

A Study on the Establishment of Korean Identity in Korean Lutheran Worship Books

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to study the establishment of Korean identity within Korean Lutheran church worship books that have inherited the spirit of the Reformation movement in the 16th century. The research method traces the development process of all the books of worship in the history of Lutheranism in Korea, organizes them in a chronological manner, and analyzes the contents. The scope of the study is all worship books, including the publication and process of the first worship book in 1960, the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Korea (LCK) General Assembly in 1972, and the revision process of the worship book, and the worship book published in com-

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memoration of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017. The specific details are about the first worship book made by Koreans, worship book developed with Korean traditional music, small community worship book containing the Korean situation, worship book that achieves complete use of Korean ('Hangul').

From the first worship book in 1960, LCK has established a Korean identity with the missionary principle of American missionaries of "the base of the native land." As LCK revised and developed its first worship book, it further solidified its Korean identity, from theology to music and professional human resource participation. As a result, a Sunday worship service was created for Koreans by Koreans according to Korean traditional music made with Korean traditional music and lyrics. LCK created a worship book for small communities that positively approached the reality of today's small Protestant churches in Korea. And in 2017, the LCK published the 500th anniversary commemorative worship book of the Reformation, achieving complete Korean transcription.

This thesis has an important achievement in that it has researched and summarized the entire history of worship books of the Lutheran Church in Korea from the perspective of establishing Korean identity. This thesis can contribute to the study of liturgical history in the field of liturgy in Korean Protestant Church.

- **Keywords**

Worship book, Korean Lutheran Church, Korean identity, 16th Reformation, Indigenous worship, Korean traditional music

I. Introduction

One of the major influences of the Reformation movement of Martin Luther (1483~1646) in Germany in the 16th century was worship reform. This led to worship in the medieval Roman Catholic Church, which had only been held in Latin, to worship in the vernacular language of the cultural customs of the people worshiped. As a result, today's Protestants inherit this spirit and develop a variety of worship orders suitable for each ethnic group customs. This spirit should be further developed and established in the worship of the entire Korean Protestant Church. It is especially necessary today, when there is a great sense of loss in worship gatherings due to COVID-19. This thesis aims to examine how a Korean identity suitable for Korean customs is being established in worship book of the Lutheran Church in Korea (LCK), one of the major denominations of Protestantism in Korea.

Karl F. A. Gützlaff, who grew up in a Lutheran family in Germany, did missionary work in Korea for about a month in 1832.¹ And then,

1 Although Pastor Gützlaff (1803~1851) was not able to create baptisms and translate the Bible or establish a church, he did various ministries, such as translating the Lord's Prayer, providing medical services, distributing potato seeds and teaching sowing methods. Gützlaff was sent to Batavia, Java, by the Dutch missionary in September 1826. After that, he arrived in Bangkok, the capital of Siam, in August 1828, and started missionary work for the locals and Chinese in Bangkok. In February 1930, he left the Dutch missionary and started his own missionary work. Gützlaff again moved to Macau, China for missionary activities, and set sail on July 16, 1832, and stayed at Jangsangot on the west coast of Joseon (old name of Korea) on July 17. They anchored and did missionary work. He left Kodae Island on August 12th due to Joseon's refusal to negotiate trade. See, Hyun Ki Oh, *Good Morning Gützlaff* (Seoul: Book Korea, 2014), 98, 107, and 176. For the information on Gützlaff and the Korean Bible translation, also see Kyung Man Hong, "A Study the Interrelation of Lee Su-jung and Karl E. A. Gützlaff Bible Translation," *Madang*, Vol. 30 (December 2018): 3-32.

from 1958, three American Lutheran missionaries began their missionary work in Korea in earnest.² At this time, several Protestant denominations were already active with about 70 years of Korean missionary history.³ The LCK had working tirelessly to establish a book of worship as proclaimed in the *LCK Constitution*,⁴ which declares that the LCK directly inherits the spirit and heritage of Luther's Reformation movement in the 16th century. The LCK Worship Subcommittee said, "For Korean churches that are highly interested in the importance and meaning of traditional worship services, this Lutheran tradition has made an important contribution, and it can be said to be one of the main missions given to the Lutheran Church."⁵ In particular, mind set

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- 2 Won Yong Ji said, "On January 13, 1958, on a cold winter day, Lutheran missionaries Paul Bartling, Pastor Maynard Dorow, and Pastor Kurt E. Voss arrived at Gimpo Airport near Seoul." Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1989), 81. LCK says, "Lutheran, which started with the arrival of three missionaries at Gimpo Airport on January 13, 1958, 441 years after the Reformation, 156 years after Gützlaff, and 74 years later than the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. It was the late mission of the Lutheran Church." LCK, *God's Blessing is in the Future: A Photo Album commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Christian Lutheran Society's Mission* (Seoul: Bawo Book Publishing), 1998, 8.
- 3 Full-scale Protestant missions in Korea began with the arrival and activity of Dr. Allen in 1884, and the arrival and activity of Missionary Underwood of the North Presbyterian Church in the United States and Missionary Appenzeller of the Methodist Church in the United States in 1885.
- 4 Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the *LCK Constitution*, "Apostles' Creed, Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, Athanasius Creed, Augsburg Confession and *Luther's Small Catechism* is regarded as the representative doctrine of Christianity, and it is regarded as a correct interpretation of the Bible. In addition, the LCK has published *Luther's Large Catechism*, Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Smalcald Articles, and Treatise on the authority and supremacy of the Pope, the Formula Concord, as an account of Luther's evangelical theology and his Reformation." LCK, "*LCK Constitution*," accessed October 1, 2021, <http://info.lck.or.kr/wp/%EB%B2%95%EA%B7%9C%EC%A7%91>.

meaning in the existence and role of the Lutheran worship book to the extent that it is specifically codified in the *LCK Constitution*.⁶

This study can contribute in two aspects as follows. First, it can contribute creatively in that it specifically studies the history of Korean Lutheran worship books. Second, above all else, it can contribute in that it is a study on the Korean identity of a book of worship that inherits the history and spirit of the Reformation movement in the 16th century.

II. The first worship book made by Koreans

On January 13, 1958, American LCMS missionaries who entered Seoul, Korea, established Korea Lutheran Mission (KLM). And two years later, in 1960, the first book of worship of the Korean Lutheran Church was officially published and appeared, although it was a translation of the Western worship book. It happened so quickly because the worship book was created by Korean with Koreans at the center of KLM.

The Sunday services and other services included in this book of worship are The Order of Morning Service (without Communion), The Order of Morning Service (with Holy Communion), The Order of Matins, The Order of Vespers, Baptismal Ceremonies (adult baptism, infant baptism), Initiation Ceremonies, and Appendices (Athanasian

5 LCK, *WORSHIP BOOK* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 2005), 3.

6 Article 4, Paragraph 10 of the *LCK Constitution* is "To disseminate and understand the traditional liturgy of the Lutheran Church." LCK, "*LCK Constitution*," accessed October 1, 2021, <http://info.lck.or.kr/wp/%EB%B2%95%EA%B7%9C%EC%A7%91>.

Creed).⁷

The Order of Morning Service (without Communion) is: The Playing Music, The Hymn, The Confession of Sins, The Hymn of Praise (Psalter), The GLORIA PATRI, The KYRIE, The GLORIA in EXCELSIS, The Salutation, The Collect for the Day, The Epistle, The Gradual, The Hallelujah, The Gospel Reading Declaration, The Gospel, The Apostles' Creed, The Hymn, The Sermon, The Offertory, The Offerings to God, The General Prayer, The Lord's Prayer, The Hymn, The Collect for the Word or The Collect for the Church, Benediction. The Order of Morning Service (with Holy Communion) is: The Playing Music, The Hymn, The Confession of Sins, The Declaration of Forgiveness, The Introit, The GLORIA PATRI, The KYRIE, The GLORIA in EXCELSIS, The Salutation, The Collect for the Day, The Epistle, The Gradual, The Hallelujah, The Gospel Reading Declaration, The Gospel, The Nicene Creed, The Hymn, The Sermon, The Offertory, The Offerings to God, The General Prayer, The Hymn, The Preface, The SANCTUS, The Lord's Prayer, The Words of Institution, The Pax Domini, The AGNUS DEI, The Distribution, The NUNC DIMITTIS, The Thanksgiving, The Hymn, The Benediction and The Silent Prayer.⁸

The Lutheran Church attaches great importance to the service of the Eucharist according to Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, "Also they teach that one holy Church is to continue forever. The Church is

7 This is a translated *The Lutheran Hymnal*. The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941).

8 Cf. The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), 4-31.

the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments are rightly administered.”⁹ What is unusual, however, is that in this list of first liturgical books, the liturgy without the sacrament was placed first. It seems that most of the denominations belonging to the Korean Protestants at that time did not celebrate the Lord’s Supper during Sunday worship except for major holidays such as Easter and Christmas.¹⁰

The reason that the first book of worship of LCK appeared so quickly is because from the very beginning, LCMS in the United States had the missionary principle of “We hope that with God’s help, we will immediately begin the work of establishing an indigenous church in Korea.”¹¹ Here, just as LCMS said, “Korean student Won Yong Ji will receive a doctorate from St. Louis Theological Seminary, so he will be able to start from the beginning.”¹² Since participating in KLM started its missionary activities in earnest by utilizing the power of

9 Won Yong Ji, ed., *THE BOOK OF CONCORD* Korean Edition (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1988), 29. Also see, Norman E. Nagel, “Holy Communion,” in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice*, eds. James L. Brauer and Fred L. Precht (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 290.

10 This fact can be found in the services of the local Lutheran church after the appearance of the first liturgy in 1960. On August 11, 1963, in the name of the feast of “The ninth Sunday after the Trinity”, the order of worship on the Sunday with the name of ‘Day Worship’ published in the bulletin of the first local church of the LCK, Immanuel Church (now Dobong Lutheran Church), is “The Candlelight Lighting, The Hymn, The Apostolic Epistle Reading, The Choir Special Order, The Gospel Reading, The Apostles’ Creed, The Hymn, The Sermon, The Offering, The Prayer, The Lord’s Prayer, The Benediction, The Hymn, and The Closing Joint Prayer.” LCK, *God’s Blessing is in the Future: A Photo Album commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Christian Lutheran Society’s Mission*, 19.

11 Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account*, 77.

12 *Ibid.*

Lutheran traditions with the center of Dr. Won Yong Ji,¹³ who joined the mission. Dr. Won Yong Ji worked hard to develop a worship book, starting with the translation of books on worship in English.¹⁴ Seong Wan Park said in a study on the liturgy of LCK, “The Lutheran Church in Korea published the Lutheran liturgy by Dr. Won Yong Ji in 1960.”¹⁵ The bibliography of the first worship service was “The Order of Worship” (禮拜儀式文), first edition published on February 31, 1960, translator and publisher Won Yong Ji, publisher Korea Lutheran Missionary Ministry Concordia Corporation, 86, Dodong 2-ga, Yongsan-gu, Seoul, alternative Seoul 514323, Tel 23-4275, Registration No. 2-23, August 11, 1959, Printed by Shin-il Printing Company.¹⁶ This fact shows how much they tried to establish a Korean identity in that the first worship book published in 1960 was made by Koreans, not the names of KLM missionaries.

Based on the mission principles of LCMS to establish an indigenous church in Korea, KLM missionaries had a strong will and clear goal to establish a worship service that fits the Korean identity based on orthodox Protestant theology with Dr. Won Yong Ji Korean from the beginning of the mission. The reason was that it was necessary to ur-

13 *Ibid.*, 78.

14 Seong Wan Park, *Understanding Lutheran Worship* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 2000), 6.

15 Seong Wan Park, *Understanding Lutheran Worship*, 47.

16 Won Yong Ji, ed., *The Order of Worship* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1960), 49. Since then, since the publication of the commentary on June 20, 1965, the LCK has been in the provisional edition of 1974, the third edition modified in 1976, the revised edition in 1981, the revised edition in 1993, the temporary edition revised in 2005, for pastors in 2016, and for congregations in 2017. The 500th anniversary of the Reformation was published. Also see, Kyung Man Hong, “A Study on Martin Luther’s Liturgy and Space in The Reformation Period” (ThD diss., Sungkonghoe University, 2015), 93-102.

gently deal with the unorthodox Holy Spirit and charismatic movements that were taking place in the Korean church at the time. It was because they saw the need for emphasis on the sacraments and worship. Won Yong Ji said, "Indeed, what is the unique 'Lutheran spirituality' that can be a new stimulus and strength for the Korean Christian world, and how to make it meaningful to people in the midst of various forms of spirituality that appears in the Korean religious circle is today. It is the unfinished mission of the Lutheran Church in Korea."¹⁷ Accordingly, KLM published the first worship book containing Korean identity based on orthodox Protestant theology as soon as possible. The *Explanation of the Order of Worship* published in 1965, by Won Yong Ji stated, "In the Lutheran church, the teaching and preaching of the word of God, grace, and human sin, etc. are conducted in the worship service, and active worship of the members who attended the service. The emphasis is placed on participation in the order."¹⁸ Active participation in the worship service by the members of the worship service referred to in this commentary was to continue the spirit of the Protestants in the Reformation movement by reforming the medieval Latin Mass to worship in their own language and customs of the people concerned.

III. Worship book developed with Korean traditional music

This chapter studies the process by which worship books made with

17 Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account*, 87.

18 Won Yong Ji, *Explanation of the Order of Worship* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1965), 4.

Korean traditional music came into the LCK worship books. The Korean Lutheran Church, which had been operating in KLM since 1958, held its first general meeting on February 26, 1971, and elected Pastor Won Sang Ji as the general president. The era of the Lutheran Church in Korea (LCK) began.¹⁹ At that time, LCK's liturgy was influenced by the United Lutheran churches in the United States to study the common liturgy. In the midst of this, LCK began to establish the identity of traditional Korean music in the worship book.

In 1965, LCMS teamed up with other Lutheran churches in North America to develop joint hymns and books of worship, a project to produce a joint worship book for Lutheran churches in the United States that had been started in 1953 but quit.²⁰ The book that came out at this time was *Culto Cristiano*, which was published in 1964, which is for Spanish-speaking Lutherans. Churches invited to join are Lutheran Church in America, Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (Slovak ancestry) and The American Lutheran Church. It was formed in 1966 as the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW). The Slovak Lutheran Church, which subsequently merged with LCMS, became a member of the ILCW by The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. Originally, these were the Canadian parishes of The America Lutheran Church. ILCW carried out a project that attempted to engage in numerous conversations with church members, pastors, musicians, and theologians with many modern worship services and various worship books that have been used by default. There, experimental programs,

19 Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account*, 144.

20 Cf. Philip H. Pfatteicher and Carlos R. Messerli, eds., *Manual on the Liturgy Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1979), 1-6.

conferences and questions were applied. Churches using the revised liturgical book and hymn have been intentionally involved in shaping the project. As a result, the 1978 edition of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (LBW) was published.²¹

LCK carried out a large-project. This new work was in line with the approach of the coalition movement for the publication of LBW in the United States. LCK translated and edited LBW to fit the situation in Korea, and created the 1981 edition of the worship book, *The Order of Worship*. After the publication of the first worship book, LCK made a major revision in three ways. The first is the introduction of sheet music in the worship book. The second is the fact that the study was conducted mainly by Korean experts, including music experts. William J. Danker²³ said, "In the missions that the LCMS started in non-missionary areas, there is no other place where the leadership of natives has been so demonstrated as in Korea."²⁴ The first Lutheran worship service published by Dr. Won Yong Ji in 1960 consisted only of text without music, i.e. sheet music. Then, in 1974, the LCK released a trial version of the liturgical rites based on the Western music of Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Choral through the research of the Worship Subcommit-

21 Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (Lutheran Church in America, The American Lutheran Church, The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod), *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House and Philadelphia: Board of Publication, Lutheran Church in America, 1978).

22 Philip H. Pfatteicher and Carlos R. Messerli, eds., *Manual on the Liturgy Lutheran Book of Worship*, 6.

23 Dr. William J. Danker was the first missionary sent to Japan by LCMS in 1948. He visited Korea in 1954 for a mission feasibility study. See, Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account*, 74.

24 *Ibid.*, 87.

tee.²⁵ This trial version was developed and developed into the official version in 1981, with sheet music inserted after the process of arranging and translating lyrics to fit Korean sentiments. Mainly, the order of Sunday worship was revised. Third, it is the fact that the first step toward establishing a Korean traditional musical identity has been started. The 1981 edition *THE ORDER OF WORSHIP* states, "The music of this liturgy is set in the Western music tradition of deep-rooted Gregorian chants and Lutheran chorales. It is expected that a ritual statement with traditional Korean music as the background will be released in the not-too-distant future."²⁶ Since the trial version was released in 1974, LCK conducted research to establish the identity of Korean traditional music through the worship subcommittee.

THE ORDER OF WORSHIP for the 1981 version of the Sunday worship service is "The Confession and Forgiveness of Sins" part in front of the Eucharist Service. Its contents are: The Singing by hymn, The sign of the cross, The Confession of Sins, and The Proclamation of Forgiveness. After this sequence, the Holy Communion Worship part is conducted, and the contents are: 1. Entrance Hymn, 2. Prayer Song, 3. Glory Song, 4. Greetings, 5. Today's Prayer, 6. Today's Church Year, 7. Old Testament Reading, 8. Today's Psalm, 9. Epistle Reading, 10. Choir Praise, 11. Gospel Reading, 12. Confession of Faith (CREDO, Apostles' Creed or Nicene Creed), 13. Hymns, 14. Sermons, 15. Offerings, 16. OFFERTORY, 17. General Prayer, 18. Eucharist, 19. Holy Holy Holy (SANCTUS), 20. Thanksgiving Prayer, 21. The Lord's Prayer, 22. Lamb of God (AGNUS DEI), 23. Distribution of the Eucharist, 24.

²⁵ LCK, *THE ORDER OF WORSHIP* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1981), 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

Simeon's Song (NUNC DIMITTIS), 25. Prayer, 26. Blessing. One of the peculiarities is that each sequence is serially numbered.

LCK finally published the new *THE ORDER OF WORSHIP* in 1993 - albeit as an appendix - containing the rites of worship in complete Korean traditional music. In the preface of this liturgy, LCK said, "As an appendix, the liturgical text in Korean music and the biblical verse notes, Athanasian Creed, and Apostles' Creed for reference to the biblical basis of the liturgical text, 'Did you descend into hell?' Commentary on the Apostles' Creed and the revision of the Lord's Prayer were published."²⁷ The music to be included in the worship book according to Korean traditional music was composed by Professor In Yong Na of Yonsei University. In order to harmonize with traditional Lutheran worship music, LCMS missionary Rev. David Susan, who was a pastor and organist, contributed by arranging it based on *LBW*.²⁸ Seong Wan Park, who studied Lutheran worship books in Korea, said, "In 1974, a liturgical rite with music based on Western music of Gregorian chants and Lutheran chorales was released as a trial version, but it was not used continuously."²⁹ It is said that necessity was greatly demanded. In this way, LCK created a worship book in Korean traditional music. In addition, compared to the 1981 version of the worship book, which was revised focusing on Sunday worship, the 1993 version of the worship book enriched the contents of the worship book by adding appendices to the order of prayer meetings and ceremonies as well as Sunday worship services.

27 LCK, *THE ORDER OF WORSHIP* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1993), 3.

28 *Ibid.*, 3-4.

29 Seong Wan Park, *Understanding Lutheran Worship*, 47.

In 2005, LCK created 2005 “*Worship Book*.” The Sunday worship (with Korean traditional music) in the appendix of 1993 version was listed in the Table of Contents of this 2005 version as an official Sunday worship II.³⁰ After that, the location of the worship book in Korean traditional music was changed to ‘Sunday Worship 3 (Korean Music)’ in the 2016 *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* for pastors and in the 2017 500th anniversary Congregational (for the pew) edition *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea*. It was established as a part of the worship rituals and solidified its position. In publishing this worship book, LCK said, “The reason that the items in this worship book are divided in this way is to use the term ‘worship’ only for the common Sunday worship service in which the traditional worship service is provided. In order to distinguish it from ‘worship,’ it is indicated as ‘ceremony’ etc. In this way, from a theological and practical point of view, the congregation can clearly identify the nature of worship, prayer meetings, and other ceremonies when attending or performing services.”³¹

The order of ‘Sunday Worship 3 (Korean Music)’ in the 2017 edition of *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* is: 1. Hymn, 2. Prayer, 3. Confession, 4. Forgiveness, 5. Prayer, 6. Glory, 7. Greeting, 8. Today’s Prayer, 9. First Bible, 10. Today’s Psalm, 11. Two Second Bible, 12. Hymns (Alleluia), 13. Gospels, 14. Confession (Apostles’ Creed or Nicene-Constantinople Creed), 15. Hymns, 16. Sermons, 17. Offerings, 18. Consecrations, 19. Church’s Prayer, 20. Thanksgiving, 21. Holy Holy Holy, 22. Eucharistic Prayer, 23. Words of Institution, 24. The Lord’s Prayer, 25. Lamb of God, 26. Dispensing of the Eucharist, 27.

30 LCK, *WORSHIP BOOK* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 2005), 85-109.

31 LCK, *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 2017), 16.

Simeon's Song, 28. Prayer, 29 Blessing, 30. Dispatch.

What is disappointing is that the KYRIE, GLORIA in EXCELSIS, OFFERTORY, Holy Holy Holy (SANCTUS), Lamb of God (AGNUS DEI), and Simeon's Song (NUNC DIMITTIS), which were made in Korean traditional music, are not used in Western music notation in Korea. In other worship music such as the Gospel music, the Western music of the previous worship books is still used. Therefore, the Korean Lutheran Church needs to go further in order to achieve a book of worship made entirely of Korean traditional music. For this purpose, hymns can be based on the elements of traditional Korean music. Examples of elements are Oum (五音, a pentatonic scale), Palum (八音, an octatonic scale), Shí-èr-lǜ (十二律, twelve-pitch scale), Jangdan (長短, rhythm), Samulnori (Korean traditional percussion performance), Pansori (A traditional Korean style of narrative song, in which a single performer is accompanied by a drummer), Folk songs, Court music, Daegeum, Gayageum, Gong jing, Janggu (double-headed drum with a narrow waist in the middle), and Kkwaenggwari (small gong).

When it comes to bringing traditional Korean music into worship, Jae Suk Moon says, "Because it is a problem that cannot but go through any trials or transitions, there must be a progressive thinking in the consciousness structure of Korean church leaders, members, and even Korean musicians. We need to look back on our ceremonial structure when we sing foreign folk songs with only the lyrics and hymns without feeling reverent in our folk song hymns, feeling reverent."³² If LCK is not satisfied with the present and strives for devel-

32 Jae Suk Moon, "The Study on bridging Korean Traditional Music and Christian Gospel Songs," *Journal of the Korean Music and Education*, Vol. 36 (2013): 75-76.

opment in the future, it will achieve a more fruitful identity of Korean traditional music.

IV. Small community worship book containing the Korean situation

Today, the number of churches and the estimated membership of Protestant denominations in Korea varies widely. The largest denominations, such as the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Hapdong),³³ have more than 10,000 local churches and millions of members. On the other hand, churches like the Korean Lutheran Church of Christ,³⁴ have dozen of churches and thousands of members. Some local churches have their own large buildings that can accommodate more than 10,000 people at the same time, such as Yoido Full Gospel Church,³⁵ the world's largest church with 700,000 members. Many of churches also have rental space.

When considering this Protestant situation in Korea, first of all, we have to think about the meaning of the double terms of space and community in the problem of naming churches. Yong Han Chung says, "It is time to confirm how to positively or negate the dual meaning of the present church."³⁶ John So says, "Moreover, in a situation

33 The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea Homepage, accessed October 1, 2021, http://gapck.org/sub_01/sub02_01.asp?menu=menu2.

34 Cf. LCK, *Report of The 51st Lutheran Church in Korea Regular General Assembly* (Seoul: LCK, 2021), 35-93.

35 Cf. Newsis, "Yeouido Full Gospel Church, 1 member → 700,000 people registered in the Guinness Book of World Records as the world's largest church," News on September 14, 2021, accessed October 1, 2021, https://www.newsis.com/view/?id=NISX20210914_0001582760.

36 Yong Han Chung, "Proposal on the Development and Publicity of Architecture in the Early

where missions were not easily allowed, Koreans were able to worship only if they had a voluntary choice and determination in the Protestant community."³⁷ It is said that in the early days, they made steady efforts to adapt to the situation of the Korean community than appearance scale. When Protestants speak of the church, they value community. This is because the community leads the space, and the space can never take precedence over the community.

This is also the spirit of the Reformation movement in the 16th century. Ho Chul Kwak says, "The Reformation in the Middle Ages is understood as a transition from a religion of spectatorship to a religion of participation."³⁸ Si Chun Jeong described the changes in Protestant church architecture after the Reformation, saying, "Luther denied the authority of the Pope and the hierarchy of clergy and laity, which the medieval church regarded as the basis of authority. He insisted that all believers are priests. Criticism rejected sacramentalism, emphasizing grace, the Bible, and the Church as a 'communion of saints'."³⁹ Ho Chul Kwak says, "In our time, such a religious reformation is needed. This is because observation and hierarchies are taken for granted, replacing participation and community. The restoration of church communality is necessary for the reform of the church itself."⁴⁰ It is also a new form of fresh ecclesiology for those who are in the midst of a cul-

Church," *Church Architecture and Publicity* (Seoul: Dongyeon Press, 2015), 44.

37 John So, "The publicity of church space and its meaning from a historical perspective," *Church Architecture and Publicity* (Seoul: Dongyeon Press, 2015), 173.

38 Ho Chul Kwak, "The size of a church suitable for publicity," *Church Architecture and Publicity* (Seoul: Dongyeon Press, 2015), 304.

39 Si Chun Jeong, *Understanding of Church Architecture* (Seoul: Balon Press, 2000), 135.

40 Ho Chul Kwak, "The size of a church suitable for publicity," 305.

ture of persevering and preserving old traditions.⁴¹

This argument of several scholars is that Korean Protestants should consider community more important than the external scale that prioritizes space. LCK has been interested in the community that worships rather than the space since the early days of the Korean mission. From the very beginning, the LCK held to Articles VII and VIII defining the church in Augsburg Confession (1530), the first the Lutheran confession. Regarding these Articles VII and VIII, Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) states, “The wicked indeed are not a holy Church. And that which follows, namely, the communion of saints, seems to be added in order to explain what the Church signifies, namely, the congregation of saints, who have with each other the fellowship of the same Gospel or doctrine [who confess one Gospel, have the same knowledge of Christ] and of the same Holy Ghost, who renews, sanctifies, and governs their hearts.”⁴² It is referring to the importance of community.

The first worship book of the LCK, which first appeared in 1960, was used until the 2005 edition, so there was no problem with thousands of believers gathering in a large space according to the theology and faith of the Reformation movement in the 16th century. In other words, the worship book had a stable appearance, so it was not inferior to the maintenance of the worship life of the local church. Nevertheless, LCK created a completely new book of worship that was different from the existing ones. This is the 2009 edition of *Worship*

41 Kyun Ha Ku, “Fresh Ecclesiology: Fresh Expressions of Church and a Pioneer,” *Madang*, Vol. 30 (December 2018): 73.

42 Won Yong Ji, ed., *THE BOOK OF CONCORD* (Korean Edition), 138.

Guide for Small Communities. Although it was not registered as an official publication, the entire process of publication was completed, including the decision to study the worship book, permission, and research process, and publication of a booklet, although not for sale. The emergence of this worship book was literally “a guide to worship for small communities with Korean contexts,” as the study title of this chapter suggests. This brochure, made as a guide, contains the text of “Guide” and “Worship for Small Communities” together. There are five reasons of *Worship Guide for Small Communities*⁴³ in this booklet. The first is that it did not damage the current worship rituals and its direction. Second, we prepared a worship guide suitable for small communities. Third, the LCK placed this book of worship as an intermediate level worship book, but then placed it in the 2017 Reformation 500th anniversary commemorative service book as another order of worship, side by side with the existing traditional ceremonial worship.⁴⁴ In other words, it has now been converted from a “middle-level worship book” used temporarily by a small church into a formal worship book. LCK has contributed greatly to the establishment of Korean identity by practicing the spirit of prioritizing the community of faith over the space and external size of the church. The fourth is that the freedom and comfort of a small community (a small church) was made to appear in the order of worship. In other words, according to the circumstances of the small community, the order of introit, exhortation, introduction, prayer, church prayer, and dedication prayer

43 The Worship Subcommittee of Lutheran Church in Korea, *Worship Guide for Small Communities* (Seoul: LCK, 2009), 2-3.

44 LCK, *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* (2017), 10.

was not followed according to the traditional liturgy. This liturgy made it possible to use Korean Protestant general hymns, not Lutheran hymns, but non-Lutheran hymns in Kyrie, Consecration, Prayer of the Lord, and Post-communication hymn. Here too, the LCK has established the Korean Protestant identity as a small community rather than insisting on only one particular denomination, Lutheranism, to prioritize the fact that it is a faith community. Fifth, it contains the will to continue the study to supplement the details according to the place of worship and worship etiquette.

Accordingly, the LCK Worship Subcommittee held the 37th Annual General Meeting of the Korean Lutheran Church of Christ in 2007 as a new business plan, "To help churches that are having difficulty using the current worship service, 'Book of Worship for Small Churches (tentative name)' will be developed as soon as possible."⁴⁵ The LCK approved the study and development of this worship book and allocated the budget at the 37th regular general meeting. The *Worship Guide for Small Communities* was published in 2009. It has now been revised in the 2017 edition of the worship book, and 'Sunday Worship 4 (Worship for Small Communities)' is positioned as the official Sunday worship service.⁴⁶ The order of worship for this small community is: 1. Prayer of Worship, 2. Glory Hymn (from the new hymn⁴⁷), 3. Today's Prayer,

45 LCK, *Report of The 37st Lutheran Church in Korea Regular General Assembly* (Seoul: LCK, 2007), 116.

46 Cf. LCK, *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* (2017), 115-119.

47 The New Hymn, published in December 1962 as a union of the Presbyterian denomination, opened a new horizon in the history of Korean hymns as a hymn used by Korean Protestants inter-denominationally. So Seop Shin, *The World Mission and Hymnology* (Seoul: Agape Culture Publishing, 2016), 386.

4. Versicle (can be replaced with Psalm response reading), 5. Hymn, 6. Bible (Gospel verse included), 7. Apostles' Creed, 8. Sermon, 9. Hymn of Offering (from the New Hymn), 10. Prayer of Consecration, 11. Establishment of the Lord's Supper, 12. Prayer of the Lord, 13. Greetings of Peace, 14. Eucharist Hymns, 15. Distribution of the Lord's Supper, 16. Blessings.⁴⁸

V. Worship book that achieves complete use of Korean ('Hangul')

The biggest characteristics in the history of the LCK worship book to establish a Korean identity is the fact that it became completely written in Korean ('Hangul'). This was accomplished most recently in the book of worship published in 2017 as a commemorative edition of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation. In fact, it was with the first worship book published in 1960 that LCK started the worship service in pure Hangul.

The first book of worship in 1960 shows the use of Korean language to establish Korean identity in two ways. First, in *The Order of Morning Service* (without Communion), it was written in pure Hangul from beginning to end. Second, LCK intentionally adopted familiar words that Koreans have used for a long time as much as possible, such as Cham-hoi (참회, repentance),⁴⁹ woncondae (원컨대, I hope),⁵⁰ Bongdok (봉독, reading),⁵¹ hapso-seo (합소서, please),⁵² Mukdo (묵도, silence),⁵³

48 Cf. The Worship Subcommittee of Lutheran Church in Korea, *Worship Guide for Small Communities* (Seoul: LCK, 2009), 4-15.

49 Won Yong Ji, ed., *The Order of Worship*, 5.

50 *Ibid.*, 6.

and hok-yn (혹은, or).⁵⁴

In the meantime, the 1960 edition, 1974 edition, 1981 edition, 1993 edition, 2005 edition, and 2016 edition of worship books used English, Latin, and Chinese characters mixed. However, the LCK has been working hard to create a fully Korean-speaking worship book. Then, in 2017, the 500th anniversary of the Reformation commemorative edition of the worship book was completely translated into Korean. The worship explains its significance as follows.

This congregational worship book was written in pure Korean in principle. This principle was already discussed during the revision work of *The Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* in 2017, and the necessity of it has been brought to a halt. However, it could not be implemented at that time because the general principle of collecting, editing, and handing over to the next congregational worship book was followed. So this time it was applied and executed. The spirit of Luther's Reformation was to make a book of worship in the native language and to offer worship in the native language. For example, "5. GLORIA in EXCELSIS" to the worship book was completed in pure Korean by amending it to "5. 대영광송" (Dae-yeang-kwang-song, great glory song).⁵⁵

51 *Ibid.*, 8.

52 *Ibid.*, 9.

53 *Ibid.*, 20.

54 *Ibid.*, 10, 18, 19, 24, and 30.

55 LCK, *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* (2017), 13.

This result can be seen as the first step set in the 1960 edition of the Book of Worship. At that time, when American missionaries visited Korea to form KLM and lead missionary work, the implementation of the Korean language to establish a Korean identity is the result of inheriting the spirit of worship reform using the vernacular language of the Reformation movement in the 16th century. Luther completed the account of the liturgy twice in 1523 and 1526 and presented it to the world. The Wittenberg Mass reform in 1523 was only partially in German, with the Words of Institution being used in the German language. However, the German Mass of 1526 reformed the order of worship by using the full German language. This is because, in principle, the Protestants, including Luther, used their own language in worship.⁵⁶ Luther did not like to be forced into the use of his native language. But he rejoiced that Mass was now held in German among the German people.⁵⁷ Luther, in his preface to the German Mass, says the following regarding the use of the native language of the faithful in worship.⁵⁸

And if I could bring it to pass, and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to us as the Latin and had as many fine melodies and songs, we would hold mass, sing, and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. I do not at all agree with those who cling to one language and despise all others. I would rather train such youth and folk who

56 Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1947), 74.

57 Martin Luther, *Luther's Work*, Vol. 53 (Liturgy and Hymns), ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 61.

58 *Ibid.*, 63.

could also be of service to Christ in foreign lands and be able to converse with the natives there, lest we become like the Waldenses in Bohemia, who have so ensconced their faith in their own language that they cannot speak plainly and clearly to anyone, unless he first learns their language.

Although the LCK was propagated and established through foreign missionaries, it has been practicing the spirit of Luther's Reformation movement in all the liturgical books that were in the process of development, from the first liturgy to the current 2017 edition of the liturgy. LCK published this book of worship, which achieved complete use of Korean, in time for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017. The preface to the 2017 edition of worship book says, "This book of worship is very historic and meaningful in that it was published to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Reformation that began with Martin Luther. Therefore, this worship book was carried out as a joint project with the Worship Committee under the 500th Anniversary Commemoration Committee. In particular, Lutheran's traditional worship service is a precious legacy of the Reformation that continues the Christian historicity and tradition based on the Bible."⁵⁹

On October 29 (Sunday), 2017, at the 2nd exhibition hall of KINTEX in Ilsan, Gyeonggi-do, churches and members of the LCK nationwide held a service to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the 16th century Reformation movement with this book of worship in their hands.⁶⁰ The worship reform using the native language started with

59 LCK, *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea* (2017), 11.

60 Cf. KOREA CBS, News on October 30, 2017, accessed October 1, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...>

Luther's Reformation movement 500 years ago, and the LCK published as the first worship book of the Lutheran Church in Korea in 1960.

VI. Conclusion

On October 26, 2008 (Sunday), at the Han Kyung-jik Memorial Hall, Soongsil University, Seoul, LCK held the '50th Anniversary Worship and Conference of the Mission of the Korean Lutheran Church' in the presence of churches and believers from all over the country. Among the 10 items of the 'Vision Declaration for the 50th Anniversary of the Mission of the Korean Lutheran Church' proclaimed at this time,⁶¹ "We must establish the identity of the Lutheran Church based on the Lutheran confession, which is summarized in justification by faith, and focus on the theology of the Reformation and evangelical faith. It has established a healthy Christian community."⁶² And "We want to carry out the mission of passing on this precious heritage to future generations while preserving all the beautiful worship ceremonies and church traditions that have been passed down through the early church and the Reformation."⁶³ LCK declared that we would continue to inherit the spirit of the movement.

In the future, LCK has several tasks to establish the Korean identity

com/watch?v=P1-eyQ1zaqE.

61 LCK, *50th Anniversary Worship and Conference of the Mission of the Korean Lutheran Church* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 2008), 64.

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Ibid.*

of the worship book. To this end, this thesis proposes four points that we hope to be further supplemented in the 2017 edition of the *Worship Book of Lutheran Church in Korea*.

First, it is suggested that a memorial ceremony should be prepared that can establish Korean identity. In this memorial ceremony, it is suggested that the positive aspects of filial piety culture should be approached theologically in Korea's traditional ritual culture and actively included as much as possible.

Second, it is suggested that various funeral rites according to Korean traditional funerals should be made as ceremonies that can establish Korean identity in the funeral rites item. LCK's funeral rites were published in 2010 as *Rituals* (trial version). In this rites, the death ceremony, death ceremony (consolation ceremony), admission ceremony, funeral service 1, funeral service 2 (burial ceremony), funeral service 3 (farewell ceremony), cremation ceremony, descending ceremony, and funeral service after cremation are composed in a modern style. However, although this funeral rite was officially placed in the 2017 liturgy, research is needed to further establish it to fit the Korean customs and identity. In the meantime, many Korean Protestant denominations have been holding Christian funerals while embracing the traditional Korean funeral culture since the missionary activities of Presbyterian Missionary Pastor Underwood and Methodist Missionary Pastor Appenzeller in Korea in 1985. The guide to the 'listing ceremony' in the ceremonial book of the Anglican Church of Korea states, "The funeral process should be conducted frugally and reverently, without pretentiousness or neglect, and superstitious customs should be excluded. However, if you wish to bow in remembrance of your deceased parents, we do not forbid you."⁶⁴

Third, it is suggested that, among the contents still remaining as appendices of the worship book, various ceremonial books necessary for the year-round religious life should come into the main body of the worship book, and at this time, Korean identity should be revealed. The 2017 edition of the LCK Worship Book appendix contains the services of Holy Wednesday, Good Thursday, Tenebrae of Good Friday, and New Year's Eve service. In addition to this, if we add ceremonies for holidays such as the Lunar New Year, Chuseok holidays (Korean Thanksgiving holidays, August 15th in the lunar calendar), or thanksgiving ceremonies for major life cycles such as dol (돌, first birthday), seventh, eighty, nineteenth, and a hundred birthday, Korean identity will be better established in the worship book.

Fourth, it is suggested that the Korean ecumenical spirit should be more abundantly expressed in the worship book. LCK is an official member of the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK), a coalition that leads the ecumenical movement of Protestants in Korea. In addition, LCK is working as a member of the board of trustees in representative associations such as the Korean Bible Society, CBS and CTS Christian-related mass media, and the Korean National Association of Christian Pastors (KNACP). Among them, in relation to worship, it is active as a member of the Board of Directors of the Presbyterian Publishing Company and the Korean Hymnal Society.

As such, the LCK's interest in and participation in the Protestant ecumenical movement stemmed from KLM's mission policy decided at the beginning of its mission.⁶⁵ At the time of KLM's missionary activ-

64 The Book of Common Prayer Revision Expert committee of Anglican Church of Korea (Sungkonghoe), *The Book of Common Prayer* (Seoul: Sungkonghoe Press, 2004), 370.

ities in Korea, the history of Protestants in Korea had already passed 70 years. At this time, KLM promulgated two missionary policies, 'Approach A' and 'Approach B.' The LCK postponed the 'Approach B' of establishing a specific denomination called Lutheranism and expanding the denomination. LCK has chosen 'Approach A,' an ecumenical mission policy that serves the entire Korean church.⁶⁶ The general mission history is the order in which a worshipping community and a worship service are created by a missionary who enters a mission field from a target country. However, LCK did not intend to form a worshipping community in the name of the local Lutheran Church. The LCK took the initiative in unity by narrowing the gap between the discrimination of Korean churches in the creation of a worship book. Sung Lim Lee says, "All differences which cause discrimination do not possess any grounds, because discriminative differences are all eliminated in faith in Christ. All equal all."⁶⁷ Early in the Protestant missionary work in Korea, missionaries established a Korean identity through the ecumenical spirit as a policy of not competing with transfer of local missions, holding joint revival meetings, or church councils.

65 This is the mission strategy of "clean beginning" in Korea, which was decided at the beginning of the mission. The term was coined by the Lutheran Theologian Dr. William J. Danker. He used the term while praying about the KLM mission to the mission field Two World or None in the United States in 1964. This was to set up a mission field that was divided into numerous denominations and competed like a worldly business. Regarding this, Won Yong Ji said, "Amid the complex destruction of churches in Korea in the 1950s, I tried to avoid things that would not be good and pleasing to God." Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea: A Personal Account*, 86.

66 *Ibid.*, 90.

67 Sung Lim Lee, "Human Rights, Pandemic, and Cosmopolitanism: A Christian Cosmopolitanism for the Post-Pandemic Anthropocene," *Madang*, Vol. 35 (2021): 53.

In other words, KLM was embracing this Korean identity in the history of the appearance of the first worship book. The 'Approach A' is that it has clearly defined its identity with a Korean ecumenical spirit within the worship book.

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