

# A Survey of Reformed Worship in Historical Context

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## I. EARLY CHURCH (100-300 A.D.)

- **Architecture:** House church. Early congregations met in houses since there were no separate buildings designed specifically for Christian corporate worship.
- **Order of worship**
  - Justin Martyr's description order of service in his First Apology is the earliest extant evidence of an order of worship in early Christian writings (see p. 23).
  - Word & sacrament: Weekly corporate worship always included both reading and preaching of Scripture AND the Lord's Supper.
  - Diversity: Liturgies most likely had a common outline, but not highly fixed order or text. Prayers were largely extemporaneous, not preserved in written texts (which were expensive and time consuming to make and preserve)
- **Music**
  - Hymns: Sung acapella in unison. Examples include *Phos Hilaron* ("O Gladsome Light") for evening prayer & hymns by Clement of Alexandria (e.g., "Shepherd of Tender Youth")
  - Psalms (acapella): Earliest evidence of psalm singing is third century (Tertullian). Probably sung/chanted by cantor (song leader) with congregational response/refrain (e.g., Alleluia, Amen).
  - Instruments: Not used because of associations with worship of pagan gods.
- **Ceremony:** Simplicity of ceremony, but not informal or casual. Ceremony was largely functional to ensure worship done decently and in order. Relative simplicity also followed from the overall poverty of the church, the occasional need for secrecy in a hostile society, and small size of its domestic settings. All of these factors worked against elaborate pageantry.

## II. LATE PATRISTIC ERA (300-700 A.D.)

- **Architecture:** Basilicas, which were large Roman buildings for public affairs (not temples), and smaller churches now constructed for the specific purpose of corporate worship.
  - Chair & altar-table: Bishops sat in larger chair (cathedra) behind a free-standing altar-Table and preached while sitting in the chair while surrounded by priests.
  - No pews: The people stood.
  - Altar-table: The altar-table was often free-standing, and the bishop or priest led corporate prayers by facing the same direction as the congregation toward liturgical "east" (which was usually located in the actual eastern end of the building). The east as the direction of the rising sun was a symbol of Christ and his return on the final day of the Lord. Thus, this orientation for liturgical prayer was a symbolic way of priest and people collectively turning toward the Lord and expressing the Christian hope in the return of Christ.
  - Ambo: Readings were done from a special lectern (often on an elevated platform with steps) called ambo.
  - Baptisms were done in a separate ceremony in baptismal fonts or baptisteries that were located in separate buildings.
- **Order of worship**
  1. New fixed forms: Increasingly fixed structure in the forms (e.g., prayers, songs, responses) and order/sequence of worship.
    - Responses/dialogue: Greetings, Sursum corda, "One is holy..."
    - Hymns and other sung refrains:

- West: Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Sanctus, Agnus dei
- East: Trisagion, Ho Monogenes, Cherubic hymn, Sanctus
- Nicene Creed: Added to eastern liturgies in the 5th century.
- Other Prayers
  - Collects: Short prayers to conclude processions and chants within the liturgy.
  - Litanies: Intercessions become more developed in content and became more formalized in order to facilitate participation by the people.
  - Lord's Prayer
  - Eucharistic prayers (prayers of thanksgiving prior to communion)

Prayers for communion became very elaborate and fixed in structure and content, just like the liturgy as a whole. In eastern traditions, they acquired a Trinitarian shape and creed-like structure in offering thanks for all that God has done in creation and redemption in Christ and asking the Holy Spirit to bless communion so that the church might fully receive Christ in the Supper.

Common elements (usually in roughly this order):

- Sursum corda dialogue: Some version of: “Lift up your hearts/We lift them up to the Lord” with responses by the whole church. (The “up” is heaven, and thus the sursum corda expresses the union of the church with the worship of heaven).
- Preface: Praise and thanks to the Father, usually focused on the glory and greatness of his character and works and often mentioning his heavenly majesty surrounded by the worship of angels.
- Sanctus (5th cent.): The angelic hymn from Isa 6:3 (“Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory” sung by the whole church.
- Post-Sanctus thanksgiving: Thanksgiving focused on God's mighty acts in creation and redemptive history culminating in the person and work of Christ.
- Words of institution (earliest evidence: c. 4th cent.)
- Anamnesis/oblation: Statements remembering the work of Christ before the Father and offering the gifts and/or the church to the Father as a way of pleading Christ before the Father in a sacrifice of praise and thanks united to Christ's own high priestly display of his self-offering in heaven.
- Epiclesis: Prayer for the Holy Spirit to sanctify the gifts and/or the church in order that the church might receive Christ in the Supper.
- Intercessions
- Doxology and corporate Amen: Sung by the whole church.

This order is the order found in the west Syrian churches centered in Antioch. Other major cities/dioceses (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Milan, Spain, East Syria) had their own traditions of eucharistic prayer that varied the texts and the order of some elements.

2. Convergence: Worship across the empire converged and coalesced around a few distinct liturgies. Local diversity declined as whole regions under the authority of the major bishops/dioceses adopted the liturgies of the important centers of authority (e.g., Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Milan)
3. Elaboration: The various elements and order of the liturgy became fuller, more elaborate, and more expressive, both theologically and rhetorically.
4. Contraction
  - Sermons dropped out of Sunday worship toward the end of this period
  - Old Testament readings dropped out of Sunday worship in Greek (Byzantine) and Latin traditions.
  - Many lay people began to abstain from communion with greater frequency by the late fourth century. As pastors addressed a growing nominalism during the period of great growth in the fourth century, they placed greater emphasis on the holiness of communion and the need for personal faith, repentance, and holiness. This preaching and the growth in ceremony that highlighted the sacredness of the bread and wine contributed to creating an ethos of fear and awe.

- **Music**

- Hymns: Ambrose was a major author of hymns in this period. Examples include *Gloria in excelsis*, “Of the Father’s Love Begotten”
- Psalms chanted responsorially (cantor/choir & congregational refrain) & antiphonally (two groups alternating) largely replaced hymns (mostly in reaction to heretical movements that had used hymns as a popular means of propagating false doctrines).

- **Calendar**

- Annual festivals: The liturgical year with its major festivals and seasons celebrating the life, death, and resurrection of Christ takes shape by the sixth century (Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost). Easter was the first special festival to emerge (2<sup>nd</sup> century) and it remained the center of the liturgical calendar.
- Reading schedule: The early pattern was to read and preach consecutively through books of the Bible (*lectio continua*). As the liturgical calendar of festivals and seasons took shape, the schedule of readings was adjusted to match the calendar. Thus, the church developed a lectionary to establish a regular repeated schedule of texts to be read that correlated with the calendar and ensured coverage of the whole Bible, although these were not always in strict biblical sequence (*lectio selecta*)

## **Reasons for Liturgical Development in Late Antiquity**

### Historical factors

- Growth of the church over the course of the fourth century from persecuted minority to favored majority of the empire with Christian emperors. This demanded new levels of organization and administration in the churches and new forms for instructing and assimilating new converts into the church.
- Political favor and responsibilities granted to the church. Bishops acquired civil status and powers of regional governors. Power in the church became increasingly centralized in leading cities.

### 1. Growth happened in part to accommodate larger settings for worship

- Basilicas
  - Within these larger public halls, corporate actions that required movement took more time. These halls were royal buildings used for conducted civil affairs, and thus they were places of ceremonial offerings of incense to a statue of the emperor. The greater grandeur of the basilican setting lent a more formal and grand character to Christian worship in general.
  - Liturgical impact: Growth happened at the “soft points” of the liturgy where there was previously movement but no words. The same structure emerged at these points: procession, accompanied by singing, concluded with prayer.
    1. Entrance rites: The size and longitudinal orientation of many basilicas made possible a grand procession of the bishop with his entourage of presbyters, deacons, and singers at the entrance of the liturgy with accompanying songs and concluded with litanies of prayer.
    2. Kiss of peace and offertory: Deacons brought bread, wine, and other gifts to the altar-table in procession accompanied by psalms and later other hymns.
    3. Communion: The people went forward in procession accompanied by psalms and later other hymns.
- Whole cities
  - In the larger cities, Christian worship began with public processions that claimed public space for the church. Christians did not attend the same church each week but rather gathered with their bishops if possible at the scheduled point of assembly. In Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, liturgy moved from church to church on successive Sundays or even between successive services on Sunday. In this way, the church countered the use of pagan temples to consecrate cities for the Greco-Roman gods by building churches throughout the whole city and claiming public space for the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Christians could not displace the pagan temples at the heart of Rome, but Constantine I built Constantinople as his capital city in part to build a Christian city with buildings for Christian worship at the center of its public spaces.

- Liturgical impact:
    - Entrance rites: Processions were the beginning of the liturgy and were occasions for singing psalms and hymns in responsorial fashion. The entrance rites for eastern and western liturgies were originally done outside in the streets prior to entering the building. Smaller churches in more rural areas could not hold processions in the same way, but they adopted many of the same entrance songs and rituals out of a desire to emulate the models of the great liturgical centers of Christendom.
    - Church construction: Large basilicas were built with large porches, wide doors, and many aisles to permit the entrance of the people in procession with the bishop.
    - Penitential response: When disaster threatened, bishops called processions to gather the whole city for prayer.
2. Growth happened in part to reflect the new civil status of church and its bishops
- Constantine and later Christian emperors delegated civil functions to the bishops, and thus bishops became imperial representatives and authorities. Bishops adjudicated civil cases between citizens, even those who were not Christians. They became legal counselors in matters of citizenship.
  - Liturgical impact<sup>2</sup>
    - Civil vestments: Bishops had the right to wear the dress worn by civil magistrates of high rank: pallium (a stole symbolizing authority), special footwear and headgear, and a golden ring.
    - Other vestments: Bishops wore an alb (white robe), tunic, and chasuble (a poncho-like cloth worn on top of the other robes) because these were the ordinary clothes of Roman citizens. Rich patrons gave expensive sets of these clothes to bishops as gifts, and thus the bishops' "Sunday best" were more elegant than that worn by most worshippers. Because they were precious, they were worn only for liturgical events and thus became special liturgical uniforms. Bishops and priests continued to wear these clothes as distinctive marks of their office, even when daily styles of clothing changed.
    - Thrones: Bishops had thrones (*cathedra*) of a particular design to distinguish their rank and position in the empire.
    - Ceremony: Bishops had the right to be accompanied in processions with lights and incense and to be greeted with a kiss on the hand. The bishop of Rome was honored almost as much as the emperor himself with portraits in public places and choirs of singers at his liturgical events.
3. Growth happened because of theological developments and maturity
- The church matured in her understanding and articulation of biblical theology, and this manifested itself in liturgical texts that were increasingly substantive and comprehensive in theological expression.
  - The systematic reading of Scripture, the liturgical year, the creed-like nature of developed eucharistic prayers and the inclusion of the Nicene Creed in the liturgy all functioned as liturgical catechesis that grounded the church in the most central truths of the faith.
  - The increasing use of fixed forms and the convergence of rites governed by major dioceses and bishops served the needs of priests who were less educated and needed increasing precise modes of expression in order to avoid errors and preserve the integrity of the faith in their liturgical leadership.

### III. MEDIEVAL [WESTERN] (700-1500 A.D.)

#### • Architecture

- Chancel & nave: Worship space became divided into two distinct "rooms" separated by a screen (although it had large "window" spaces to view action at the altar). The front with the altar and monastic choir was the chancel, and the open area for the assembly was the nave.
- Altars moved to back wall and become larger and more elaborate. Priests therefore face away from the congregation for most of the liturgy.
- Choirs often placed between congregation and the people.
- Altars filled with relics of esteemed saints and became sites of pilgrimage

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<sup>2</sup> Most bishops wore the special clothing and participated in the special ceremonies associated with their new civil rank. Some, however, chose not to do so, including such important leaders as Hilary of Poitiers, Martin of Tours, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Augustine of Hippo.

(From a theological perspective, this architectural development is a Judaizing and pagan use of sacred space. It continued the shift back toward pagan Greco-Roman ideas about the sanctification of spaces that had begun in late antiquity. The sanctifying agent was no longer the altar or statue of a pagan god but the relics of martyrs and the localized presence of Christ in consecrated bread reserved on the altar or chancel area. Viewed against the background of the OT, this development restored spatial zones of graded holiness in the Tabernacle and Temple that Christ's death and resurrection eliminated; cf. the torn veil in the Temple at Jesus' death and the explanation in Heb 8–10).

- Gothic cathedral architecture (12th cent.): Abbot Suger of the Saint-Denis monastery in Paris pioneered a new style of architecture. Buttresses on outer walls and vaults in the ceiling permitted the walls to be thinner and taller. This allowed for large windows, and thus much more light within the church. Gothic cathedrals were stunning achievements of craft and beauty with extremely costly furnishings (note Suger's reasoning for this grounded in OT Temple: p. 221 in *Oxford History of Christian Worship*). It was an architectural embodiment of God's transcendent majesty, holiness, and beauty and the neo-Platonic strains within theology that identified God as light (found, e.g., in the enormously influential Christian works by an anonymous fifth-century author now called Pseudo-Dionysius).<sup>3</sup>

### • Order of worship

- Continuity of structures: The elements, forms, and order of the Lord's Day liturgy remained largely unchanged from late patristic era. (See chart at the end of the notes).
- Ceremonial elaboration: Most of the changes came in the settings and manner in which the Sunday liturgy was performed and theologically interpreted. Genuflections, signs of the cross, prayers, and incensations all increase in frequency and variety.
- Additions:
  - Nicene Creed: The one major change was the introduction of the Nicene Creed in the western churches (589 in Spain; 794 in Gaul, and c.1000 in Rome)
  - Confiteor: An element of confession of sin emerges in the Lord's Day liturgy. It was first for the priest himself at the beginning of the liturgy, and later it was repeated by the deacon(s) or server(s) at communion.
  - Music
    - Alleluia chant or Tract psalm after the psalm verses following the Epistle reading
    - Sequence hymns that provided commentary on particular festivals of the liturgical year.
- Contraction
  - Omission of elements that were part of the original core of the Lord's Day liturgy: OT readings, homily, intercessory prayers, psalms.
  - Whole psalms are reduced to isolated verses with portions repeated (antiphons, e.g., Introit antiphons, Graduals, communion antiphons). The non-scriptural chants that had served as refrains interspersed between psalms become independent songs/chants with no accompanying psalms (e.g., Kyrie in west; Trisagion and Cherubic hymn in east).
- More convergence & unification: Western emperors introduced the Roman liturgy into Gaul (France), Spain, and England and sought increasingly conformity to Rome (although this was far from strict uniformity)

### • Music

- Choirs dominate: Hymns & psalms in the liturgy itself became almost the exclusive responsibility of trained choirs (often of monks). People no longer sing in the liturgy itself, but only outside of the church in other settings (popular folk hymnody).
- Gregorian chant developed and became widespread
- Notation: System of writing music was invented, which made possible the communication and standardizing of performance techniques

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<sup>3</sup> Note also the ascetic challenge and reaction by the Cistercian order (especially Bernard of Clairvaux) to the opulence of Gothic trends and the close relationship it required between the Church and its wealthy aristocratic and royal patrons. The Cistercians built abbey churches with white walls and unadorned spaces to recover the original Benedictine ideals of poverty and simplicity.

- Polyphony: Singing in parts began and developed into elaborate schemes involving separate lines of melody, harmony, and even different texts at the same time. This made it increasingly difficult to understand the text as the music overwhelmed the text.
- Organs became standard instruments c. 1000 A.D.

- **Calendar**

Advent becomes part of liturgical calendar in early medieval period. Much ceremonial/dramatic elements occurred (e.g., Tenebrae services on Good Friday; Easter dramas by choir about resurrection), and church festivals were combined with celebration of agricultural cycles. Many days devoted to particular saints eventually overwhelmed and obscured the original intent of the calendar, which was to commemorate the major events in the life of Christ.

### **Trends from ancient to medieval worship:**

#### 1. Decline of active lay participation in the liturgy

The main trend in medieval worship was the decline in active participation by the laity in corporate worship. The common people were reduced to passive spectators of the priests and monastic choirs who performed the liturgy in a language they did not understand. Many simply prayed their own private prayers during the liturgy or listened in silence. Books of private devotions and of vernacular translations of the liturgy itself appeared toward the end of the medieval period, but most people were illiterate and could not afford to purchase books (which were quite expensive prior to the invention of the printing press in the 1400s); thus, they had little or no means to participate in the liturgy of the Lord's Day in any direct and active way.

- Spatially: The priest and altar separated from the congregation (see above on architectural changes).
- Linguistically:
  - The western Church retained Latin as the official liturgical language even when the common people no longer spoke it or understood it.
  - In some places, the Latin readings were followed by readings and homilies in the vernacular. For example, a council at Tours in 813 required that bishops give sermons in the vernacular languages, which was a difficult task since those languages were only beginning to develop at the time. As dioceses grew in size, bishops delegated preaching duties to less-educated local priests and deacons, and they often read books of homilies prepared for them in the vernacular languages of the people. Scholars also produced translations of the Bible in the emerging European languages, sometimes with interpretive glosses or paraphrases using metaphors and illustrations the people would understand. Nevertheless, most instruction in the faith for the laity happened outside the liturgy in daily worship, separate preaching offices, or personal confession with the priest.
- Ritually:
  - Inaudible prayers: Priests began to speak much of the liturgy in a hushed voice, especially the eucharistic prayer, which they believed (along with many later church fathers) effected the transformation of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. Thus, even if the laity could have understood the Latin language, they could not have heard much of the liturgy.
  - Musical settings obscured the liturgy: Musical settings of sung elements within the mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Creed, Sanctus, Agnus Dei) became so elaborate and lengthy that the priest continued with the liturgy and the music covered his words. These musical settings also eventually became so musically elaborate that it was difficult to understand the words in the midst of multiple, different lines sung simultaneously. Thus the music overwhelmed the texts being sung.<sup>4</sup>
  - Sermons gradually disappeared in the Lord's Day service. Thus, the experience of one of the primary means of public instruction/catechesis and exhortation by God's word vanished from the most regular sacred event in the lives of the laity.

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<sup>4</sup> Thus, liturgical music changed from being music OF the liturgy (sung by all in a way that served the liturgical function of the words and actions) to music FOR the liturgy (sung by a few for others to hear) to music AT the liturgy (sung by a few in ways that obscured its original liturgical function entirely).

- Eucharist
  - Infrequent reception: Although the priest performed the rites of the Lord’s Supper each week, the laity hardly ever received communion. The 4th Lateran Council in 1215 had to mandate that everyone receive communion at least once per year at Easter (which implies that it was not happening at all).
  - Unleavened bread: The bread for eucharist was no longer ordinary bread and wine produced and offered by people but unleavened bread produced by carefully regulated procedures in monasteries.
  - Administered carefully by priest: The laity no longer came to touch the bread. Instead, it was given directly into the mouth by the priest while laity knelt and a cloth was held under their chins to prevent dropping crumbs.
  - Wine withheld: The laity only received the bread for fear of spilling the wine, which was now viewed as the substance of Christ’s blood. (The theological theory of concomitance affirmed that Christ was fully present in the host alone.

## 2. New forms of lay participation

- Vernacular songs
  - Sequence hymns: Around the year 1000, Latin hymns began to be sung between the Epistle and Gospel readings after the gradual psalm and Alleluia. Vernacular paraphrases of these hymns soon appeared as well.<sup>5</sup>
  - Vernacular paraphrases of the Creed: At the time of the Latin creed, congregations sang vernacular Trinitarian hymns that provided commentary on the meaning of the mass as a memorial of Jesus’ death.<sup>6</sup>
  - Processional hymns: Some English and French carols originated in recessional hymns at the conclusion of the liturgy and in other civil processions.
- Standing for the Gospel: Commentaries in the 14th century urged laity to stand and show respect at the reading of the Gospel with actions similar to the proper protocol for acknowledging nobility or royalty (e.g., removing hats), even when it was in Latin that they did not understand.
- Offertory procession: Lay representatives carried gifts of leavened bread, wine, and candles. The churches used the candles for liturgy and distributed bread to the poor. The bread was blessed and some eaten after the liturgy.
- Eucharistic elevation & adoration: By the high middle ages (c. 1200), priests were elevating the bread for all to see. The elevation of the consecrated bread and wine became the high point in the liturgy for the laity. Special rituals combined all of the senses at the moment when the priest uttered the words of institution believed to consecrate the bread and wine and thus effect the transformation that made Christ substantially present.
  - Seeing host (sometimes augmented by hanging of dark cloth to provide visual contrast)
  - Hearing: Bells; choir beginning the chant “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord” after the Sanctus;
  - Bodily action: Genuflection
  - Smell: Incense

The laity were to identify the elevated host as an elevation of Christ on the cross. Thus, seeing (“ocular communion”) and adoration rather than eating became the most important part of the whole liturgy for the laity.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> This was especially prevalent in German-speaking lands. For example, the Easter sequence “Victimae paschali laudes” lay behind the tune and text for the German hymn “Christ ist erstanden” (c. 1100) that lay behind Luther’s hymn “Christ lag in Todesbanden.” Thomas Aquinas’s sequence hymn for Corpus Christi “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” inspired the German hymn “Gott ist gelobet” (O God Be Praised), and Pope Innocent III (13th cent.) wrote “Veni Sancte Spiritus” for Pentecost, which Berthold of Regensburg translated as “Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Giest” (Now we implore the Holy Ghost). Martin Luther adapted the latter two hymns and added extra stanzas.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Luther’s hymn “Wir glauben all’ an einen Gott” was taken directly from an earlier hymn of this type.

<sup>7</sup> Enthusiasm about the value of seeing the eucharist sometimes reached amazing extremes. In England, an alderman of Hull left a gift in his will to fund a machine that would cause an image of an angel to descend from the ceiling at the point of the elevation! In 1375, Bishop Brinton of Exeter taught that seeing God’s body in the elevated host would take away hunger, forgive

- Pax board (13th cent.): During the prayers over the chalice, the priest kissed a cross or board with a painted picture of Christ. He then passed it to others, and the whole congregation kissed it in turn. This signified the peace of the whole church with God and one another (but note how an impersonal object replaces personal communion with God in the meal of communion and personal exchanges of greeting between the people). Devotional manuals and commentaries also taught that kissing the pax board was a reception of the Lord equivalent to (and functional substitute for) communion and thus required the same spiritual preparation and faith.

### 3. From resurrection joy to focus on fearful focus on deliverance from purgatory and death

The primary ethos of the liturgy shifted from joyful, communal celebration of the resurrection to a quiet, penitential fear centered on the sinfulness of man and the death of Christ. As theologians stressed the divinity and transcendence of Christ to combat lingering Arianism among the various Germanic tribes and also the localized presence of Jesus in the substance of the bread and wine, the eucharist became more and more an object of holy dread and awe, fit only to be seen and adored from afar but not handled and eaten on a regular basis.

- Silence: New ethos of reverence, penitence, awe, and fear resulted in priests reciting much of liturgy in silence.
- Penitence: Priests offered numerous many silent personal prayers of self-accusation and confession of sinfulness and unworthiness as well as frequent requests for God's mercy and help along the way. Two key moments of corporate confession emerge:
  - (1) Confiteor, which was a prayer of confession made by the priest at the beginning of the liturgy and later by the deacons and servers just before receiving communion, and
  - (2) short prayers for forgiveness of sins for the whole assembly just before receiving communion.
- Evolution of Roman canon (eucharistic prayer): The Roman canon has obvious parallels to the wording of specific prayers from the anaphoras of Antioch (e.g., St. James) and reflects the general order of the anaphora of Alexandria (St. Mark) by putting intercessions before the words of institution. Nevertheless, the Roman canon differed from eastern prayers in several ways that contributed to the western medieval atmosphere of fear and penitence:
  - No lengthy thanksgiving for God's mighty acts of creation and redemption. Thanksgiving is mostly reduced to short prayers (prefaces) that occur between the Sursum corda and Sanctus and vary in content depending upon the festival or season of the liturgical year.
  - The majority of the canon consists of prayers of petition for God to accept the church's offering of God's gifts (4 times); for God to bless the gifts to become the body and blood of Christ (epiclesis 1); for God to bless the church, filling her with grace in Christ through the Supper (epiclesis 2); for God to forgive, protect, and save the souls of all in the church (living and dead) from damnation (5 times); for God to unify the church in fellowship with Mary, the apostles, and martyrs and receive the benefits of their prayers and merits.
- Communion rite: In the late medieval period when lay communion began to increase in frequency, various expressions of unworthiness and confession appeared in the communion rite itself: the confessions of sin, prayers for forgiveness immediately before receiving communion, and the words and prayers said when administering communion focus overwhelmingly on expressions of penitence and unworthiness and plead for God's mercy and forgiveness.

### 4. Development of liturgical events outside mass that effectively become more important for the spiritual life of laity

- Pilgrimages: Trips to shrines with relics of martyrs and sites of alleged miracles and sightings of dead saints became public rituals for expressing one's faith. Larger churches established separate altars/shrines in various parts of the church for devotions to Mary and other saints, stations of the cross for private devotions to Jesus, and also aisles surrounding the main altar for pilgrims to venerate the relics of saints encased there.
- Plays: Many people learned biblical stories through popular plays that retold biblical narratives.

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oaths, prevent fading eyesight, aging, and sudden death, and ensure that angels would guard one's every step (Frank Senn, *The People's Work*, 176).

- Eucharistic adoration: Churches put consecrated bread on display on altars in special containers (monstrances), and Christians began to develop private devotions of eucharistic adoration (times of worship before these displayed hosts) outside the context of the Lord's Day liturgy.
- Corpus Christi procession: In 1264, the pope added the feast of Corpus Christi to the calendar of the whole western church. It was celebrated as a public procession led by priests carrying a consecrated host through the streets of cities/towns together with the other leading members of society arranged in a strict hierarchy. It was a major public symbolic event of the whole social order unified around the eucharist, displacing the role that public reception of communion had once played during the normal Lord's Day service. (Note the return of public procession as a way of declaring Christ's lordship over public space and unifying the church and society through public ritual; unlike the early church, however, it is now no longer intrinsically connected to or ordered toward the Lord's Day liturgy and reception of communion.)
- Semi-private reception of communion based on individual need: In the fifteenth century, many movements of spiritual renewal among the laity arose that established semi-monastic rules for individual members to follow in ordering their worship, work, and family lives.<sup>8</sup> Many of these movements stressed the devotional importance of frequent communion, but communion in this framework became a private spiritual exercise taken when individuals felt the need for it, and it was often received in a semi-private session with a priest following the main corporate liturgy of the mass.
- Preaching offices: Many people heard preaching not in the Lord's Day liturgy but rather in public preaching services held at other times. Traveling preachers (often Dominicans or Franciscans) preached at large outdoor settings (sometimes on platforms built next to the church or in the town square) and cultivated an affective, even theatrical style of preaching aimed at moving the crowds who attended. Larger cities endowed chairs of preaching at the larger cathedrals and hired regular preachers with advanced academic training.<sup>9</sup> These preaching services had no set liturgy but the most common elements aimed at promoting catechesis of the laity with prayers of confession, recitation and teaching on the Ten Commandments, Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. They also taught people the meaning of the mass and festivals of the liturgical year, recounted the lives of saints honored on particular days, and led the people in devotional prayers to Mary and other saints. Some services were held before the mass to help the people understand what to pray and meditate on during the mass.

## Reasons for Trends in Ritual Change in the Medieval Period

Mutual interactions of history, theology and ritual:

- Atmosphere of awe and fear discouraged frequent reception of communion.
- Retention of Latin and adherence to increasingly uniform and complicated textual sources elevated role of priests and monastics who preserved texts and made popular participation difficult.
- Monasticism contributed to a hierarchy of holiness that subordinated ordinary laity to those in monastic orders. Reliance of bishops and emperors on monasteries brought increasing conformity between piety and discipline of monks and clergy (e.g., celibacy), and monastic offices influenced Lord's Day services with increasing professionalization in music.
- Transubstantiation: This doctrine contributed to infrequent reception and the withholding of the cup. It also reinforced zones of graded holiness based on localized presence, reception kneeling with no wine.
- Connection of purgatory with eucharistic sacrifice encouraged limited, privatized purpose for masses directed at benefiting particular dead relatives or friends and having certain limited, quantifiable effects. This quantified and mechanized view of the eucharistic liturgy contributed to the ideas that
  - (1) the eucharistic offering possessed intrinsic merit on its own that was separate from (and in addition to) the death and resurrection of Jesus in a way that re-sacrificed Jesus (even if only in some symbolic way) and thus undermined

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<sup>8</sup> These movements are called the *devotio moderna* (modern devotion). A famous example is the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands, the most famous member of which was Thomas á Kempis, author of the extremely famous and widely read devotional manual, *The Imitation of Christ*.

<sup>9</sup> Several of the early leaders in the Reformed wing of the Reformation held these posts, e.g., Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich, Wolfgang Capito in Basel, Oecolampadius in Augsburg.

the unique sufficiency and finality of Jesus' death on the cross (contrary to the patristic theology of eucharistic sacrifice), and

(2) the "merits" of the eucharistic sacrifice could be applied to people whether or not they were present for the mass and participating in it by faith or even whether they were living or dead. The mass became a quantified "merit" purchased as part of a spiritual "economy," the reception and benefits of which became divorced from the active, faithful participation of its beneficiaries in the liturgy itself.

It also led directly to the massive proliferation of masses celebrated by priests by themselves (private masses) who were paid by family members or endowments from the wills of the dying (chantries). Some priests (many in monasteries) did no other work except to offer masses for the dead, and in many places specific chapels were built exclusively for these services (chantry chapels). In larger churches, the number of altars proliferated to accommodate multiple priests saying private masses concurrently.

- Suppression of active lay participation and transubstantiation encouraged development of devotional exercises outside the Sunday service (pilgrimages, adoration of reserved hosts outside liturgy, individual devotional books at mass) that effectively become more important than the Sunday service for many.

#### IV. PROTESTANT WORSHIP TRADITIONS

A wide range of different Protestant liturgical traditions developed due to disagreements about (1) the way to interpret and apply the Bible to liturgical matters, (2) the value of traditions established in the early church, and (3) the scope of reform necessary to remedy the problems with late medieval worship. Protestant liturgical traditions can be placed on a spectrum from left to right that indicates the degree of continuity and discontinuity with the liturgical forms and practices of the pre-Reformation traditions. Left-wing traditions departed significantly from pre-Reformation worship, and right-wing traditions maintained significant continuity with pre-Reformation worship. The groups in the center tended to maintain the same overall historic shape or framework for the liturgy but dispensed with much of the actual fixed prayers, responses, and ceremony.

(From James F. White, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*)

<b>Left</b>	<b>Center</b>	<b>Right</b>
16 <sup>th</sup> c. Anabaptist	Reformed	Anglican Lutheran
17 <sup>th</sup> c. Quaker	Puritan	
18 <sup>th</sup> c.	Methodist	
19 <sup>th</sup> c. Frontier		
20 <sup>th</sup> c. Pentecostal		

#### V. REFORMED LITURGY IN THE REFORMATION (1500s)

- **Architecture**

- No visual images or art: Reformed churches eliminated the multiple altars and side chapels in Catholic churches as well as most or all visual art and decoration from churches. This was done for two primary reasons:

- (1) to discourage the idolatrous veneration of images and statues

- (2) to focus the congregation's attention completely on the central acts and symbols of worship: word and sacrament.

- No division of worship space: Reformed churches eliminated the distinct separation of the worship space into a separate "room" at the front for the altar, priest, and choir (the chancel) and the open area for the congregation (the nave). This was an architectural expression of the priesthood of all believers: all Christians

have full access to God in the liturgy. The minister's distinct role is to lead the whole congregation in renewing covenant with God in the liturgy, not to worship as a proxy for the rest of the church.

- Church gathered around word & sacrament: Churches were built with central pulpit and altar-table (eventually the pulpit became larger, more prominent, and more elevated than the table). Pews were built to facilitate listening to preaching and arranged around the table to permit optimum hearing and view for all.

## • Order of worship

Most of the specific reforms of the Lord's Day service in Reformed liturgies can be explained by the basic theological agenda and liturgical ideals of the Reformation movement:

### 1. Returning to ancient sources of the Bible and the early church

- Biblical and patristic shape/order: Reformed liturgies preserved the same basic template/order of service present from the earliest strata of the church's history (which has even deeper roots in biblical patterns of covenant renewal): Ministry of the word → intercession, creed, and offering as response to the word → Lord's Supper.<sup>10</sup>
- Substantive reading and preaching in the liturgy with the goals of instruction and application to the hearts and lives of the people.
- Lectio continua: Reformed churches discarded the lectionary in favor of the patristic method of preaching consecutively through whole books of the Bible. The purpose was two-fold:
  - To teach the whole Bible in a systematic and understandable manner. Reformed churches placed enormous emphasis on the ministry of the word by featuring sermons not only on the Lords' Day but also during daily worship on several weekdays. In some places (e.g., Calvin's Geneva), church members could hear 5–7 sermons per week if they attended all of the weekly services.
  - To teach the Bible in an expositional way that honored the literary unity and historical context of biblical books (thus emphasizing the literal sense of Scripture).
- Psalmody/hymnody: The heavy emphasis on singing of psalms aimed to form the church by biblical texts and language in prayer. Some early Reformed churches (esp. French and German) also set other biblical texts to music: Ten Commandments, Jesus' summary of the Law, Song of Simeon (*Nunc dimittis*).

### 2. Christ-centered and grace-centered worship

- Christ-centered preaching: A primary theological goal of preaching was the clear proclamation of gospel of salvation by God's grace alone in Christ alone.
- Increased frequency of communion

Weekly communion as the norm: In the wing of the Reformed tradition most influenced by Martin Bucer and John Calvin, weekly communion was considered the ideal and norm for worship on the Lord's Day.<sup>11</sup> Weekly communion stressed the Christ-centered and gospel-centered goal of the liturgy and the intrinsic connection and complementarity between ministry of both word and sacrament as the concrete means through which we encounter the risen Christ and receive the grace of God in Christ by faith.

(Qualification: The wing of the Reformed tradition most influenced by Ulrich Zwingli and his successor Heinrich Bullinger disconnected this ancient connection between word and sacrament and modeled their order of worship not on the structure of the eucharistic liturgy but rather on medieval preaching services. *For the first time in the recorded history of the church, Zwingli removed the*

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<sup>10</sup> Indeed, by restoring a separate prayer of intercession following the sermon, the Reformed liturgies restored an element of the early church that had later been moved into the eucharistic prayer.

<sup>11</sup> Martin Bucer helped established weekly communion as the practice of the cathedral in Strasbourg (see the rubrics of the Strasbourg liturgy in Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*) while the other parishes observed communion monthly, a frequency that became widespread in Reformed churches (e.g., England, Scotland). John Calvin ardently defended the ideal of weekly communion in his various writings, even though the magistrates in Geneva would only permit communion four times per year.

*Lord's Supper from the Lord's Day service and reduced the ordinary Lord's Day liturgy to a word-centered preaching service.* The Lord's Supper was only celebrated four times per year [which was still a great increase in frequency over medieval practice]. Calvin's theology of the Lord's Supper largely prevailed in the Reformed confessions, but Zwingli's practice of infrequent communion eventually prevailed in the practice of nearly all Reformed churches.<sup>12)</sup>

- Eucharistic orientation of the liturgy
  - Leading from the table: In Strasbourg and Geneva, ministers led most of the service from the communion table. Only the reading and preaching of Scripture took place in the pulpit.
  - Sermons oriented to the Supper: The Strasbourg liturgy included guidelines for explaining the Lord's Supper at the conclusion of each sermon.
  - Ante-communion structure: In Strasbourg, Geneva and other churches influenced by their pattern (e.g., Scotland), the order of the liturgy retained its eucharistic shape, even when the Lord's Supper was not observed. The sermon was not moved to the conclusion of the service on Sundays without communion; rather, the intercessions and creed remained in place as a response to the word.
- Liturgical calendar: The continental Reformed churches maintained the major festivals celebrating Christ: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.
- Rejected the cult of the saints: Reformed churches eliminated the veneration of Mary and the saints (often through images or statues) as idolatry because this practice lacked biblical precedent (and bowing before images violated the 2nd Commandment), because it often functionally elevated Mary and other saints into a quasi-divine role, and because it made God/Christ (wrongly) appear too remote and too harsh to approach directly.

### 3. Restoring active, faithful participation in corporate worship by the whole church

- Language: The Reformed moved quickly toward complete celebration in vernacular languages.
- Audible voice: The minister eliminated the silent prayers of the medieval mass and led the service with a volume sufficient for all to hear.
- Fixed forms & liturgical service/prayer books: Early Reformed churches promoted theological orthodoxy, active corporate participation, and the authority of the ministers and city councils that led reform movements by composing service books with fixed written parts for both minister and congregation to speak and/or sing.<sup>13</sup> Fixed/written forms repeated on a very regular basis promoted the active, corporate participation of the congregation and was especially helpful for the illiterate and for small children.
- Congregational music: In order to facilitate the active participation of the whole congregation, Reformation churches produce a body of liturgical music suitable for congregational singing. This required forms that were sufficiently simple for large numbers of untrained lay people to learn.
- Confession: A corporate confession of sin and absolution for the whole church comes into prominence for the first time in church history. While the medieval church had developed a tradition of private confession for the laity prior to communion and a public confession by the priest at the beginning of the liturgy, the Reformed (and Lutheran) churches brought this act of confessing sin into the Lord's Day service and made it a corporate act of the whole church. This obviously aimed at promoting personal awareness of sin, removing any hope in approaching God on the basis of anything other than the grace of God in the person and work of Christ.
- Communion for the whole church.
  - Corporate participation: Reformed churches insisted that communion was an act for the whole church that embodied the unity of the whole church in Christ. It was and not merely a private spiritual exercise for ministers and/or individuals. Even though many Reformed churches did not succeed in

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<sup>12</sup> This is the conclusion of Brian Gerrish in his article "The Lord's Supper in the Reformed Confessions." *Theology Today* 23 (1966): 224-243 [online here: <https://centralpresworship.net/lords-supper/>]

<sup>13</sup> The preservation of specific liturgical texts over time within the tradition of one city and the sharing of prayer texts between different traditions (e.g., Strasbourg → Geneva → Scotland) implies that these prayers were at the very least valued as models or templates to imitate closely if not (as seems likely) texts to pray verbatim. Cities that joined the Reformed movement controlled the liturgies of their churches, and thus there was no central authority that impose a completely uniform liturgical text or rite upon all Reformed churches. (This simply continued the local traditions of liturgical diversity during the medieval period.) However, the Reformed churches collaborated on liturgical decisions and shared resources. Thus, there were commonalities of order and specific liturgical forms and texts among the various Reformed churches.

restoring weekly communion, nevertheless they did succeed in recovering the corporate nature of the Supper by having the whole church participation when it was observed.<sup>14</sup>

- Meal: Reformed churches stressed the need to recover the biblical form of the Supper rite as a corporate meal.
  - Ordinary bread, like that eaten in daily life.
  - Wine restored to the laity.
  - Dutch Reformed, some English Puritans, and Scottish Presbyterians celebrated the Lord's Supper seated together at tables or in pews gathered around the table and served one another by passing the bread and wine throughout the congregation.

- Ceremony

- Elaborate gestures and other practices not necessary to performing the basic acts of worship (e.g., crossing oneself, processions, incense) were eliminated because (1) many lay people held superstitious, quasi-magical beliefs about certain ceremonial actions and objects; and (2) they were considered a distraction from the main events of the liturgy and lacking in biblical warrant.
- Vestments: Reformed churches did not all agree on proper liturgical dress for ministers. Early evidence from Strasbourg, Geneva, Germany, England, and Scotland shows that ministers rejected the traditional eucharistic vestments (e.g., alb, surplice, chasuble) but retained the outdoor garb of a priest as a symbol of their liturgical office: black cassock/gown, bands, scarf/tippet (wide and long strip like a stole around the neck), and cap.

### **Critique of Reformed liturgical practice in the 16<sup>th</sup> century**

- Decreasing corporate responses: Concerned to discourage the (sometimes mindless) mumbling of memorized prayers and responses throughout the liturgy, Reformed liturgies eliminated the responsorial character of the Lord's Day service by dropping almost all spoken congregational responses (with the exception of a corporate "Amen" to the intercessions). In some places, even the prayer of confession and recitation of the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer was done only by the minister. This development reduced corporate vocal participation in the liturgy to singing psalms/hymns. The rest of the liturgy was spent praying silently with the minister and listening to the reading and preaching of Scripture and the various exhortations/explanations within the service.
- Didactic explanation replaces liturgical engagement/encounter with God: The liturgies of Bucer and Calvin tended to be very wordy. For example, the prayers and the communion exhortation contain significant doctrinal content to give worship a catechetical role. Mini homilies on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper replaced the ancient Eucharistic prayer. Reformed churches thus replaced thanksgiving TO God with a lengthy discourse ABOUT God to the congregation. This shift toward increasing levels of theological exposition of rites in the liturgy itself gave Reformed services a growing pedagogical character that eventually obscured and worked against the larger purpose of the liturgy to provide and foster a direct personal encounter with God in word, prayer, and sacrament in the spirit of reverent awe and joy.<sup>15</sup>
- Penitential emphasis: Reformed liturgies emphasized human sinfulness and unworthiness repeatedly throughout the whole liturgy, not only in lengthy and comprehensive confessions of sin but in virtually every other prayer in the liturgy, e.g., the prayer of illumination and the opening of intercessions. The emphasis on warning in fencing the table, the Scripture readings focused on Christ's death (in Scottish worship) during communion, and the elimination of the ancient form of Eucharistic prayer maintained and even strengthened the medieval emphasis on fearful repentance instead of joyful thanksgiving.
- Infrequent communion: Reformed churches settled into a monthly or quarterly communion during the 16th century, although the frequency was even less in rural areas lacking access to insufficient numbers of ordained ministers in certain regions (e.g., Scotland). This was contrary to the strong convictions Martin Bucer and

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<sup>14</sup> This is the rationale for the disciplinary interviews with ministers/elders and the services of preparation for communion that later developed.

<sup>15</sup> What Bryan Spinks says about the growth of catechetical explanations in Reformed baptismal rites also applies to the Lord's Supper and the liturgy as a whole: "One feature throughout is theology by explication rather than through the liturgical text and actions. The theological self-consciousness found in medieval scholastic theology finds its early modern Protestant counterpart in these rites. The rite must be prefaced by the theology as teaching" (*Reformation and Modern Rituals*, 50).

John Calvin about restoring the early church's balance of weekly word and table. Some reasons for this infrequency include:

- The inertia of tradition and resistance of laity shaped by the medieval practice of only one annual communion. Shifting to weekly communion would have been far too radical.
  - Disciplinary challenges with a poorly catechized laity. In order to promote faithful participation and the spiritual integrity of communion celebrations, the Reformed churches responded the same way the early church did: insist on spiritual discipline and keep raising the bar of spiritual qualification for participation. The eventual result was the same: increasingly infrequent communion due to the greater and greater effort required for preparation and declining numbers of communicants in any given celebration.
- Babies out with the bathwater: Reformed churches had a tendency to confront superstition and the abuse or distortion of pre-Reformation liturgical forms by eliminating the forms themselves. This occurred with such forms as:
- Absolution (see above)
  - Congregational responses (see above)
  - Liturgical vestments: Fanciful allegorical explanations for vestments as well as superstitions associated with their blessing and use led more extreme Puritans to reject them altogether.
  - Visual images: Opposition to veneration of images led to increasingly radical opposition to the very making of images (or at least putting them in the worship environment) for any reason.
  - Eucharistic prayers, esp. references to sacrifice: Distorted conceptions and practices associated with the use of sacrificial terms and images for the eucharist led to a virtual abandonment of eucharistic prayers at all and to strident denials of using sacrificial concepts and imagery in any sense to interpret the meaning of the Lord's Supper.
  - Liturgical year: Popular abuses and hypocrisy associated with certain festivals led Reformed churches to either eliminate even festivals devoted to aspects of the life of Christ (e.g., Advent, Lent) or to reject the liturgical year entirely (in England and Scotland).

## VI. SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM AND ENGLISH PURITANISM (1600-1800)

### 1. Scotland

During the reign of Catholic Queen Mary Tudor (1553–1558), John Knox fled persecution and became a pastor in a congregation of English exiles in Frankfurt, Germany. There he helped author a liturgy based on Calvin's liturgy in Geneva (entitled *The Forme of Prayers*). Having been forced out of his pastoral position in Frankfurt, Knox became pastor of English congregation in Geneva, which he called "the most perfect school of Christ." After the rise of Protestant Queen Elizabeth I in England, Knox returned to Scotland where he established his Genevan service in the *Book of Common Order* (BCO). The Church of Scotland adopted Knox's Genevan liturgy, and it served as the basic order of Scottish worship for 85 years until the Westminster Assembly.

### 2. England

- Act of Uniformity: In 1559, Queen Elizabeth I sought to reestablish the liturgical and doctrinal unity of the Church of England under her (Protestant) authority with the Act of Uniformity, which mandated all priests and bishops to conform to the 1559 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*.
- Factions resisting the *Book of Common Prayer* and Elizabethan via media
  - Separatists: Some ministers and congregations attempted to separate themselves from the polity and liturgy of the state church. They favored a congregationalist polity and a radically simplified liturgy that went beyond the Church of Scotland and the English Puritans who favored a Genevan-style liturgy. The Separatists believed that all written/fixed prayers and other liturgical forms were a spiritually deadening obstacle to the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, they held worship services consisting of sessions of free prayer, Scripture reading, and a sermon (sometimes with Q & A or

multiple preachers from the congregation). Because separation was illegal, separatists either had to hold services in secret or flee England. Many fled to the Netherlands or to the American colonies.<sup>16</sup>

- Puritans

- Members who worked within or alongside the Church of England toward the goal of further reformation of worship, theology along the lines of Continental Reformed churches. While agreeing in theology (indeed, virtually all Anglicans in the 16th century were theologically Reformed), Puritans differed among themselves on the amount and type of change they sought in the church. They disagreed on church government (Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent)<sup>17</sup> and liturgy (some were content to lightly revise the Book of Common Prayer; others wanted a new book resembling the liturgies of Geneva and Scotland; others later came to reject liturgical books and written prayers altogether).

- The Independents were the most influenced by the Separatists and thus the most liturgically liberal, i.e., they departed farthest from the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Reformed liturgies of the Continental churches by opposing all written prayers and set forms (Creed, Lord's Prayer).

- Later English Puritan and Scottish Presbyterian principles of liturgical reform

- Biblical warrant: Puritan definitions of biblical warrant became increasingly narrow, and the category of adiaphora (indifferent things) began to disappear. Effectively, the type of biblical warrant that Puritans demanded with increasing rigidity was explicit commands or normative examples of specific practices in the New Testament.
- Correcting abuses associated with medieval Catholicism: Often this resulted in rejecting the forms altogether (e.g., the litany, congregational responses, vestments, etc.)
- Edification: Some Puritan corrections were motivated by judgments about their practical impact on the spiritual life of the congregation (e.g., the length of services, the reading of homilies)

- Later English Puritan and Scottish and early American Presbyterian liturgical practice

- Sermon-centered shape: Due to compromise with English Congregationalists, the Westminster Directory prefers one long prayer before the sermon combining confession & intercessions. Since communion was celebrated infrequently, this effectively made the sermon the culmination and climax of the liturgy.
- Free prayer: Puritans come to reject all fixed written prayers in favor of extemporaneous prayers prayed by the minister.
- Trend toward rejecting all fixed forms: No more Creed, Lord's Prayer, doxology, Ten Commandments
- Decline of active congregational participation: Reformed churches removed corporate responses, acclamations, and prayers spoken aloud by the congregation. Ministers alone vocalized the prayers and other parts of the service (including the Lord's Prayer and the Creed), while the congregation's active participation was reduced to the singing of psalms, the saying a corporate "Amen," and participation in communion when it was offered.
- Freedom & diversity: Shift from liturgical service book to directory, which only gives very general guidelines. Reformed churches allow for much greater diversity and no longer regulate the precise content or order of liturgies at all. Each minister and local congregation were free to do what they want within the broad boundaries of the directory (although even this was often ignored).
- Psalms & other biblical songs: Exclusive psalmody (often sung slowly and badly) without musical instruments.
- Communion:

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<sup>16</sup> The Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620 were Separatists who came from England via the Netherlands.

<sup>17</sup> No Puritans could legally put these convictions on church polity into practice since the Church of England was the single legal state church. Independents were Puritans who formed their own separate congregations governed by a congregational polity, i.e., congregations choose their own ministers and control their own membership and discipline; however, they continued to hold that the Church of England was a true church (unlike the Separatists).

- Infrequent: Due initially to the lack of ordained ministers in various areas and the inertia of medieval infrequency of communion. In Scotland, communion offered once or twice per year at lengthy festival (or sometimes not at all). In America, quarterly communion becomes dominant norm until the end of the twentieth century.
- Sacramental seasons & preparatory services: Scottish and early American Presbyterians developed elaborate services of preparation for communion stressing doctrinal instruction, introspective self-examination, and repentance and confession of sin.

## **VII. (MOSTLY REFORMED) WORSHIP IN AMERICA (1700-1900)**

### **1. First Great Awakening**

- History: During the 1730s and 1740s, a movement of revivals occurred throughout the American colonies. The revivals were united principally by the trans-Atlantic and trans-colonial travels of Calvinistic Methodist George Whitefield and defended theologically by Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards. The revivals also found support in the pietism taught by Dutch Reformed pastors like Theodore Frelinghuysen in New Jersey. Presbyterian churches were split into two factions that were supportive (New Side) and critical (Old Side) of the methods and effects of the revivals. Pro-revival pastors (led by Gilbert Tennant, who was especially influenced by Frelinghuysen) eventually formed a presbytery in New York that separated from the other presbyteries united in the Synod of Philadelphia from 1741 to 1758. Tennant's father (William Sr.) had even started a seminary (the Log College) to train men for ministry in ways that stressed religious affections and piety to a much greater degree than other churches.
- Changes in worship
  - Conversion theology and preaching: Revival supporters tended to promote a more highly defined conversion experience in worship (similar to that embraced by New England Congregationalists): profound conviction and guilt induced by the law, an experience of spiritual rebirth/awakening, and a reformed life of new affections and works of obedience that demonstrated a changed heart. Cultivating this kind of defined experience became the emphasis in preaching. The goal was primarily to convert unbelievers and to renew/revive/enflame the affections of the heart of believers.
  - New focus on itinerant preaching and extended meetings: Revivals blurred the lines of ecclesiastical order as pro-revival pastors traveled to preach and seek conversions in areas already populated by established churches. Revivalists promoted mid-week meetings that eventually influenced Sunday services.
  - Inter-denominational and trans-colonial unity: Revivals often united pastors and other members of congregations from different ecclesial traditions and exposed them to new styles of preaching and singing.
  - Hymns: Whitefield helped popularize the hymns of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley.

### **2. Second Great Awakening**

- Communion seasons to camp meetings: A second great wave of revivals began with as massive revival that emerged from a communion seasons in Cane Ridge, Kentucky under the leadership of Presbyterian minister James McGready. On the American frontier, communion seasons became important social events attracting hundreds (sometimes thousands) of people. Since many frontier people were unchurched, ministers seized these opportunities by turning them into evangelistic rallies that aimed more and more at preaching to non-communicants and the unbaptized than to active church members. They baptized people and admitted them to communion in these occasions, and eventually the sacrament itself became sidelined and forgotten. These camp meetings/revivals were very inter-denominational affairs. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians all participated, and the result was a blending of traditions and the forging of a new common evangelical frontier tradition.

- Frontier worship tradition: Worship was designed for evangelism as primary goal. The services lead to baptism rather than from it, or (for the baptized) to renew one's Christian faith with a tangible act of recommitment. This pattern became nearly universal across all American Protestant denominations.
  1. "Preliminaries": Prayers and music to emotionally prepare the congregation for the sermon.
  2. Sermon (the main event)
  3. Call for public demonstration of conversion and/or recommitment in response to sermon. The altar call effectively became a new sacrament replacing the Lord's Supper as the event in which sinners receive grace in a new tangible act of responding to God.
- Charles Finney: Frontier tradition brought to eastern establishment
  - Chief influences on worship: (1) pioneered adaptation of frontier revival methods for more established churches in the east; (2) articulated a theology of revivals (and worship) in his famous *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*.<sup>18</sup>
  - Decision and commitment: Contrary to other revivalists, Finney did not aim primarily at emotional excitement but rather on very direct appeals to the will. He is critical (especially in his later letters on revival) of the fanatical emotionalism of some revivalist ministers.
  - New measures:
    - Protracted meetings for preaching and prayer: These were not new in Presbyterian churches that had participated in the revivals of the First Great Awakening or in sacramental seasons.
    - Altar calls and the anxious seat/bench: These methods were new in Presbyterian churches and attracted great criticisms (but were not original with Finney).
    - Rousing hymns with instrumental accompaniment (he loved the organ).
  - Pragmatism over biblicism: Finney rejected the narrow application of Scripture to worship favored by the Puritan-Presbyterian tradition as well as their reading of church history. He maintained that the NT left only very general directives about what to do in corporate worship and thus churches were free to do whatever worked in accomplishing evangelism. Furthermore, he pointed to examples of liturgical changes even in recent Presbyterian church history (e.g., changes in ministerial dress, use of hymns and organs) to show that practices taken as sacrosanct by later generations were viewed as dangerous "new measures" when initially introduced. Because he thought the Bible offered little to no guidance for worship, Finney's liturgical ideal was a thoroughgoing pragmatism: churches ought to do whatever was necessary to achieved the desired emotional and psychological impact to convert and awaken sinners. Churches should adopt whatever techniques got people to attend services, pay attention, and respond to sermons oriented toward awakened affections, a sense of depravity, and a commitment of the will.
- Egalitarian impulse: The political experience of the American Revolution and the nature of life on the frontier had produced a cultural climate opposed to Old World tradition and authority, including that of the churches.<sup>19</sup> Methodist and Baptist churches spread largely through the efforts of lay preachers, and church members typically had little knowledge or interest in history of the church and sometimes disparaged the traditional learning of seminary-trained pastors in other churches. Revivalism thus contributed to the decline of the authority of the pastoral office. Not surprisingly, by the 1820s, many ministers had discarded any distinctive ministerial dress or vestments of any kind including the Genevan gowns and bands that had been the standard uniform of Reformed ministers for generations.

### 3. Old School reaction: "Traditional" Presbyterian worship

- Old School/New School: The Second Great Awakening elicited the same sort of split within the Presbyterian Church as the First Great Awakening, but the problems were greater and the effects more long lasting. The revivals had become more extreme in their departure from Reformed theology and liturgical practices, and dissension over revivalism caused a formal schism into pro-revival (New School) and critical-

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<sup>18</sup> Online: [http://www.gospeltruth.net/1868Lect\\_on\\_Rev\\_of\\_Rel/home68revlec.htm](http://www.gospeltruth.net/1868Lect_on_Rev_of_Rel/home68revlec.htm). These lectures ought to be read alongside his later letters on revival published in the *Oberlin Evangelist* from 1845–1846. These letters provide some more mature reflections and correctives to the views and practice of revivals in America. For a recent compilation of these letters, see Donald W. Dayton, ed., *Reflections on Revival by Charles G. Finney* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1979).

<sup>19</sup> See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Mark Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

to-anti-revival (Old School) denominations between 1837 and 1869. (The southern Old Schoolers broke away to form a separate denomination in 1861 over issues of slavery and church government).

- Excesses, not revivals per se: The Old School was not opposed to spiritual revivals per se. Indeed, they embraced the spiritual concerns of New School advocates and praised revivals and good (even necessary) in certain times and places. However, they objected to the idea that revivals should be the normal state of the church's life and that revivals could be engineered by human techniques that deviated from the ordinary biblical means of grace.
- Disagreement over methods: Old Schoolers rejected the "new measures" in favor of biblical means of grace. Biblical revivals happen as God blesses the ordinary practices of the worship of the church in unusual, extraordinary ways.<sup>20</sup>
- Emergence of "traditional" Presbyterian worship
  - Goal was genuine heartfelt piety expressed in respectable, dignified, sober manner. This Old School ideal was a middle ground between the perceived coldness of Episcopal worship and perceived emotionalism and crudity of Methodist and Baptist worship.<sup>21</sup> The ministers was to carry himself with somber, retrained, reverent dignity at all times.
  - Order of worship largely unchanged.
  - Sermon still the dominant focus (although decreasing in length).
  - Prayer: Growing sense of need for reform of public prayer. The complaints of Samuel Miller and others reveal a growing awareness and discomfort with the decreasing quality of public prayer (offered with congregation seated; ministers give little thought; became repetitious and perfunctory).<sup>22</sup> The tradition of free prayer without adequate preparation (as the Westminster Directory had originally urged) resulted in prayers that lacked the breadth, power, and beauty of biblical language expressed with the love and reverence of someone consciously interceding directly before the throne of God. Miller advocated that ministers memorize much Scripture to internalize its language for prayer and also write prayers in advance in preparation for leading public prayer. He also wanted congregations to return to the practice of standing for prayer instead of sitting as had become customary (and he even stood in protest when everyone else sat in church!)
  - Communion
    - Quarterly in local church (not communion seasons). As communion seasons waned, so did the use of communion tokens.
    - Seated in pews: Most American Presbyterians eventually adopted the Congregationalist practice of receiving communion seated in the pews.
    - Permanent communion tables appear (without rails): As communion seasons waned and communion returned to the local church, Presbyterian churches began to place permanent communion tables at the center of the assembly. Tables were usually placed below pulpit in the center (a pattern that became very widespread across all Protestant traditions in the 19th century).

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<sup>20</sup> For comprehensive Old School critiques of revivalism, see Albert Dod, "On Revivals of Religion," in *Essays, Theological and Miscellaneous Reprinted from the Princeton Review, Second Series*, 76–151 (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1847; online: <http://www.naphtali.com/articles/albert-dod/>); John Nevin, *The Anxious Bench* (reprint, Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Samuel Miller, professor of church history at Princeton Theological Seminary, wrote works commending an elevated level of dignity, decorum, and beauty in Presbyterian worship. See Samuel Miller, *Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry* (Philadelphia: Towar, J. & D. M. Hogan, 1830); Samuel Miller, *The Primitive and Apostolical Order of the Church of Christ Vindicated* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1840); Samuel Miller, *Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits: Address to a Student in the Theological Seminary* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1852).

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Miller, *Thoughts on Public Prayer* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1849)

## VIII. WORSHIP INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: TWO MOVEMENTS

The moderately Puritan middle ground of Old School Presbyterianism has been pulled into two different directions since the mid-19th century by two trans-denominational movements.

### 1. Broadly evangelical revivalism in both lower and higher aesthetic modes

- From mid-19th century to the middle of the 20th century, development of worship was spurred in many evangelical churches not by liturgical theology or historical study but rather the continuing effects of revivalistic pragmatism expressed in more culturally refined and sophisticated ways as Presbyterians grew in wealth and social standing. The same pragmatism that led earlier revivalists toward informality and emotionalism in rural parishes led more educated, urban congregations back toward more historic forms in worship for largely aesthetic reasons.<sup>23</sup> The underlying revivalist approach to worship remained unchanged, namely, worship aimed primarily at eliciting a particular affective and moral response to the sermon, and the forms and environment of worship were crafted to support that response. Even when more corporate, historic forms began to reappear in the liturgy, they were often understood in terms of the frontier/revival tradition (i.e., they were preliminaries before the sermon chosen primarily because of the way they affected individual spirituality).
  - Gothic-type architecture: In the mid-19th century, Presbyterian and Congregational churches began to incorporate increasingly ornate architecture and furnishings into their churches inspired by a revival of Gothic-style favored by a romantic fascination with the medieval era: towers and spires on stone churches; stained glass windows; high, vaulted ceilings; arched doorways; high quality craftsmanship in woodworking of pews, pulpits, tables.
  - Instruments & choirs: Organs and choirs gradually appeared in more churches, beginning with the wealthiest: New England Congregationalist and Unitarians; Episcopalians, Presbyterians. This was due in part to evangelistic concerns to appeal to the emotions as well as the intellect, as well as dissatisfaction with Puritan aesthetic austerity in worship music.
  - Emotional restraint remained an aspect of Presbyterian worship in reaction to the perceived excesses of Pentecostal, charismatic, and Baptist approaches to worship.
  - Sermon-centered event: Educated preaching remained the central event. Little or no sacramental emphasis.
  - Somber communion on a quarterly basis: Communion remained a quiet, meditative, introspective occasion and quarterly celebration remained the norm for Presbyterians until approximately the 1970s when the shift toward monthly and weekly communion began.
  - Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer: Gradually, these historic forms began to reappear in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They lent dignity to expression.
  - Social activism: Social gospel hymnody made its way into hymnals.
  - Pentecostalism: Pentecostal and charismatic worship is a variation of the frontier pattern. Their services had the same basic order: music, preaching, manifestation of extraordinary spiritual gifts. The sermon was the main event, but the expected response was no longer simply an altar call or acts of recommitment but rather the supernatural manifestation of miraculous spiritual gifts.
  - Youth ministry and "seeker-sensitive" churches: The format for informal worship in youth ministry gatherings and later in churches influenced by the church growth movement ("seeker-sensitive" churches) also adopted the frontier pattern: music and drama to set the stage for the sermon, which remained the main event.<sup>24</sup>
- Revivalist/evangelistic impulse sometimes trumped aesthetics
  - Grape juice: Wine was universally used in communion until the late nineteenth century when Methodist temperance activist Thomas Welch and his family began to produce and market grape juice as a substitute for American evangelicals who supported prohibition.

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<sup>23</sup> And also partly for evangelistic reasons: Presbyterians in the mid-19th century were increasingly concerned over the phenomenon of Presbyterians converting to the Episcopal church due in part to the extreme austerity, passivity, anti-traditionalism, and poor quality of worship leadership in Presbyterian churches.

<sup>24</sup> See Gordon W. Lathrop, "New Pentecost or Joseph's Britches? Reflections on the History and Meaning of the Worship Ordo in the Megachurches," *Worship* 72 (1998): 521–538.

- Gospel songs: Light, energetic songs designed for mass evangelistic rallies (Ira Sankey & Dwight Moody; George Beverley Shea & Billy Graham) or Methodist class meetings, camp meetings, and revivals (Fanny Crosby) eventually made their way into the trans-denominational evangelical canon of hymnody. At their worst, they tend to be sentimental, individualistic, tunes that are insubstantial/fluffy tunes.
- Christian rock borrowed from the charismatic movement in the 1970s and 1980s brought a new kind of pop culture connection and informal ethos to evangelical worship that marked a radical change from the restrained sobriety that had characterized the mainstream of Presbyterian worship since the mid-19th century.

## 2. Liturgical Movement: Return to early church and Reformation traditions

Beginning in the mid-19th century, a small but steadily growing number of Presbyterians sought to reform worship by returning to the liturgical theology and practices of the early church and the early Reformation. Like revivalism, this was also a trans-denominational movement that involved Catholics and mainline Protestants in cooperation. This general movement toward recovering more historic and universal (catholic) Christian practices from both the Reformation and early church is called the modern Liturgical Movement.

### • The Liturgical Movement in American Presbyterianism:

- **Charles Baird:** A catalyst for liturgical reform in 19th-century American Presbyterian churches was the publication of Charles Baird's book *Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches* in 1855. Although he was only 27 years old, the young Presbyterian minister from New York had lived and traveled extensively in Europe and had acquired a breadth of historical knowledge and international experience that were quite unusual for Americans of his day.<sup>25</sup> In *Eutaxia*, Charles Baird brought his broad liturgical experience to bear upon the question of liturgical reform.
  - Reprinting Reformed liturgies: After chronicling the development of Reformed liturgies and reprinting English translation of those liturgical texts from Calvin to the American revision of the *Westminster Directory*, Baird advocated the recovery of various liturgical practices found in these earlier Reformed liturgical sources. In his review of this work, Charles Hodge commended Baird's vision of "the optional use of a liturgy, or forms of public service, having the sanction of the Church. If such a book were compiled from the liturgies of Calvin, Knox, and of the Reformed Churches..., we are bold to say that it would in our judgment be a very great blessing."<sup>26</sup>
  - New liturgical book: In 1857, he published *A Book of Public Prayer*, which drew upon the liturgies of the Reformers.
- **Other books:** Some authors took a conservative approach by composing prayers and liturgical orders only for occasional services (e.g. the administration of baptism, dedication of churches, marriage and funeral services).<sup>27</sup> Other more ambitious authors also prepared prayers and services for worship of the Lord's Day.<sup>28</sup> The more elaborate of these liturgies increased congregational participation with responsive readings,

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<sup>25</sup> Baird's Old School family was among the "frontier gentility" of western Pennsylvania, and Charles received a rigorous classical education. His father, Robert Baird, worked for the Foreign Evangelical Society, a missionary organization that supported Protestant churches in predominantly Roman Catholic countries in Europe. Before he was thirty, Charles had lived and traveled in Europe for many years including trips to Russia (where he attended the wedding of the Czar's daughter), Germany (where he met the King of Prussia and theologians at Berlin), and Italy (where he met a group of Waldensians). After graduating from seminary, Baird served as the pastor of an American church in Rome. His French Huguenot mother also instilled in him a love for France and the French Reformed tradition. See Hughes Oliphant Old, "Eutaxia or the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches," *American Presbyterians* 66 (1988): 260-261.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Hodge, "Review of Eutaxia," *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* 27 (1855): 460.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. A.A. Hodge's *Manual of Forms* (1877 and 1882) and Herrick Johnson's *Forms for Special Occasions* (1889). See Melton, *Presbyterian Worship*, 108-109..

<sup>28</sup> The *Presbyterian's Handbook of the Church* (1861) by ministers T. Ralston Smith and Joel Parker offered a very simple service that contained none of the reforms proposed by Baird and drew only upon contemporary practices. See Melton, *Presbyterian Worship*, 78-81.

traditional acclamations and responses (e.g. the *Gloria Patri*), and litanies as well as the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed and Ten Commandments.<sup>29</sup>

- **Church Service Society:** Minister and noted hymnologist Louis Benson organized the American Church Service Society<sup>30</sup> to promote liturgical education and renewal in the PCUSA.<sup>31</sup> Prominent members of the Society included B.B. Comegys (treasurer), New York minister and pastor-poet Henry van Dyke (vice-president), and Princeton Seminary theologian B.B. Warfield.

- **Editions of the Book of Common Worship:** 1906, 1946, 1970, 1993

Each successive edition moved closer to the emerging ecumenical ideal described below.

Most evangelical (including conservative Presbyterians) remained uninvolved and largely unaware of the broader ecumenical Liturgical Movement. However, within the past 20 years, some evangelicals (including some evangelical Presbyterians) are now beginning to show an interest in many of the same historical, theological, and practical liturgical issues and positions championed by participants of the Liturgical Movement even though they are not formally associated with the denominations and institutions most closely linked with that movement.

- **Common Ideals, Themes, and Practices**

The specific liturgical practices favored by the Liturgical Movement express and embody a set of fundamental biblical, theological, and pastoral/missional principles. Many of these reforms attempting in various ways to implement the liturgical ideals of the Reformation that the early Reformers themselves were unable to accomplish fully in their own day and that had been forgotten or rejected by many Reformed churches in the post-Reformation era. It also challenges some traditions of Reformed practice by bringing Reformed worship into closer alignment with an emerging ecumenical consensus on some issues.

(1) Biblical

- New attention to biblical foundations of Christian theology of worship.
- More biblical readings in worship.
- Written prayers in order to use biblical language in prayers more intentionally and systematically.
- Increased psalmody: Biblical language for prayer (spoken and sung).
- Full liturgical year/calendar and lectionary: Most use the pan-Protestant *Revised Common Lectionary*, a revised version of the post-Vatican II Catholic 3-year lectionary) and celebrate the whole liturgical calendar: Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Ash Wednesday, Lent, Passion Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Vigil, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday. Keeping the biblical narrative of creation and redemption in Christ as the central focus of reading and preaching and prayer over time.

(2) Reformed catholicity and contextual sensitivity

- Commitment to common outline/framework for the order of corporate worship grounded in the mature liturgies of the 4th and 5th centuries and the early Reformation.
- Local freedom in contextualizing the forms within that common order of worship.
- Increased intentional sharing of liturgical resources across denominational/traditional boundaries.
- Expansion of the range of musical instruments and songs.

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<sup>29</sup> Examples included such as the *Book of Worship* (1855 and 1864) of the liturgically progressive St. Peter's Church of Rochester, New York, *An Order of Worship with Forms of Prayer for Divine Worship* (1885) by Philadelphia banker and orphanage chaplain B.B. Comegys, and *A General Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer* (1883) by Samuel Hopkins. See Julius Melton, "A View from the Pew: Nineteenth-Century Elders and Presbyterian Worship," *American Presbyterians* 71 (1993): 163-173 and Melton, *Presbyterian Worship*, 109-110.

<sup>30</sup> Benson's organization took this title from the Church Service Society of Scotland, which had recently produced the Scottish Presbyterian service book *Euchologion*.

<sup>31</sup> R. Sidney Pinch, "The First Church Service Society," *Reformed Liturgy & Music* 26 (1992): 168-171.

- (3) Trinitarian and evangelical
- Christ-centered and grace-centered theological basis for worship: Christ is not only the God who is worshipped but also the human priest and worship leader who offers perfect worship to the Father. The Holy Spirit is the presence of Christ who unites us to him, grants us faith, cleanses and perfects our worship, and thus makes the church's worship possible.
  - Trinitarian themes in liturgical forms: The Trinity is frequently named as the source, enabler, and focus of our worship in all parts of the liturgy. Ancient, classic liturgical forms are used precisely because they are Trinitarian in structure and expression (e.g., salutations, Gloria, Te Deum, doxologies concluding psalms and collects, ecumenical creeds, eucharistic prayers).
- (4) Ecclesiological
- Maximizing the full, active participation of the whole church.
  - Written prayers and responses/acclamations used to promote corporate participation.
- (5) Covenantal and sacramental
- Relational purpose and form: The ultimate purpose of corporate worship is not education, evangelism, or social activism but rather a real-time encounter with God in Christ and by the Spirit. The whole liturgy is a relational and responsorial event in which God acts to serve his people, and we respond in various ways appropriate to God's gifts.
  - Vestments: White alb and stole are not only ancient and very widespread (and thus ecumenical/catholic) but they are also theological symbols of the pastor's liturgical office to embody the fact that Jesus is the one who personally leads his people in worship
- (6) Holistic/whole-bodied participation and symbols
- Architecture and furnishings, visual symbols and art: All crafted with intentional use of Christian symbols to communicate visually the special nature of the events that occur in the liturgy. Pulpit, table, and font all prominently displayed at the center of the worship space.
  - Gesture: Various biblical and traditional Christian postures and gestures for worship (e.g., processions, kneeling and standing for prayer, the sign of the cross, raising of hands for prayer and blessing) to use the whole body in responding to God.
- (7) Eucharistic
- Weekly communion is the norm for Christian worship.
  - Somber, penitential tone for the Lord's Supper is rejected in favor of a more consistently celebratory focus on thanksgiving and the victory of God over sin, death, and the devil in Jesus' death and resurrection.
    - Eucharistic prayers chosen to embody these themes.
    - Joyful corporate songs sung during communion.
- (8) Baptismal
- Baptismal rituals stress that baptism is ordered toward a whole life of discipleship e.g., renunciations, restored programs of catechetical training, prayers about future faithfulness.
  - Placing baptismal fonts in visible places either at the front or at the entrance to the sanctuary emphasize that worship is a fulfillment of one's baptismal calling
  - Corporate participation in baptismal liturgy (e.g., corporate recitation of the Apostles' Creed) emphasizes the ongoing remembrance and renewal of one's baptism and the orientation of baptism toward life in the Christian community.
- (9) Daily
- Recovery of daily office patterned on the Lord's Day liturgy reinforces the connection between corporate liturgy and worship, vocation, and mission in all the rest of life.

## Liturgies from Church History

Early Church Liturgies		
Justin Martyr (2nd Century)	Western Liturgy [Latin] (Rome: 4th-8th Century)	Eastern Liturgy [Greek] (Constantinople: 5th-6th Century)
Gathering	Priest's procession • Introit (psalm) sung by choir	Church's procession into building (Little Entrance) • Psalms • (Intercessory prayers [litany]) • Trisagion hymn: "Holy...Holy.. Holy..."
	Greeting: • Priest: "The Lord be with you" • People: "And with your spirit"	Greeting: • Priest: "Peace be with you" • People: "And with your spirit"
	<i>Kyrie</i> ("Lord/Christ have mercy")	<i>Ho Monogenes</i> hymn
	<i>Gloria in excelsis</i> hymn	
	Collect prayer	
OT and/or NT Reading	(OT Reading(s))	Psalm (sung responsorially)
	Epistle Reading	Epistle Reading
	Psalm (sung responsorially)	Alleluia
	Gospel Reading	Gospel Reading
Sermon	(Sermon)	
		Prayers of Supplication
Dismissal of Catechumens	Dismissal of Catechumens	Dismissal of Catechumens
Intercessory Prayers	Intercessory Prayers	(Intercessory Prayers)
Kiss of Peace		
Offerings of bread and wine	Procession with offerings of bread and wine (choir sings another psalm)	Procession with bread and wine (Great Entrance) Cherubic Hymn
	Offertory Prayer(s)	Offertory Prayer(s)
		Kiss of Peace
	(Nicene Creed)	Nicene Creed
Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer • Canon • Lord's Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer • Anaphora • Lord's Prayer
		Prayer of Inclination (for blessing of the people through communion)
	Fraction (ceremonial breaking of bread) with singing of Agnus Dei)	Fraction & Prayer of Elevation • Bishop: "The holy things for the holy people" • People: "One is holy, one is Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father"
	Kiss of peace	
Communion	Communion: • People process to the table to receive from bishop, priest, or deacon • Songs sung during communion	Communion: • People process to the table to receive from bishop, priest, or deacon • Songs sung during communion
Giving of tithes and offerings		
	Prayer of thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving
	Benediction & Dismissal	Benediction & Dismissal

<b>Martin Bucer</b> <b>Strasbourg: 1537</b>	<b>John Calvin</b> <b>Geneva: 1542 [G]</b> <b>Strasbourg, 1545 [S]</b>	<b>John Knox</b> <b>Scottish <i>Book of Common</i></b> <b><i>Order</i>: 1562</b>	<b>Westminster Directory</b> <b>for Public Worship: 1644</b>
	<b>Opening dialogue</b> (Ps 124:8)		<b>Call to Worship</b>
<b>Confession of sin</b> <b>(choice of 3)</b>	<b>Confession of sin</b> (Bucer's 2 <sup>nd</sup> )	<b>Confession of sin</b> (choice of 2 [one of Calvin])	<b>Prayer of Approach</b>
<b>Scripture sentences of</b> <b>remission (choice of 5)</b>	<b>Scripture sentences of</b> <b>remission [S]</b>	(Prayer for forgiveness at end of confession)	<b>Scripture (OT &amp; NT)</b>
<b>Absolution</b>	<b>Absolution [S]</b>		<b>Psalm (sung in meter)</b>
<b>Psalm or Hymn</b> <b>(Option: Kyrie &amp; Gloria)</b>	<b>Decalogue(sung) [S]</b> <b>Psalm (sung) [G]</b>	<b>Psalm (sung)</b>	
<b>Prayer for illumination</b> <b>&amp; Psalm (sung)</b>	<b>Prayer for illumination</b>	<b>Prayer for illumination</b>	<b>Prayer:</b> • <b>Confession of sin</b> • <b>Pardon &amp; assurance</b> • <b>Intercessions</b> <b>(English &amp; Americans)</b> • <b>Illumination</b>
<b>Gospel</b>	<b>Gospel</b>	<b>Scripture (OT or NT)</b>	
<b>Sermon</b>	<b>Sermon</b>	<b>Sermon</b>	<b>Sermon</b>
<b>Apostle's Creed (sung), or</b> <b>Psalm/Hymn</b>	<b>Offering for poor</b>	<b>Offering for poor (?)</b>	
<b>Intercessions</b> <b>(Choice of 3)</b>	<b>Intercessions</b> (Bucer's 3 <sup>rd</sup> prayer + paraphrase of <b>Lord's Prayer</b> )	<b>Intercessions</b>	<b>Prayer (brief):</b> • <b>Thanks &amp; Application</b> • <b>Options: Lord's Prayer</b> <b>(either as pattern or</b> <b>form)</b> • <b>Intercessions (Scots)</b>
<b>Prayer for communion</b>	<b>Prayer for communion [G]</b>	<b>Lord's Prayer + Apostles'</b> <b>Creed (minister)</b>	
<b>Lord's Prayer</b>	<b>Apostles' Creed (sung)</b>	<b>Psalm (sung)</b>	
	[When no communion: <b>Psalm (sung) &amp;</b> <b>benediction]</b>	[When no communion: <b>Psalm (sung) &amp;</b> <b>benediction]</b>	[When no communion: <b>Psalm (sung) &amp;</b> <b>benediction]</b>
	• <b>Prayer for communion</b> <b>[S]</b> • <b>Lord's Prayer [S]</b>		
<b>Exhortation</b>	<b>Words of Institution</b>	<b>Words of Institution</b>	<b>Exhortation, fencing, &amp;</b> <b>invitation</b>
<b>Words of Institution</b>	<b>Exhortation, fencing &amp;</b> <b>invitation</b>	<b>Exhortation, fencing &amp;</b> <b>invitation</b>	<b>Words of Institution</b>
		<b>Eucharistic prayer</b>	<b>Eucharistic prayer</b>
<b>Fraction</b>	<b>Fraction</b>	<b>Fraction</b>	<b>Fraction</b>
<b>Communion</b>	<b>Communion</b>	<b>Communion</b>	<b>Communion</b>
<b>Post-communion</b> <b>thanksgiving (choice of 3)</b>	<b>Post-communion</b> <b>thanksgiving (Bucer's 2<sup>nd</sup>)</b>	<b>Post-communion</b> <b>thanksgiving</b>	<b>Post-communion</b> <b>thanksgiving</b>
	<b>Nunc dimittis (sung) [S]</b>	<b>Psalm of thanksgiving,</b> <b>usually 103 (sung)</b>	<b>Psalm (sung)</b>
<b>Benediction</b>	<b>Benediction</b>	<b>Benediction</b>	<b>Benediction</b>

<b>Typical 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Presbyterian Liturgy</b>	<b>PCUSA <i>Book of Common Worship</i>: 1993</b>
	<b>Call to Worship</b>
<b>Call to Worship</b>	<b>Hymn or Psalm</b>
<b>Invocation</b>	<b>Confession of sin</b> (Kyrie, Trisagion, Angus Dei as options)
<b>Psalm or Hymn</b>	<b>Declaration of forgiveness</b>
<b>Scripture reading</b>	<b>(Peace)</b>
<b>Pastoral prayer (including intercessions)</b>	<b>Psalm or Hymn</b> (Gloria in excelsis, Gloria patri as options)
<b>Psalm or Hymn</b>	<b>Prayer for illumination</b>
<b>Announcements</b>	<b>OT Reading</b> (with response)
<b>Offering</b>	<b>Psalm (said or sung)</b>
<b>Sermon</b>	<b>Epistle Reading</b> (with response)
<b>Prayer of thanksgiving and application</b>	<b>Psalm or hymn or choir anthem</b>
<b>Psalm or Hymn with Doxology</b>	<b>Gospel reading</b> (with response)
<b>Benediction</b>	<b>Sermon</b>
	<b>Psalm or Hymn</b>
	<b>Creed</b> (Apostles' or Nicene)
	<b>Intercessions</b>
	<b>(Peace)</b>
	<b>Offering</b>
	<b>Invitation</b>
	<b>Eucharistic Prayer</b> • Anaphora • Lord's Prayer
	<b>Fraction</b> ( <b>&amp; Words of Institution</b> , if not in eucharistic prayer)
	<b>Communion</b>
	<b>Post-communion thanksgiving</b>
	<b>Psalm or Hymn</b>
	<b>Charge or Sending</b>
	<b>Benediction</b>