of the Decalogue. Thus the liturgy to God is the liturgy not just as a part, but as a whole life, while many Christians have a dislike to expose the fact that they are Christians in everyday life. Turretin claimed that God gathers his people through the liturgy of the word and sacrament, and the pure preaching of the word with the lawful administration of the sacraments must be in the liturgy, like with Calvin.²⁸⁴ Because the sacrament is a proof and means,²⁸⁵ it must be practiced in every liturgy as the preaching. The sacrament is the visible word, the proclamation of forgiveness of sins, the confirmation of the sealing as God's people, and the continuation between God and his people in the liturgy.²⁸⁶ The Scripture teaches his people that the

²⁸² IET., 11. 6. 9.

²⁸³ Choi Byong Nam, "Godcentric liturgy for renewal of liturgical place". *Ministry and Theology* (February, 1993), 64.

²⁸⁴ IET., 18. 8. 22., 18. 12. 6.

²⁸⁵ IET., 19. 8. 5.

²⁸⁶ James A. De Jong, *Into his presence*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1985), 112.

liturgy should be celebrating the creation of God, incarnation, salvation, the work of Christ's cross and the resurrection and so on, and it is the reason that the Christian liturgy must be celebrated to God.²⁸⁷ In the Korean church, however, because the sacrament is regarded as an attachment of liturgy or annual event, the sacramental liturgy is very weak regarding the value and the frequency of it. Although the sacrament is a very important means of grace, to practice it often is to prevent the means of grace. The week of the probation period before Baptism is one of the very big problems in the Korean church. The people think that it is not necessary. To have the public liturgy on the first day of the week is a natural result, because that day is the Lord's Day and the day of his resurrection, and the observance of that day is not mutable, but divine and perpetual.²⁸⁸ In the Korean church, however, the concept of the Lord's Day is disappearing gradually. Turretin emphasized that the liturgy is not external, but internal and spiritual through Rom 12: 1.²⁸⁹ Thus the sickness of church growth changed the liturgy as a liturgy not for God's glory, but for the glory for the minister himself and the church itself.

²⁸⁷ Jung Il Woong, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, (Seoul: Solomon Press, 1993), 232.

²⁸⁸ IET., 11. 14. 1.

²⁸⁹ IET., 1. 8. 8.

3. The Alternatives

In the Christian's life if there is no liturgy, the faith and life of the Christian could not have any meaning. Thus the liturgy is connected with the faith and life of the believer. Because the liturgy provides many benefits, it is one of the greatest blessings that God gives to the believer. The liturgy is a form of expression of believer obeying to God's command. The liturgy for God is commanded by him and forbid anything against it.²⁹⁰ The object of all theology including the liturgical theology must be taken with God as the truth, thus the theology is connecting with the liturgy as a practical side of theology, and so the theology must be concluded as the liturgy of God.²⁹¹ The Liturgy centring on the word of God means that it is not only merely the preaching but also the order of liturgy must be based on God's word.²⁹² First of all, the right understanding of the liturgy must be in the mind of the leader and people. Because the Scripture does not ask to worship God by the mechanical order, in the liturgical forms every each church is a natural and free. It is an obvious fact that the free liturgy is distinctive from the non-interference. The liturgy must have a distinct

²⁹⁰ IET., 11. 5. 11.

²⁹¹ IET., 1. 7. 15.

²⁹² Jung Il Woong, "The critical reflection on the vineyard movement and vineyard liturgical culture". *Shinhakjinam* (summer, 1996), 225.

theology and principle.²⁹³ The rapid inflow of media in the church is fanning the disappearance of the community character, is outstanding in the private churchcentrism. This phenomenon is more serious in the supersize churches. Therefore the Korean church must get out of the liturgy only for the sake of growth of the church and restore the nature of church and liturgy. If the Korean church wants to grow up, the Korean church must have an interest in the sacrament, for God gathers his people through his word and sacrament. In the liturgy of one hour, the Eucharist must always be together with the preaching. The word of God has been together with his church, so there is no church without the word, as well there is no church without the sacrament.²⁹⁴ The preaching and eucharist must not be practiced independently of each other, they must always be together in the liturgy. As Turretin mentioned, the baptism must be practiced surely in faith,²⁹⁵ and the probation period before Baptism also must be performed faithfully as an important procedure in all churches. For the whole performing of the Lord's Day, the Korean must recover the character as a festival and rest, for that day is Christ's day, the day of his resurrection, and the day of God's glory. Furthermore, it must be connected with the liturgy of believers in their life. The life itself of the believer is a liturgy, it is completed by the life of faith and obedience

²⁹³ Lee Jung Hyeon, op.cit., 508.

²⁹⁴ IET., 2. 2. 10.

²⁹⁵ IET., 18.1. 8.

with the liturgy in Lord's Day.²⁹⁶ Therefore the liturgy and life cannot be separated from each other, the liturgy as life is necessary to live following God's will.²⁹⁷ Through the liturgy of life, the believer offers his life to God, and he asks about his problems and also obtains its answer in his liturgy.²⁹⁸ The liturgy is a reality of the believer's life. To be a real liturgy, the believer's life must be lived as a liturgical rite. So the liturgy is a conversation between God and his people.²⁹⁹ As the glorious word proclaimed in church on the Lord's Day, the believer must be a non-ashamed Christian of the gospel, and also he must live as a commanding Christian changing the world with the liturgist's life day by day. The praise is an absolute obligation of the believer and a factor of public liturgy,³⁰⁰ and the purpose of God's creation. This is not from the selfish mind of God, because the created being can develop a personal relationship with God through the liturgy of his praise for God. The Christian, especially the young Korean Christians must know the fact that the praise can never be all of liturgy, but only one part of it. The confession and forgiveness of sin is a necessary factor in the liturgy. As I mentioned before, the preaching ought to be with faith, for the preaching without faith must be ignorant of it, and we cannot get

²⁹⁶ James A. De Jong, op. cit., 119.

²⁹⁷ Jung Jang bok, *Introduction of Worship*, 57.

²⁹⁸ Park Gun Won, *The Today's Liturgy*, (Seoul: Daehan Kidokyo Seowhae, 1992), 41.

²⁹⁹ James A. De Jong, op. cit., 120.

³⁰⁰ IET., 11. 7. 17., 18. 22. 14

the faith without the preaching of the gospel.³⁰¹ The preaching becomes a part of liturgy because God speaks to his people through his word, i.e. the Scripture.³⁰² The factors of liturgy as profession, prayer, and offering must also be an organic system together with other factors in liturgy including the life. On the theological way of Turretin, the Guard of the good deposit ('Garde le bon depot') was one of the very important arguments.³⁰³ The Korean Presbyterian Church received to direct influence of old Princeton theology which was based on F. Turretin's theology. On this presupposition, the liturgy and theology of the Korean church, as Turretin did not stray from Calvin's theology at all will never lose the good theological tradition of old Princeton. Accordingly, the liturgy is also a restoration and the continuation of God's salvation history for his people through the liturgy.

³⁰¹ IET., 18. 24. 21.

³⁰² Kim Yeon Teg, *The Healthful Church and the Liturgy*, (Seoul: Precept Press, 2000), 254.

³⁰³ Jack Rogers and Donald McKim, op. cit., 174

Summary

The term liturgy itself has many expressions in the Old Testament, New Testament, and in English. Among them the liturgy is used as the term that can be applied to all forms of public worship. There are some elements such as preaching, sacrament, prayer et al., in the liturgy. The liturgy was started from Eden in the Old Testament, the liturgy was continued as the form of altar in the Patriarchal age and by the tent and temple in Moses and king David's ages. In the age of king David, the liturgy of confession of sin and honesty more than the moral perfection was emphasized. After the Diaspora, the synagogue became the place of liturgy of Israel. In the New Testament, Jesus Christ gave the meaning of another new liturgy through his Holy Supper. In early Christianity, the liturgy was the festival, sharing, and

relief with the proclamation of the gospel of Christ's resurrection and his Second coming, the baptism, offering, professing, and prayer. From the Second century the Lord's Day liturgy was started. After the fourth century, there was some change until the seventh century in the Eastern Church, and all liturgical rites were fixed after the seventh century. In the Western Church, after the ninth century, the liturgical rite was unified by the Roman rite. At the end of the medieval age, the Mass was a play of priests, the believers were spectators. There was not a liturgy for God, and as well it was the starting point of Reformation. The Reformers rejected the Mass and the Transubstantiation of the Roman church, argued for the reformation of liturgy and the liturgy in the mother language. The greatest Reformer John Calvin claims that the object of the liturgy is only the glory to God, the Scripture and the tradition of the early church as the norm of public liturgical rite, the balance between the Word and Sacrament, the eternal and spiritual liturgy.

In the European church, although the reformation of liturgy was started by the first Reformer Luther, nearly all churches in European countries got under Calvin's influence soon. In Switzerland, Zwingli and Farel led the Reformation, and Geneva, under Calvin's direction, became the most influential city. In the Anglican Church, the Mass became their liturgy till after the Reformation. In Germany, for thirty years many people had to spill blood for the freedom of liturgy. In Scotland, the reformation of liturgy was led by John Knox. Netherlands obtained

freedom of liturgy after a long struggling under the conduct of William, Prince of Orange, In France, the Huguenots had to make many religious wars for getting the freedom of faith and liturgy. Francis Turretin is the greatest Orthodox Reformed theologian. He lived as a professor, minister and theologian in his days. He was a loyal successor of Reformer Calvin and a protector of the Orthodox theology in the seventeenth century, the epitomizer of Reformed theology, and the Scholastic theology. His immortal work, 'Institutes of Elenctic Theology (Institutio Theologiae Elencticae)', is the eminent illustration of the theology of the seventeenth century, and polemical. His scholastic theology is positively re-examined. With Turretin, the reason only serves for faith, it never possesses or surpasses the faith, God and his Word is the only basis of Turretin's theology and liturgy. His theology also is in the Calvinism tradition. To Turretin, the liturgy is the higher school of God's grace, the teaching in the liturgy, the communication with God, God's commandment, the life itself, and the gospel liturgy by the spirit and truth.

The liturgy of the Korean church was started by Underwood, the first missionary of Korea. In the early period of the Korean church, the Nevius methods influenced the Korean mission decisively. The first Directory of the Korean church was published by Moffett. The liturgical rites of the Free Church in America was introduced mainly in Korea, still those forms are functioning widely as the model of liturgical renewal in Korean church. Many Christians in Korea worship for the

blessing and the human's happiness rather than God, and there are many pagan factors in the Christian's liturgy, and the sacrament is far from the liturgy. It is difficult to find a Christian worshipping with his whole life. On account of the desire for church growth in the Korean church, if the church can increase its numbers, they think that liturgy does not matter. Because the Korean church is disregarding the tradition, object, nature, content, and reason of liturgy according to Turretin, the Korean church needs the continuous effort for the renewal and reformation of liturgy and the right establishment of the liturgical theology.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, according to Francis Turretin, the liturgy is connected with the proclamation of the Word of God as his revelation and his salvation work. Thus the liturgy is a higher valued school of God's grace, for the finite human being cannot give to the infinite God the full glory. The Korean church, especially, has the theological benefits of Turretin, who succeeded Calvin, through the theology of old Princeton as the basic foundation. The liturgy is expressed continuously to God and the Word as the revelation about himself, and as well, God proclaims salvation, calls the believer, and seeks his people through the liturgy. Because the liturgy has the element of repentance, the proclamation is on forgiveness of sin, the faith, and the salvation, if our liturgy causes some problem or our life as a liturgist causes some problem, we must repent and turn to God. Thus we must have the faith that is obtained by the forgiveness of sin. As I mentioned before, the believer must be a non-ashamed Christian of the gospel, and also he must live as a commanding Christian changing the world with the liturgist's life. The liturgy is a restoration, more accurately, the liturgy is a restoration of glory and the continuation of life for God.

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