REFORMATION WORSHIP

Liturgies from the Past for the Present

Edited by JONATHAN GIBSON & MARK EARNGEY

Foreword by Sinclair B. Ferguson

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Gloria Patri

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit:
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,
world without end.

Amen. Amen.

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Foreword Sinclair B. Ferguson

The book you now hold in your hands, or that perhaps lies on your desk, is a resource of almost unparalleled richness in its field, representing as it does an immense labor of love on the part of its editors and translators. Here, gathered together in one large volume, are liturgies crafted by some of the leading figures in the Protestant Reformation and employed by them to aid worship in a wide variety of places and churches.

We owe an immense debt of gratitude to those who have participated in this project. They would, I feel sure, tell us that the best way we can repay that debt is to read carefully, to assess biblically, and then to reach down into the first principles of worship variously expressed in these liturgies from the past, and apply them wisely and sensitively in our worship in the present. This can only lead to a new reformation of the worship of God the Trinity. Such access to the Father through the Son in the power of the Holy Spirit can alone help the congregations of God's people, in the place and time they occupy, to worship with renewed mind, transformed affections, and holy joy.

Reformation Worship is an important book for several reasons. The first, so obvious that we might not underline it sufficiently, is that it gives impressive testimony to the way the Reformers in various countries devoted so much attention to the subject of worship. They well understood that the rediscovery of the gospel and the reformation of worship were two sides of the same coin, because

sung praise, confessions of sin and confessions of Faith, prayer, and the reading and preaching of Scripture are but various aspects of the one ministry of the Word. For that reason, the Reformers regarded the liturgies that framed the Church's worship as being an important aspect of the application of Scripture. An order of service could not therefore be simply thrown together casually. It might belong to the *adiaphora*; but "things indifferent" are never to be treated with indifference to the general teaching of Scripture (as the Westminster Divines would later make clear).²

The integration between gospel rediscovery and worship transformation was made clear by John Calvin, when, in 1544 (and still in his mid-thirties), he wrote *The Necessity of Reforming the Church*. Penned in preparation for the Imperial Diet at Spires, he prefaced his tract with a "Humble Exhortation to the Emperor, Charles V," in which he tellingly wrote:

If it be inquired, then, by what things chiefly the Christian religion has a standing existence amongst us and maintains its truth, it will be found that the following two not only occupy the principal place, but comprehend under them all the other parts, and consequently the whole substance of Christianity, viz., a knowledge, first, of the mode in which God is duly worshipped; and, secondly, of the source from which salvation is to be obtained. When these are kept out of view, though we may glory in the name of Christians, our profession is empty and vain. . . . If any one is desirous of a clearer and more familiar illustration, I would say, that rule in the Church, the pastoral office, and all other matters of order, resemble the body, whereas the doctrine which regulates the due worship of God, and points out the ground on which the consciences of men must rest their hope of salvation, is the soul which animates the body, renders it lively and active, and, in short, makes it not to be a dead and useless carcass.

^{1. &}quot;Things indifferent" in the sense that they are not specifically, or in detail, mandated by Scripture.

^{2.} The Confession of Faith, I.vi.

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As to what I have yet said, there is no controversy among the pious, or among men of right and sane mind.³

What is immediately striking here is not only the combination of fundamentals—worship and gospel—but the fact that the former is given pride of place, perhaps because the first fruit of rightly understanding the gospel *is* true worship. It is *that* important.

For this reason, we ought not to devalue the contents of these pages by treating them as a kind of liturgical archaeological dig, the concern only of those who are interested in antiquities or aesthetics. For these liturgies were crafted out of a passion for the glory of God. And while this compilation is not formulated as a tract for the times, it carries an important and powerful message for the contemporary church.

The sixteenth-century Reformers shared a deep underlying concern that late medieval worship had become a kind of spectator event. The congregation was largely passive. "Worshipers," if they could be thus described, were essentially observers of the drama of the Mass, and listeners to the words of the choir. The service of divine worship was not an event in which the congregants were participants so much as spectators. The "quality" of worship was therefore measured not by the holy joy of the worshipers but by the standard of the music, the excellence of the singing of the choir, the aesthetic impressiveness of the drama of the Mass, with its vestments, bells, incense—and, of course, its Latin. Worship was, for all practical purposes, done *for you*—vicariously.

All this the Reformation transformed into the active participation and understanding of the individual worshiper and the congregation, praying and singing (as well as listening to the Word and seeing and receiving the Sacraments), with both the mind and the spirit.

It is tempting to think that such a reformation is needed again in an age when church consultants assess "the quality of morning worship" (a task one would have thought beyond the wit of anyone but its Divine Recipient). Is our gaze being set horizontally, moreso

^{3.} John Calvin, *The Necessity of Reforming the Church* (1544), in *Tracts*, ed. and trans. Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1844), 1:126.

than vertically, and has our desire ceased to be for the Isaiah-like or John-like experience of being laid prostrate and undone in hand-over-the-mouth adoration? How different was Paul's perspective on worship from ours: "If . . . an unbeliever or outsider enters, he is convicted . . . he is called to account . . . the secrets of his heart are disclosed and so, falling on his face, he will worship God and declare that God is really among you" (1 Cor. 14:24–25). Whatever lacunae in the churches' traditional liturgy contemporary worship has rushed in to fill, the modern "worship revolution" has usually paid scant attention to this vision of worship. The kind of questions that drove the Reformers do not drive us: "How has God revealed to us what his pleasure is in worship?" "How can we work that out in practical terms in our own congregations, so that everything is done for the glory of God and the edification of the saints?"

When we fail to ask these fundamental questions, and consequently do not probe Scripture to find answers, our approach to worship (that is, to God) will be in danger of becoming simply pragmatic, even a relatively thoughtless imitation of "what works," or even seems "cool" in some other church. To give one example, it is rarely noticed that even such an apparently well-meant and innocent change from having the words we sing printed in psalm and hymn books to showing them on large screens can easily produce unanticipated effects. Rather than achieving the goal of "edification," the result is often to its detriment. Thus, for instance, the young Christian sees only one verse of the hymn or song on the screen; the flow of the whole is lost; he, or she, does not know whether a psalm, a hymn, or a spiritual song is being sung. And, to boot, contemporary worshipers are unlikely to know virtually by heart—as their grandparents did—many of the one hundred and fifty psalms, with both their praises and laments, plus many paraphrases of Scripture, and hundreds of other hymns written by men and women whose literary skills and theological acumen were, to say the least, impressive by comparison with ours.

And what young person today, taking a new interest in the Christian Faith, in the worship he or she attends, learns by heart in a matter of weeks, almost effortlessly, a summary of the Christian Faith such as the Apostles' Creed, which enables him or her to state

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the fundamental truths of the gospel for the first time? We are all familiar with "Jeroboam the son of Nebat who caused Israel to sin." But it is all too easy to forget that the Old Testament also introduces us to the sin of "Rehoboam, the son of Solomon" who, accepting the counsel of his peers rather than exploring the wisdom of the past, led Israel into disaster.

In such a culture the liturgies presented in these pages may seem like a cold shower in the morning; but cold showers can be wonderfully reinvigorating. It is usually not the fault of the individual whose whole life has been a diet of popular music that he or she regards it as both the normal and the preferable. But if perchance a classical music radio station is discovered, and an entry is made into the world of Bach and Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Handel, a new taste for richness and depth develops, and a world is discovered that is both more nourishing and more satisfying. So it is with the old liturgies that give shape and flow and rhythm to our worship.

This is not a plea for a wooden adopting, or a slavish imitation, of any or all the liturgies collected here; nor is it an intimidating and metallic insistence that we should use them today "because the Reformers used them." That could—and almost certainly would—have a deadening effect on our worship. Most of us do not live on the continent of Europe, and none of us lives in the sixteenth century. Our greatest need is for worship *in Spirit* as well as in truth *today*. But the liturgies here should stimulate us to careful thought, and cause us to ask how we can apply their principles today in a way that echoes their Trinitarian, Christ-centered, biblically informed content, so that our worship, in our place and time, will echo the gospel content and rhythm they exhibit.

This is no easy task and it requires wisdom, tact, sensitivity, and careful communication of principles and goals. But it is also true that, at the end of the day, people tend to learn and to grow as much by experience as by verbal instructions. They need to sense and taste the help and the value of a better way. And since their appetite may have been blunted by a diet of modernity, it is important to advance little by little. Nor must we forget the Reformation keys: the centrality of Scripture and its exposition, the focus on Christ,

the wonder of grace, the need for faith, the ministry of the Holy Spirit, the desire for the glory of God alone. For without these realities, at the end of the day, our worship may be ordered by the finest of liturgies and yet be stone-cold dead, lacking the holy power of the presence of God.

In my childhood, virtually every service of worship began with the same words: "Let us worship God." One hears them rarely now. They have been ousted by various forms of words that functionally mean "Let us be comfortable" or "Let us welcome you." Our welcome should indeed be warm and real. But worship is drawing near to the Holy One; his presence effects a sense of solemn joy, and of densely humbling awe. It is this that creates our overwhelming sense of privilege that he welcomes us into his presence. For worship involves first and foremost God's welcome of us, not our welcome of each other.

We need to return to this perspective of the Bible and the Reformation. This exceptional collection of liturgies points us in the right direction. In the hands of anyone who uses it well and wisely, it will surely be a benediction to the Church.

Sinclair B. Ferguson Chancellor's Professor of Systematic Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary

Preface

In the early 1520s in Cambridge, a group of evangelicals began to meet in a local pub called the White Horse. They met to discuss Erasmus's fresh translation of the New Testament and the newly propagated ideas of Martin Luther, the German Reformer. Shortly after, in 1525, one of the earliest evangelical sermons in England was preached by Robert Barnes in the Church of St. Edward King and Martyr, at the Christmas Midnight Mass. Cambridge later became known as "the cradle of the Reformation" in England. Under Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's leadership, Martin Bucer was invited to take up the Regius Chair of Divinity in Cambridge in 1549. As one of the leading theologians of the Reformation, Bucer's short period of time in Cambridge left an indelible mark on a generation of young students who would later become key leaders in the Church of England.

In Oxford, the Reformation cause played out a little differently. Archbishop Cranmer invited Peter Martyr Vermigli to England, and in 1548, he was appointed to the Regius Chair of Divinity in Oxford. From this prestigious position, Vermigli lectured vigorously, and supported the work of reform in the university. Later that year he participated in an important disputation over the Lord's Supper held at the university, which was published the following year, and which thrust him onto the national stage of reform. As with Bucer and others, he advised Cranmer on how to reform the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*. The city of Oxford, however, also became the center

of apparent Catholic victories against the Reformation movement. Among other things, it was there that Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley were burned at the stake for their evangelical beliefs, on October 16, 1555, during the reign of "bloody Mary." The following year, the deposed Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, was also burned at the stake on March 21, 1556, for his doctrinal deviation from the Roman Catholic church. To the unbelieving eye, the deaths of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer were victories for the Roman Catholic church and significant setbacks for the Reformation in the British Isles and on the Continent. And yet their deaths lit such a flame in England that still burns bright to this day. In both Oxford and Cambridge, vibrant evangelical churches exist today— Anglican, Presbyterian, and Free Evangelical. Moreover, across the Anglophone world, the gospel Cranmer came to embrace and defend, even unto his death, is still communicated weekly through the liturgical rhythms of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

This book—Reformation Worship—stands in the same tradition as these Reformers and their work. Providentially, it arose from the same two university cities of Cambridge and Oxford, in which the Reformation in England began to make inroads. In January 2016, one editor (Jonathan) enjoyed a writing leave from Cambridge Presbyterian Church, during which he worked on developing liturgical resources for his denomination, the International Presbyterian Church (UK). As he hunted down old prayers to be reworked for the modern church, he happened upon a treasure-trove of Reformation liturgies made accessible through Charles W. Baird's Eutaxia, or The Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches (1855) and Bard Thompson's Liturgies of the Western Church (1961). Around the same time, the other editor (Mark) was pursuing doctoral research at the University of Oxford into John Ponet (1516-1556), formerly chaplain to Thomas Cranmer and then Bishop of Winchester, and afterward most senior English Reformer among the Marian exiles. Providentially, Mark stumbled across a treasure-trove of personal books owned by various English Reformers. He was soon buried in early modern rare books and incunabula, rustling through pages of theological and liturgical literature from the Reformation. It became obvious that our interests were dovetailing, and so we set Preface xxiii

about finding a way to collate a select number of Reformation liturgies and make them accessible to the modern church. Two years later, you now hold in your hands the fruit of the Lord's providence.

This book aims to recover and reaffirm the significant part that worship played in the Magisterial Reformation, both for the Reformers and for their churches. In many ways, the book builds upon the seminal works of Charles W. Baird and Bard Thompson in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively. However, it goes beyond these important liturgical projects in a number of ways: first, this book has collated a more comprehensive list of liturgies of the Reformation church (26 in all¹); second, each liturgy in this book has been newly translated or modernized; third, fresh historical analysis into the origins and histories behind these liturgies has yielded some new insights; and finally, some liturgies which had previously remained in their original German, French, Dutch, Latin, and early modern English, have now been made available to the modern Anglophone world. These include: Johannes Oecolampadius's The Testament of Jesus Christ (1523), Diebold Schwarz's German Mass (1524), Heinrich Bullinger's Christian Order and Custom (1535), Martin Micronius's Christian Ordinances (1554), the first critical edition of John Calvin's Form of Ecclesiastical Prayers (1566), Johann Bugenhagen and Peter Palladius's Danish Church Order (1537), John à Lasco's Form and Method (c. 1550; printed 1555),2 Ludwig Lavater's Short Work on Rites and Regulations (1559), Miles Coverdale's Order of the Church in Denmark (1548), Thomas Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer (1549, 1552), John Knox's Practice of the Lord's Supper (1550), Form of Prayers (1556), Book of Common Order (1564), and the English Puritans' *Middelburg Liturgy* (1586). In translating the liturgies contained in this book, we have adhered to one basic principle: to provide a translation of liturgical texts that faithfully renders the original meaning, but in the English language and punctuation of

^{1.} Counting Calvin's Strassburg and Genevan liturgies as two liturgies.

^{2.} Bryan Spinks presents D. G. Lane's translation of a portion of John à Lasco's Form and Method in From the Lord and "The Best Reformed Churches": A Study of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the English Puritan and Separatist Traditions, 1550–1633 (Roma: C. L. V. –Edizioni liturgiche, 1984), 157–76. Our translation covers this portion, but significantly expands it to include other material, such as the preparatory service, and theological rationale for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

the twenty-first century that is easy on the modern eye and ear, and conducive to the modern mind. We have also made some formatting adjustments to headings and rubrics where it was deemed necessary.

Given our Christian ministry in the two cities of Cambridge and Oxford, respectively, this book has taken on significance for each of us beyond a merely academic interest. Before we are academics, we are Christian ministers: the one, a Presbyterian minister, ordained in the International Presbyterian Church (UK), and who served as Associate Minister at Cambridge Presbyterian Church (England); the other, an Anglican minister ordained in the Anglican Church of Australia (Diocese of Sydney), and who served as Assistant Minister at Toongabbie Anglican Church (Sydney), and now at present occasionally leads worship and preaches in Oxfordshire while pursuing doctoral studies. As ministers of Christ, we take seriously our ordination vows, which included preparing and conducting services of Word and Sacrament. It is one of the things that we miss most from the routine of weekly church ministry, having both moved into more academic settings for the time being.

Throughout this project, it has been our great privilege not only to research the public worship services crafted by the Magisterial Reformers, but also to feel as if we have experienced Christian worship as led by them in each of their churches. We have had an interest in the lives and theology of these great men for many years, but reading their liturgies (and especially their prayers) have made us feel far more connected to them than any biography or doctrinal treatise has ever done. It is our prayer that the modern reader will experience the same, as they immerse themselves in liturgies penned just under five hundred years ago, but whose structure, language, and rhythm continue effectively to communicate the gospel in Word and Sacrament even today. We hope that these liturgies will not only be read privately (and devotionally), but that they will once again be practiced publicly in Christ's Church (if not as whole or adapted services, at least in part by influence). Ultimately, we pray that the reader will experience what John Calvin described to be the purpose of all church worship: "To what end

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is the preaching of the Word, the Sacraments, the holy congregations themselves, and indeed the whole external government of the church, except that we may be united to God?"³ Amen.

Soli Deo Gloria Jonathan Gibson, Glenside Mark Earngey, Oxford

Michaelmas, 2017 500th Anniversary of the Reformation

^{3.} John Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, CO 31:248: "Quorsum enim verbi praedicatio, sacramenta, sacri ipsi conventus, totumque externum ecclesiae regimen, nisi ut nos Deo coniungant?" (CO stands for *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss, 59 vols [1863–1900]; also published as vols 29–87 of *Corpus Reformatorum*).

Contributors

Editors

Jonathan Gibson (PhD, Cambridge) is ordained in the International Presbyterian Church, UK, and is Assistant Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Previously, he served as Associate Minister at Cambridge Presbyterian Church, England. He studied theology at Moore Theological College, Sydney, and then completed a PhD in Hebrew Studies, at Girton College, Cambridge. He is contributor to and coeditor with David Gibson of From Heaven He Came and Sought Her: Definite Atonement in Historical, Biblical, Theological, and Pastoral Perspective (Crossway, 2013), as well as author of historical and biblical articles in Themelios, Journal of Biblical Literature, Tyndale Bulletin, and "Obadiah" in the NIV Proclamation Bible. His PhD dissertation was published as Covenant Continuity and Fidelity: A Study of Inner-Biblical Allusion and Exegesis in Malachi (Bloomsbury, 2016). He is married to Jacqueline, and they have two children: Benjamin and Leila.

Mark Earngey (DPhil candidate, Oxford) is ordained in the Anglican Church of Australia (Diocese of Sydney) and is currently a doctoral candidate in historical theology at Wycliffe Hall, University of Oxford. His dissertation, "New Light on the Life and Theology

of Bishop John Ponet (1516–1556)," aims to bring significant new manuscript evidence to bear upon one of the leading, but highly neglected, theologians of the early English Reformation. Previously, he served as Assistant Minister at Toongabbie Anglican Church, Sydney. He studied theology at Moore Theological College, Sydney, and has completed an MPhil. in Theology (Ecclesiastical History) at the University of Oxford. He is married to Tanya, and they have three children: Grace, Simeon, and Sophia.

English Modernizations

Miles Coverdale, Order of the Church in Denmark (1548) Thomas Cranmer, Book of Common Prayer (1549) Thomas Cranmer, Book of Common Prayer (1552) Thomas Cranmer, Collects (1552) John Knox, Practice of the Lord's Supper (1550) John Knox, Form of Prayers (1556) John Knox, Book of Church Order (1564) English Puritans, Middelburg Liturgy (1586)

German and Dutch Translator

Matthias Mangold (PhD candidate, Leuven) studied theology first in Basel (Switzerland) and then in Leuven (Belgium), where he graduated with an MA in Theology and Religious Studies in 2013. Since then, he has been conducting PhD research in early modern theology at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit (ETF), Leuven. His project on the Dutch theologian Salomon van Til (1643–1713) is related to the Institute of Post-Reformation Studies (IPRS) at the ETF, where he currently works as a Research Assistant in Historical Theology as well as the Coordinator of its Open University program. Together with the other members of the international research group "Classic Reformed Theology," he is involved in the publication of a new, bilingual edition of the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae* (1625), a seminal treatise of Reformed Scholasticism.

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German Translations

Martin Luther, German Mass (1526)
Johannes Oecolampadius, The Testament of Jesus Christ (1523)
Johannes Oecolampadius, Form and Manner (1526)
Diebold Schwarz, German Mass (1524)
Huldrych Zwingli, Act or Custom of the Supper (1525)
Huldrych Zwingli, Form of Prayer (1525)
Heinrich Bullinger, Christian Order and Custom (1535)
Martin Bucer, Church Practices (1539)
Zacharias Ursinus, et al., Palatinate Church Order (1563)

Dutch Translations

Martin Micronius, *Christian Ordinances* (1554) Peter Dathenus, *Psalms of David* (1567)

French Translator

Bernard Aubert (PhD, Westminster Theological Seminary) is Managing Editor of *Unio cum Christo*—an international journal based at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, and International Reformed Evangelical Seminary, Jakarta—and a visiting lecturer in New Testament studies at Farel Faculté de Théologie Réformée, Montréal, Canada. He studied theology at the Faculté Jean Calvin, Aix-en-Provence, and then completed a PhD in hermeneutics and New Testament at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. He is the author of *The Shepherd-Flock Motif in the Miletus Discourse (Acts 20:17–38) against Its Historical Background* (Peter Lang, 2009), and a contributor to *Thy Word Is Still Truth: Essential Writings on the Doctrine of Scripture from the Reformation to Today* (P&R Publishing, 2013). He is married to Annette, and they have one son: Pascal.

French Translations

Guillaume Farel, *The Manner and Way* (1533) John Calvin, *Form of Ecclesiastical Prayers* (1545, 1542, 1566)

Latin Translator

Michael Hunter (MSt, Oxford) is an MDiv student and Teaching Assistant at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. He studied Greek and Philosophy at Wake Forest University as an undergraduate, and in 2015 received his MSt in Greek and Latin Languages and Literature from the University of Oxford.

Latin Translations

Martin Luther, Form of the Mass (1523) Ludwig Lavater, Short Work on Rites and Regulations (1559) Johann Bugenhagen and Peter Palladius, Danish Church Order (1537) John à Lasco, Form and Method (1555)

Musician

Joseph Waggoner (BMus, Bob Jones University) is Director of Music Education for Tenth Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He conducts the Jubilate Choir and High School Advanced Ensembles for Sola Gratia Musicians, a homeschool choir in Hatfield, Pennsylvania. As a Suzuki voice teacher, he teaches at the Community Music Program for Moravian College as well as his own private studio. He is the chairman of the music committee at Calvary Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Glenside, Pennsylvania. Joseph received a Bachelor of Music in Church Music with a proficiency in Voice. He has continued his vocal studies with Mary Hofer at the University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point, and the Hartt School of Music at the University of Hartford. He has also completed continuing education at Westminster Choir College and West Chester University. He lives in Wyncote, Pennsylvania, with his wife, Rebekah, and their three children: Katherine, Titus, and Micah.

Notated

Martin Luther, German Mass (1526)

Conventions

Conventions for Capitalization

Concerning capitalization, we have not capitalized divine pronouns, but we have capitalized Word (Scripture) and Sacrament (Lord's Supper/Communion/Eucharist and Mass), to show their significance for public worship. We have capitalized other prominent liturgical terms to reflect their importance in worship during and after the Reformation, such as the Decalogue/Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed/Confession of Faith (Apostles' or Nicene); we have maintained capitalization for the various offices, such Matins/Morning Prayer and Vespers/Evensong/Evening Prayer. All other "elements" of public worship we have kept lower case, including services of public worship. The definitions of liturgical elements are contained in our Glossary of Liturgical Terms. We have used Church for the universal Church, and church for any regional or theological descriptors of churches (e.g., Lutheran, Zürich, Genevan, Roman Catholic), or the local church. Reformation denotes the historical event that occurred in Europe in the sixteenth century, while reformation is used in a more general sense. Gospel stands for one of the four Gospels in the Scriptures, whereas gospel means the good news message of salvation. We have not capitalized other ecclesiological terms (e.g., the offices of archbishop, bishop, priest, minister, pastor, deacon, clerk, servants, papacy, antichrist, etc.). The decisions are somewhat arbitrary, but

the principle of prominence is hopefully consistent with the Reformation focus of the book.

Conventions for Names

We have attempted to use the modern English names for places, but have aimed where possible to maintain their original spelling, only where it better reflects the sixteenth-century population, and where the English reader would not be hindered (e.g., Strassburg not Strasbourg; Zürich not Zurich; Middelburg not Middelburgh or Middleburgh; Grossmünster not Großmünster). We have assigned personal names to individuals according to their birth language, except for the case of major figures who have more customary forms (e.g., Martin Luther, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, Peter Dathenus). Other individuals adopted Latinized names, or cod-Greek names from their place of origin, which we have presented in line with generally accepted forms within Anglophone scholarship (e.g., Johannes Oecolampadius for Johann Hussgen; Zacharias Ursinus for Zacharias Baer; and John à Lasco for Jan Łaski or Johannes à Lasco).

In several continental liturgies (Luther's *German Mass*, Calvin's *Form of Ecclesiastical Prayers*, Knox's *Form of Prayers* and *Book of Common Order*, Ursinus et al.'s *Palatinate Church Order*, Dathenus's *Psalms of David*, and the *Middelburg Liturgy* of the English Puritans), there are prayers that refer to opposition or persecution from the "Turks." This is an historical reference to the Ottoman wars (or, Turkish wars) in early modern Europe, and so the original designation has been retained.

Conventions for Liturgical Titles

There are three lengths of liturgical titles used in this book. *The full title in the original language*, along with the source text, can be found in the bibliography. *The full English title* is used for the title of the liturgy itself. *An abbreviated title* of each liturgy is used in Table of Contents, chapter title pages, and the main text. The Table of Full and Abbreviated English Titles overleaf will help to orient the reader.

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Table of Full and Abbreviated English Titles

Author	Date	Full Title	Abbreviated Title
Martin Luther	1523	Form of the Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg	Form of the Mass
	1526	German Mass and Order of God's Service: Adopted in Wittenberg	German Mass
Johannes Oecolampadius	1523	The Testament of Jesus Christ Which Has Previously Been Called the Mass, Translated into German by Johannes Oecolampadius, Preacher in Adelnburg, for the Benefit of All Evangelicals	The Testament of Jesus Christ
	1526	Form and Manner of the Lord's Supper, Infant Baptism, and the Visitation of the Sick as They Are Used and Held in Basel	Form and Manner
Diebold Schwarz	1524	German Mass	German Mass
Huldrych Zwingli	1525	Act or Custom of the Supper, Remembrance or Thanksgiving of Christ, as Will Be Initiated in Zürich at Easter in the Year 1525	Act or Custom of the Supper
	1525	A Form of Prayer According to Paul's Teaching in 1 Tim 2, Which Is Now Used in Zürich at the Beginning of the Sermon	Form of Prayer
Guillaume Farel	1533	The Manner and Way Observed in the Places That God Has Visited by His Grace: First Liturgy of the Reformed Churches of France	The Manner and Way
Heinrich Bullinger	1535	Christian Order and Custom of the Church in Zürich	Christian Order and Custom
Ludwig Lavater	1559	A Short Work on the Rites and Regulations of the Zürich Church	Short Work on Rites and Regulations
Johann Bugenhagen and Peter Palladius	1537	Ecclesiastical Ordinance of the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway and the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, etc.	Danish Church Order
Miles Coverdale	1548	The Order That the Church and Congregation of Christ in Denmark, and in Many Places, Countries and Cities in Germany Do Use, Not Only at the Holy Supper of the Lord, but Also at the Ministration of the Blessed Sacrament of Baptism and Holy Wedlock	Order of the Church in Denmark
Martin Bucer	1539	Psalter with All Church Practices	Church Practices

Author	Date	Full Title	Abbreviated Title
John Calvin	1545 1542 1566	The Form of Ecclesiastical Prayers and Songs	Form of Ecclesiastical Prayers
Thomas Cranmer	1549 1552 1552	The Book of Common Prayer and the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: After the Use of the Church of England The Book of Common Prayer and the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England The Collects to Be Used at the Celebration	Book of Common Prayer (1549) Book of Common Prayer (1552) Collects (1552)
John à Lasco	1555	of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion The Complete Form and Method of Ecclesiastical Ministry, in the Strangers' Church, Especially in the Dutch Church: Established in London, England, by the Most Pious Prince of England, etc., King Edward VI: In the Year after Christ Was Born 1550. With the Privilege of His Majesty Added to the End of the Book	Form and Method
Martin Micronius	1554	The Christian Ordinances of the Dutch Church of Christ Which Was Established in the Year 1550 in London by the Christian Prince, King Edward VI	Christian Ordinances
John Knox	1550	The Practice of the Lord's Supper Used in Berwick-Upon-Tweed by John Knox, Preacher to That Congregation in the Church There	Practice of the Lord's Supper
	1556	The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., Used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and Approved by the Famous and Godly Learned Man, John Calvin	Form of Prayers
	1564	The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacrament, etc., Used in the English Church at Geneva, Received and Approved by the Church of Scotland	Book of Common Order
Zacharias Ursinus, et al.	1563	Palatinate Church Order	Palatinate Church Order
Peter Dathenus	1567	The Psalms of David and Other Hymns Translated from French into Dutch	Psalms of David
The English Puritans of Middelburg	1586	A Book of the Form of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, etc., Agreeable to God's Word, and the Use of the Reformed Churches	Middelburg Liturgy

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English Titles for Latin Chants

Agnus Dei "Lamb of God"

Alleluia "Hallelujah"

Benedicamus Domino "Let Us Bless the Lord"

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel "Blessed Be the Lord, the God of Israel"

Benedicite Omnia Opera Domini Domino "O, All You Works of the Lord, Bless the Lord"

Benedictus "Blessed"

Cantate Domino "O Sing to the Lord"

Deus Misereatur "May God Have Mercy"

Gloria in Excelsis, Et in

Terra Pax

"Glory in the Highest, and on Earth Peace"

Grates Nunc Omnes "Let Us All Now Give Thanks"

Halelujah"

Jubilate Deo "Shout Joyfully to God"

Kyrie Eleison/Eleyson "Lord, Have Mercy"

Magnificat Anima Mea

Dominum

"My Soul Does Magnify the Lord"

Nunc Dimittis Seruum

Tuum

"Now Let Your Servant Depart in Peace"

Pater Noster "Our Father"

Sanctus "Holy"

Sancti Spiritus "Of the Holy Spirit"

Te Deum Laudamus "We Praise You, God"

Veni Creator Spiritus "Come, Creator Spirit"

Venite Exultemus "Come, Let Us Exult"

Veni Sancte Spiritus "Come, Holy Spirit"

Victimae Paschali

Laudes

"Praises to the Paschal Victim"

English Terms for Latin Terms

Capitulum Chapter

Catechumenos Catechumen
Communio Communion

Complenda Post-Communion

Deo Gratias "Thanks be to God"

Dominus vobiscum "The Lord be with you"

Homilia Homily

Introitus Opening (of the Eucharist)

Ite Missa "Go, it is dismissed"

Loci communes Common Places

Offertorium Offertory

Oratio Prayer

Oremus "Let us pray"

Quicumque Vult "Whoever wishes" (opening words of

Athanasian Creed)

Sursum Corda "Lift up your hearts"

Votum Prayer

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Glossary of Liturgical Terms

Absolution Ministerial declaration of the forgiveness of

sins through the gospel (Protestant); formal remission of sin through the authority of the

priest (Roman Catholic).

Advent The season of preparation for the coming of

Christ in the period before Christmas.

Alb White linen vestment the length of a cassock.

Prohibited for use during Holy Communion in

the Book of Common Prayer (1552).

Almsgiving Offering for the poor.

Anamnesis Liturgical statement recalling the passion,

resurrection, and ascension of Christ.

Ante-Communion Liturgy of the Word extracted from the

complete service of the Word and Sacrament,

and used in isolation.

Antiphon Verse sung by one group in response to another.

Benediction/Blessing Pronouncement of a blessing.

Breviary Book containing the daily offices, reformed or

rejected by the churches of the Reformation.

Calendar Table displaying liturgical information about

the year (festivals, readings, Collects, etc.).

Canon (1) Standard or Rule; (2) The name designated

for the section of the Roman Mass leading into

Communion.

Canticle Song or hymn.

Catechism Questions and answers for learning key tenets

of the Christian Faith.

Cauda Latin, "tail" (English, "coda"). A melodic

section of music in polyphonic conductus.

Occurs at the end of a musical piece.

Chasuble Sleeveless outer vestment worn by the minister

officiating the Mass.

Collect Short prayer for a single or few purposes.

Communion The Lord's Supper; Holy Communion.

Complenda Post-Communion prayer used in the Mass.

Rejected in Martin Luther's Form of the Mass

(1523) due to its sacrificial meaning.

Compline Final Office of prayer in the breviary. Merged

with Vespers by Cranmer to form the Office of

Evening Prayer.

Confession Prayer of repentance for sin.

Confiteor Introduces a prayer of confession ("I confess").

Consecration Setting apart or sanctifying of bread and wine

during the service of the Lord's Supper.

Cope Cloak-like vestment fastened around the breast

with a band or clasp. Prohibited for use during Holy Communion in the *Book of Common*

Prayer (1552).

Creed (1) Apostles' Creed; (2) Nicene Creed;

(3) Athanasian Creed.

Elements (1) Bread and wine used in the Lord's Supper;

(2) Stages of the order of worship.

Elevation of host/cup Lifting of the bread or cup in the Mass/Lord's

Supper.

Epiclesis Part of the prayer of consecration where

the Holy Spirit is called upon to bless the elements, or in some cases the congregation (e.g., the liturgies of à Lasco and Dathenus).

Eucharist Synonymous with the rite of the Lord's

Supper, Holy Communion (from Greek

εὐχαριστία, "thanksgiving").

Exercitation Practice, often of musical tunes.

Exhortation Earnest admonishment.

God's board Table used for the Lord's Supper.

Gradual Hymn or chant of Scripture (usually from

the Psalms). Luther's Form of the Mass (1523)

suggested only two verses.

Homily Sermon.

Hours Liturgy of the Hours is another name for the

Breviary.

Introit (Introitus) Entrance hymn (at celebration of Holy

Communion).

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Lavabo Washing of hands before the Mass.

Lent Period of forty days from Ash Wednesday to

Easter Eve. Observed as a time of fasting and repentance in preparation for the celebration

of Easter.

Lesson Reading of Scripture during worship.

Lord's Prayer Congregational recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

Matins Morning Prayer.

Nocturne Collection of psalms, and other lessons from

the Bible or church fathers, and considered

part of Matins/Morning Prayer.

Offertory Collection of money in the service.

Office (1) Authorized form of service; (2) Daily

service of the breviary.

Order (1) Form of liturgical service; (2) General

sequence within a form of liturgical service.

Also called a rite.

Ordinal (1) Pre-Reformation book containing forms of

service; (2) The forms of service for ordination of deacons and priests, and the consecration of

bishops in the Church of England.

Pardon Similar to absolution: an assurance of the

forgiveness of sins.

Paten Small plate used to hold the eucharistic bread.

Post-Communion (1) Antiphonally sung section of a psalm

in the Sarum rite; (2) Liturgy used after the

Communion.

Postil Collection of sermons on the annual cycle of

lectionary readings.

Prayer for illumination Prayer before the reading of Scripture or

sermon.

Preface Prayers at the beginning of the Canon or

central part of the liturgy for the Lord's Supper. Generally begins with the *Sursum*

Corda and ends with the Sanctus.

Quier Or, "choir." Architectural term for the area of

the church in which clergy and choir (singers)

are traditionally seated.

Quinquagesima The Seventh Sunday before Easter; Sunday

before Lent.

Responsory Canticle or psalm with verses and refrains

sung responsively between differing groups

(e.g., between cantor and choir).

Rite Another term for order or form of liturgical

service.

Rochet White clerical vestment, similar to a surplice

worn by bishops and cardinals. Worn with a chimere by Church of England (and modern

Anglican) bishops.

Rubric Direction for the conduct of the service written

in liturgical books, often signaled by the

symbol ¶.

Secret Prayer said by the priest in a low voice.

Septuagesima The Ninth Sunday before Easter; Third Sunday

before Lent.

Sermon (1) Oration based on the Scriptures and

delivered by the minister; (2) Whole service of

the Word, by way of pars pro toto.

Sexagesima The Eighth Sunday before Easter; Second

Sunday before Lent.

Surplice White linen vestment with long sleeves which

sometimes reaches the feet, worn over a

cassock.

Tunicle Vestments worn by a subdeacon (1549 BCP,

"tunacles").

Vespers Evening Prayer.

Vestment Clothing worn by minister or choristers during

divine worship.

Whitsunday Festival of Pentecost.

Words of Consecration Form of words used for the consecration of

elements in the Lord's Supper.

Words of Institution Form of words which recounts Christ's

institution (establishment) of the Sacrament of

the Lord's Supper.

CHAPTER 1

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Worship On Earth as It Is in Heaven

Jonathan Gibson

Worship On Earth as It Is in Heaven Jonathan Gibson

Lit·ur·gy | λειτουργία | Worship

Worship is the right, fitting, and delightful response of moral beings—angelic and human—to God the Creator, Redeemer, and Consummator, for who he is as one eternal God in three persons—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and for what he has done in creation and redemption, and for what he will do in the coming consummation, to whom be all praise and glory, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

Introduction

Since the beginning of time, there has been worship—in heaven and on earth. In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, he created angelic beings to sound forth his praise through the courts of heaven. Day and night, seraphim flew before God in the heavens, singing, "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD God of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory!" (Isa. 6:3); angelic creatures flew before him, calling to one another, "Holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!" (Rev. 4:8); the twenty-four angelic elders fell down before him, casting down their crowns, saying, "Worthy are you, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created" (Rev. 4:11). In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, he created the expansive skies and placed the sun, moon, and stars in them to sound forth his praise across every land and sea under the heavens. Day and night, the voices of God's choral trio were heard throughout the earth, declaring the glory of God (Ps. 19:1-4). "Praise him, sun and moon, praise him, all you shining stars" (Ps. 148:3). In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the

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earth, he created human beings, made in his image and likeness, to reflect his glory and sound forth his praise across the whole earth. From the rising of the sun to its setting, the Lord's name was to be praised (Ps. 113:3):

Ascribe to the LORD, O families of the peoples, ascribe to the LORD glory and strength! Ascribe to the LORD the glory due his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts! Worship the LORD in the splendor of holiness; tremble before him, all the earth! (Ps. 96:7–9).

Worship in Eden

The beginning of creation was the beginning of worship in heaven and on earth—by angelic beings, by the created order, and by the first couple of mankind. However, in the unfolding revelation of God in history, the first explicit call to worship was made to Adam. Created from the dust of the earth as a man, yet made in the image of God as his son, Adam was placed in the garden-temple of Eden as God's prophet-priest-king to work and keep it. As prophet, he was to speak God's word to God's world; as priest, he was to guard God's divine sanctuary and mediate God's blessing to God's world; as king, he was to rule God's world. As God's son—and in his specific roles of prophet, priest, and king-Adam was called to worship God through his word: "And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, 'You may surely eat of every tree of the garden, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die" (Gen. 2:16-17). It was a call to adore and acknowledge the goodness and greatness of God. His goodness was seen in the invitation to eat from every tree of the garden, trees that were pleasant to the eye and good for food; his greatness was seen in the prohibition to eat from one tree, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—a sign that God alone was God, and man was to have no other gods before him. In sum, it was a command to know God and enjoy him forever.

The call to worship came to Adam in the context of a covenant, in which life was promised to him and through him to all his descendants, upon the condition of his personal and perfect obedience (cf. WCF 7.2). This call to worship within a life-and-death bond distinguished Adam from the animal kingdom: He was not only unique as an image-bearer of God's glory; he was unique as a heaven-bound homo liturgicus. God's call to worship within this covenant of life was expected to elicit in Adam a response of faith and obedience, love and devotion, with heart and mind and strength. Adam's reward for such a response was to be a fellowship meal with God at the tree of life. Adam was commanded to fast from one tree in order that he might feast at another tree, and thus enjoy consummate union and communion with God-everlasting life. And so, for Adam and all his descendants, a liturgy was fixed, stitched into the very order and fabric of human life on earth: call—response—meal:

Call to worship (through God's Word)
Response (by faith and obedience, love and devotion)
Fellowship meal (union and communion with God)

In short, worship in Eden was familial, covenantal communion with God, through his word and sacrament.

Idolatry in Eden

This singular invitation to worship was soon muted when Adam allowed the serpent—that craftiest of creatures—to enter the garden-temple. Through Eve, the serpent presented Adam with an alternative liturgy. He called Eve (and through her, Adam) to abandon the call of God and follow his call: to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and become like God. It was an invitation to act in unbelief and disobedience toward God, but in faith and obedience toward the devil—to bow down and worship the creature instead of the Creator. The one who had abandoned the worship of God in heaven—angelic Lucifer himself—had come to spoil the worship of God on earth. In careless and sinful rebellion,

Adam followed the lead of his wife and obeyed the voice of the serpent, eating from the forbidden tree. He abandoned his probationary fast, disobeyed the voice of his God, and bowed down to the serpent. Since evil and error are always parasitic on goodness and truth, the worship of the serpent became a counterfeit worship of God. Adam and all his descendants remained in the same state: homo liturgicus. The liturgical structure for humanity remained the same: call—response—meal. But the object of worship had changed. God had been dethroned in the heart of man, and the devil had been enthroned. The worship of the Creator had been exchanged for the worship of the creature. An alternative liturgy—idolatry—had been introduced into the world and would remain the liturgical disposition of all Adam's descendants.

Worship through Sacrifice

Yet God is too great and good and glorious to forego the right, fitting, and delightful adoration that is due him from his creatures angelic and human. And so, in heaven, he removed the wicked Lucifer (cf. Luke 10:18), in order to preserve a devoted and faithful angelic choir for his own praise. On earth, God made another covenant with man-the covenant of grace. In Genesis 3:15, God promised another son who would come and crush the serpent, and, by implication, restore—and perfect—the worship to which he had first called Adam in the beginning. The covenant of grace became the context in which God would relate to his elect people from the offspring of the woman. God's first act in this new gracious arrangement was to clothe Adam and Eve with garments of skin, which implied an animal had been slain. An innocent victim had to die in the place of the guilty pair, so that they could remain, even temporarily, in the presence of God. The idea of sacrifice as a prerequisite for being in the presence of a holy God, whatever the duration, would become essential for all future worship of the chosen seed. Indeed, for there to be a permanent restoration of God's people living in God's presence, worshiping him and communing with him, a future son of the woman would have to undergo the flaming sword of God's judgment—in effect, experience death and

resurrection—in order to lead the offspring of the woman back into the presence of God, so that they could eat from the tree of life.

However, until that permanent arrangement would be realized through the promised son, animal sacrifice would become an essential part of worship in the covenant of grace. The mention of descendants of Eve "calling upon the name of the LORD" after the birth of Seth (Gen. 4:26) demonstrated that the dawning of a new era of worship, east of Eden, had begun. As redemptive history unfolded, sacrifices began to play an important part in the lives of the chosen seed. Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob responded to God's call (word) in faith and obedience, and offered sacrifices to God. The centrality of sacrifice to the worship of God under this new dispensation of grace was also seen in the life of God's national (typical) son Israel, where the sacrificial system became foundational to their cultic practices. Indeed, the purpose of the Exodus and the Tabernacle building at Sinai is described in terms of the sacrificial worship of God's son. In Egypt, God commanded Pharaoh to let his son go, so that his son might "serve" him (Exod. 3:12; 4:23; 10:7–11) and "sacrifice" to him (Exod. 3:18; 5:1). Worship by sacrifice in the Holy of Holies reached its climax under King Solomon, God's royal (typical) son. In his "dedication service" for the temple on Mount Zion, Solomon offered an incalculable number of sheep and oxen (cf. 2 Chron. 5:6), as he led Israel in worship in the Holy of Holies.

Worship at Eden, Sinai, and Zion

The Old Testament story, then, presents three "mountain peaks" of worship, in which God's son was called to worship: Adam on Mount Eden, Israel at Mount Sinai, and Solomon on Mount Zion. In each worship setting, the liturgical order is organically developed. For example, as Israel gathered at Mount Sinai, after being redeemed and rescued out of slavery in Egypt, a liturgy was formed that became the basic pattern for Israel's worship in the future. The liturgy reflected the structure of worship in Eden, of call—response—meal; only now it included cleansing through sacrifice and mediated access through a prophet-priest as essential elements. Exodus 19–24 reveals the following pattern for Israel's worship:

Gathering (at Mount Sinai) (19:1–3a)

Calling (by God's Word) (19:3b–9)

Cleansing (through sacrifice) (19:10–15)

Mediated access (through an appointed prophet-priest) (19:16–25)

Divine communication (Ten Commandments and Book of

Covenant) (20:1–24:2)

Consecration (promise of obedience) (24:3)

Sacrifice (burnt offerings and peace offerings) (24:4–5)

Divine communication (Book of Covenant) (24:7)

Cleansing (blood of burnt offerings and peace offerings sprinkled) (24:6, 8)

Mediated access to God's presence (24:9-10)

Fellowship meal (with God) (24:11)

What was implicit in Eden, when God clothed Adam and Eve with animal skins, was now explicit at Sinai—sacrifice was essential to the worship of God. But a new element of prophetic-priestly intercession was also introduced. When Israel heard the voice of God at Sinai, they trembled with fear and asked Moses to intercede for them, lest they perish (Exod. 20:18–19). Thus prophetic-priestly mediation was established as a core element of worship within the covenant of grace (cf. Deut. 5:5).

A similar pattern to Exodus 19–24 is seen in 2 Chronicles 5–7, as Solomon gathered Israel for the dedication of the temple. Again, the key elements of sacrifice and prophetic-priestly intercession are present:

Gathering (at Mount Zion) (5:2–3)

Cleansing (through sacrifice) (5:4-6)

Mediated access (through priests) (5:7–10)

Praise (with singing and music) (5:11–13)

Glory of God fills the temple (5:14)

Divine communication (Word of God through Solomon) (6:1–11)

Prayer of intercession (by Solomon) (6:12-42)

Fire and glory (from heaven) (7:1-2)

Praise (bowing and thanking) (7:3)

Cleansing/consecration (through sacrifice) (7:4–7)

Meal (feast) (7:8–10) Blessing and dismissal (7:9–10)

This is how the Old Testament "worship service" organically developed, with God's national (typical) son Israel at Mount Sinai, and then with God's royal (typical) son Solomon at Mount Zion. Since grace restores nature, and with it worship, the general structure of worship in Eden remained: call—response—meal. But then, because of sin, new essential elements were incorporated into the worship of God's redeemed people within the covenant of grace: gathering, cleansing, mediated access, divine communication, cleansing/consecration. In each case, the new elements countered the effects of sin under the covenant of works: Gathering countered the "scattering" that had occurred in the expulsion from the garden-temple; cleansing by sacrifice, before and after hearing the Word, countered the staining of sin; mediated access countered the restricted access to God's presence, seen in the cherubim with flashing swords on the east side of Eden, and the angelic figures engraved on the curtain restricting entrance into the Holy of Holies in the tabernacle and the temple; divine communication countered the alternative calls to idolatry; and cleansing/consecration countered Israel's desertion of God that occurred through unbelief and disobedience. These elements remained essential parts of restored worship in the covenant of grace in the Old Testament.

Adam, Israel, and Solomon—Idolatrous Sons

The worship that began and failed with Adam was recovered with Israel and Solomon, at least in a partially realized sense. Although imperfect in many ways, the worship of Israel and Solomon was acceptable to God because it was their response within a gracious arrangement—the covenant of grace. Yet the worship of God, as originally intended in Eden and recovered by Israel and Solomon, was never perfected or fully realized in the national (typical) or royal (typical) sons. As with Adam, Israel and Solomon failed fully to realize the perfected worship of God.

No sooner had Israel worshiped God at Sinai and consecrated themselves to his service, than they broke the first and second commandments, committing idolatry. And despite God graciously renewing his covenant with them through the intercession of Moses, and warning them of the future dangers of idolatry as a result of intermarriage with foreigners, they lapsed into idolatry again on their journey to the Promised Land. At Peor, they whored with the daughters of Moab and sacrificed to their gods. At Sinai, God's son Israel had exchanged the worship of God (the Creator-Redeemer) for the worship of the golden calf (a creature-redeemer); at Peor, God's son Israel was led into idolatry by women—Adam *redivivus*.

Once Israel settled in the Promised Land, the potential for realizing permanent and perfect worship began to emerge in the early period of a united Israel. King David set the liturgical project in motion when he expressed a desire to build God a house for him to dwell in. Even though God denied him that desire, David nevertheless made provision for a temple near the end of his reign. He purchased the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite on Mount Moriah, built an altar on the site, and then called on the name of the Lord. After fire descended from heaven, consuming his sacrifice, David concluded: "Here shall be the house of the LORD God and here the altar of burnt offering for Israel" (1 Chron. 22:1). That vision, however, was never realized in David's time. Rather, it was Solomon who would complete the temple-building project that David had begun. As the heir of David's throne and the covenant promises, Solomon was the one of whom God had said to David, "I will be to him a father and he will be to me a son" (2 Sam. 7:14). As God's royal (typical) son, Solomon asked for wisdom to rule God's national (typical) son Israel. Where Adam had been unwise, Solomon prayed to be wise. God graciously answered Solomon's prayer and blessed him with wisdom. In addition to rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and his own palace, Solomon also built God a temple on Mount Moriah, where the Lord had appeared to David at the threshing floor (2 Chron. 3:1). Solomon's "dedication service" for the temple was the high point of Israel's worship on Mount Zion. The worship that had been revealed in Eden and typified in Sinai began to be realized in Zion. And yet it was not long before the worship of

God in Zion was corrupted by the royal son himself. Despite God's gracious gift of wisdom, Solomon was led into the foolishness of idolatry through the influence of women. The culmination of Solomon's idolatry was seen in the high places he built for Chemosh and Molech—the gods of Moab and Ammon, respectively. That he built them east of Jerusalem is of no small significance when the geography of Eden and the architecture of the temple are taken into consideration—Adam *redivivus*.

Irreversible Idolatry

From Solomon's reign on, not only did the kingdom split, but the divided nations of Israel and Judah began to spiral into an ever-deepening, and irreversible idolatry—one which would thrust them both into exile. In Israel, the idolatry began when Jeroboam established two alternative worship centers: one in Bethel in the south and the other in Dan in the north. In each, he placed a golden calf to be worshiped. He also built temples on high places in Bethel and Dan where sacrifices could be offered through a new (rival) priesthood. Despite God's gracious provision of prophets, calling Israel back from their evil ways, Israel would not listen, and in the end, God removed them from his presence (2 Kgs. 17:14–18).

Under Rehoboam, Judah fared no better. They provoked the Lord to jealousy with their own idolatrous worship. They built high places and pillars and Asherim on every available worship spot in the land, even instituting male cult prostitution. Despite liturgical reforms under King Hezekiah some years later, worship in Judah continued to spiral downward. Under King Manasseh, idolatry returned to Judah in full force:

For he rebuilt the high places that Hezekiah his father had destroyed, and he erected altars for Baal and made an Asherah, as Ahab king of Israel had done, and worshiped all the host of heaven and served them. And he built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord had said, "In Jerusalem will I put my name." And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the

LORD. And he burned his son as an offering and used fortune-telling and omens and dealt with mediums and with necromancers. He did much evil in the sight of the LORD, provoking him to anger. . . . Manasseh led them astray to do more evil than the nations had done whom the LORD destroyed before the people of Israel (2 Kgs. 21:3–6, 9).

Following Manasseh's reign, King Josiah repaired the temple and made significant moves toward liturgical reform. Indeed, he spared Israel from seeing trouble in his own lifetime. But, in the end, it was still not enough to stay the wrath of God. Under King Zedekiah, God's wrath fell upon Judah in the form of the Babylonian invasion and they were thrust from God's presence (2 Kgs. 24:20).

Thus, the history of God's national (typical) son Israel (united or divided) was one of recapitulating Adam's idolatry. As with Adam, Israel heard an alternative call to worship—a word of invitation from the Baals and Asherim—and they responded in faith and obedience to the created not the Creator; they feasted at the altars and high places of other gods and not at the temple of the one true God. And so, as with Adam, Israel and Judah's idolatry resulted in exile to the east.

Seventy years later, when Israel was relocated to the land and reaffirmed as God's son in covenant with him—with a fully functioning temple on Mount Zion—it soon became clear that the exile had not essentially changed Israel's heart. No sooner were they back in the land than they began to desecrate the Sabbath, pollute the cult with blemished sacrifices, and commit idolatry through intermarriage to foreigners (Neh. 13; Mal. 1:6–14). The heart change that Ezekiel had foretold in exile—in which God would give them a new heart, and put a new spirit in them, and cause them to walk in his ways (Ezek. 36:26–27)—had not yet materialized. That change would require God himself to come to his temple, the messenger of the covenant (of grace), to purify the sons of Levi and to restore right worship in Zion: "Then the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will be pleasing to the Lord as in the days of old and as in former years" (Mal. 3:4).

Jesus—The Perfect Worshiper

The Old Testament develops in such a way that we are left hoping for a son of God who will lead God's people in perfect worship before the one true God. That expectation is met in the coming of God's final (last-days) Son, Jesus Christ—the Last Adam, the true Israel, and the son of David. As God's Son, he fulfilled (and perfected) the threefold office of prophet, priest, and king.

At Jesus's birth, he was adopted by Joseph to be an heir in the royal line, becoming the "son of David." But it was at his baptism that he was confirmed by his Father to be his "beloved Son," with whom he was "well pleased" (Matt. 3:17). That affirmation— "beloved-and-well-pleasing Son"—required proof through testing, however. So the Spirit drove God's Son into the wilderness, where the ancient serpent (Satan) was allowed to test him, to see what was in his heart. Jesus's ministry began in the place where Adam's ended and where Israel's was tested—in the wilderness. There, God tested his final Son Jesus to see if he would worship him alone as Father and King. Jesus's victory over Satan's temptations to break his fast, to test God's presence, and to bow down and worship another "god" meant that here at last-in an epoch-defining moment—was a Son who worshiped God alone, with all his heart and mind and strength. Here was the true Prophet-Priest-King that Israel had been waiting for. Here was the perfect Worshiper.

Perfected Worship—Now . . .

While Jesus exhibited perfect worship as God's Son, the worship of God's people had not yet been perfected. For that to happen, a once-for-all, sufficient sacrifice for sin was needed, as well as a perfect High Priest who could enter God's presence in the Holy of Holies above and sit down, permanently to intercede for his people. As an unblemished sacrifice and a flawless High Priest, Jesus underwent the flaming sword of God's judgment in his death, and then, in his resurrection, he led the way back into the presence of God to the tree of life. In the final moment of his perfect, obedient life, as he breathed his final breath, the temple curtain was torn in

two, signifying the end of the old way of worship and the beginning of the new way of worship, in the real Holy of Holies above. "Now the point in what we are saying is this: we have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, a minister in the holy places, in the true tent that the Lord set up, not man" (Heb. 8:1–2, emphasis added). There, seated at his Father's right hand, Jesus conducts the worship of heaven; and from there, he purifies the worship of his church on earth:

Therefore, brothers, since we have confidence to enter the holy places by the blood of Jesus, by the new and living way that he opened for us through the curtain, that is, through his flesh, and since we have a great priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water (Heb. 10:19–22).

The writer to the Hebrews goes on to capture the significance of this worship-defining moment in redemptive history:

For you have not come to what may be touched, a blazing fire and darkness and gloom and a tempest and the sound of a trumpet and a voice whose words made the hearers beg that no further messages be spoken to them. For they could not endure the order that was given, "If even a beast touches the mountain, it shall be stoned." Indeed, so terrifying was the sight that Moses said, "I tremble with fear." But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of the righteous made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel. . . .

Therefore let us be grateful for receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, and thus let us offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe, for our God is a consuming fire (Heb. 12:18–24, 28–29).

And so, with pure hearts and clean consciences, as God's people we are now able to worship him acceptably; we are now able to hear his call to worship without being terrified by his voice; we are now able to assemble around the heavenly Mount Zion without the fear of being consumed by the blazing fire of his presence, for

[Christ] has hushed the law's loud thunder; He has quenched Mount Sinai's flame; He has washed us with his blood; He has brought us nigh to God.

(John Newton)¹

Perfected Worship—Now . . . but Not Yet

Through his ministry in the Holy of Holies, Jesus, God's final (last-days) Son, inaugurated the perfected worship of God on earth. As a result, our worship is purified and perfected in God's sight, in a way that the worship of Old Testament saints was not, for

Not all the blood of beasts
On Jewish altars slain
Could give the guilty conscience peace,
Or wash away the stain.

But Christ, the heavenly Lamb,
Takes all our sins away;
A sacrifice of nobler name
And richer blood than they.
(Isaac Watts)²

^{1. &}quot;Let Us Love and Sing and Wonder" (John Newton, 1774).

^{2. &}quot;Not All the Blood of Beasts" (Isaac Watts, 1709).

Even so, our worship is not yet fully realized in its glorified, consummate form in the new heavens and new earth. For now, we worship with many weaknesses and imperfections down here (cf. WCF 16.6), but then we will do so perfectly up there, where righteousness dwells (2 Pet. 3:13). For now, we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face; now we know in part, but then we shall fully know, even as we are fully known (1 Cor. 13:12). For now, as justified sons in the Son, we worship by faith; but then, as glorified sons in the Son, we will do so by sight. What that worship will look like was partially revealed in the beginning in the garden of Eden, and then typified at Sinai and Zion (cf. Heb. 8:5). But the fullest glimpse into that heavenly worship is left until John's vision in Revelation.

Worship in Heaven

The fact that the word "worship" is concentrated more in Revelation than in any other book (twenty-four times), and the fact that John receives his vision while he is in the Spirit on the Lord's Day, sets the liturgical tone for the book. Christ is presented to us as the Faithful Witness, the Firstborn of the dead and the Ruler of the kings of the earth; he is the First and the Last, the living One who was dead but now is alive forevermore. And as the Risen Christ, he now walks among his gathered churches (the seven lampstands) calling them to repentance for their sins (Rev. 2–3). After this, John is invited into the throne room of heaven to see God seated on his throne in all his glory (Rev. 4). The manifestation of his greatness recalls the theophany at Sinai-with lightning, thunder, and fire. God is worshiped there in heaven by angelic creatures who surround his throne and worship him for who he is in himself. Day and night, they never stop saying, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!" (Rev. 4:8). Twentyfour angelic elders also worship him for who he is as Creator, casting down their crowns, and saying, "Worthy are you, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created" (Rev. 4:11). But the praise of heaven is not reserved for God alone; it is also given to the Lion of Judah, the Lamb who was slain, for his

provision of a sin offering. The twenty-four elders fall before the Lamb as well as God, and sing a new song, saying:

"Worthy are you to take the scroll and to open its seals, for you were slain, and by your blood you ransomed people for God from every tribe and language and people and nation, and you have made them a kingdom and priests to our God, and they shall reign on the earth" (Rev. 5:9–10).

They are accompanied by innumerable angels, saying in a loud voice, "Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honor and glory and blessing!" (Rev. 5:12). And then angels and archangels, and the whole company of heaven and earth join together—every creature in heaven and on the earth and under the earth and in the sea—saying, "To him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honor and glory and might forever and ever!" (Rev. 5:14).

This symphony of praise for God's work in creation (Rev. 4) and the Lamb's work in redemption (Rev. 5) follows the call to worship and the call to repentance (Rev. 1–3). A recurring cycle of divine communication (God's Word) and human response (prayer and praise) then follows, punctuated with fire consuming the sacrifices or glory filling the temple (Rev. 6:1–19:5). The cycle is centered on the reading and proclamation of God's Word in the seven seals, the seven trumpets, the seven signs, the seven bowls; and then it climaxes with the fall of Satan's kingdom, seen in the fall of Babylon. The covenantal blessings and curses—for worshiper and idolater, respectively—result in two suppers: the Marriage Supper of the Lamb (for the saints) and the Great Supper of God (for sinners) (Rev. 19:6–10, 17–21). The former meal relates to the supper that Jesus said he would enjoy with his followers in his future kingdom (Mark 14:22–26).

As with worship in the Old Testament, the worship of God here in Revelation climaxes in communion with God over a meal, followed by an announcement of blessing for those who have worshiped God aright (Rev. 21–22). Faithful worshipers will receive the blessing of the new creation, in which the dwelling of God will

be with them, "and they will be his people and God himself will be their God" (Rev. 21:3). There will be no more tears or death or mourning or crying or pain, for the former things of a broken and fallen world will have passed away. There will be no temple in the city, for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb will be its temple; there will be no sun or moon to shine there, for the glory of God will give it light, and the Lamb will be its lamp. In the light of the Lamb will the nations walk, and the leaves of the tree of life will be for their healing. They will see God's face; his name will be on their foreheads; and they will reign with him forever and ever. And then, the benediction that was pronounced in the covenant of grace throughout redemptive history (Num. 6:24-26) will be perfected and realized in the heavenly Jerusalem: God's people will be blessed and kept; God's face will shine upon them and they will receive his grace; God's countenance will be lifted up upon them and they will experience, in its consummate form, his shalom.

Jerusalem the golden,
With milk and honey blest,
Beneath your contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppressed;
I know not, O, I know not
What joys await me there,
What radiancy of glory,
What bliss beyond compare!

O sweet and blessed country, The home of God's elect! O sweet and blessed country That eager hearts expect! In mercy, Jesus, bring us To that dear land of rest, Who are, with God the Father, And Spirit, ever blest.

(Bernard of Cluny)³

^{3. &}quot;Jerusalem the Golden" (Bernard of Cluny, twelfth century; trans. John M. Neale, 1858).

In the consummated worship of that "sweet and blessed country," the same general elements and structure of worship at Sinai and Zion will be present:

Gathering around Christ (the church on earth) (Rev. 1–3)

Call to worship (on earth and in heaven) (2–4)

Confession/Repentance (sin in Christ's churches exposed)

(2-3; 5:3-4)

Cleansing (the Lamb who was slain) (5:5–7)

Mediated access (the Lamb opens the scroll before God) (5:8)

Praise (by angels and the whole creation) (5:9–14)

Divine communication (God's Word opened and proclaimed in all the earth) (6:1–19:5)

Response: prayer (by the saints) (7:9–8:4; 11:15–18)

fire/glory (fills the temple) (8:5; 11:19; 15:5–8; 16:17–18)

praise (by the saints) (7:9–8:4; 19:1–5)

Meal (19:6-10)

Benediction (21-22)

At a macro level, the basic structure of worship in Eden is still present: call—response—meal. So too are the new elements of worship introduced in the covenant of grace, as seen in the Old Testament: gathering, cleansing, mediated access, divine communication, cleansing/consecration, and benediction. Thus the worship that was revealed in Eden, and then typified at Sinai and Zion (cf. Heb. 8:5), is finally perfected and realized in the heavenly Jerusalem. The three "mountain peaks" of worship in redemptive history find their complete perfection and ultimate realization in the heavenly Zion, where Christ is seated and reigning, and where the nations will gather to sing his praises.

Worship on Earth

In the meantime, the church is called to worship God on earth as he is in heaven, and to invite the nations to join in. Gentile worship was typified at Jesus's birth when the Magi came from the east (note the direction) to worship the King of the Jews (Matt. 2:2). But

the direct invitation to the nations to worship God's King was first sounded by the King himself. On one occasion, during his earthly ministry, Jesus met a Samaritan woman by a well. The woman had previously had five husbands, and the person with whom she was now living was not her husband. Jesus spoke to her not about wedlock, but about water and worship. He promised to give her water, which after drinking, she would never thirst again; and he called her to worship in spirit and truth, "for the Father is seeking such people to worship him" (John 4:23). And with such words stood before her the husband she had been looking for all her life. Here was the faithful Son who would satisfy his bride, and lead her in pure worship before the one true God. Jesus's invitation to the Samaritan woman pointed forward to what was to come.

After his ascension to his Father's right hand, Jesus sent his Spirit out into the world to woo a bride for himself from among the nations. God the Holy Spirit was sent to call sinners from every nation to renounce their idolatrous ways and to worship God the Father through his Son. That call to worship has been going out from Jerusalem since the Apostle Peter preached his first sermon at Pentecost (Acts 2), and it has been going out to the ends of the earth since the Apostle Paul began preaching to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46-48). For everyone who hears and responds to God's word of invitation, a benediction awaits: "Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they may have the right to the tree of life, and that they may enter the city by the gates" (Rev. 22:14). Repentant sinners will receive the blessing of cleansing for sin and unrestricted access to the tree of life. They will enter, not just a garden, like Eden, but a garden-city, better than Eden-in which flows a pure river of the water of life, gushing from the throne of God and of the Lamb. And so the Spirit and the bride say: "Come.' And let him who hears say, 'Come.' And let him who is thirsty come; let the one who desires take the water of life without price" (Rev. 22:17).

The mission of the Church, Christ's bride, is worship and witness: to worship the Triune God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and to witness to a lost world of what God has done in Christ as Creator and Redeemer, and what he will do in Christ as Consummator of all things. One day, the Church's witness in the present world will

cease, but her worship in the world to come will not. In the future new heavens and new earth, a great multitude that no one can number, from every nation, and from all tribes and peoples and languages, will stand before the throne and say, "Salvation belongs to our God who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb!" (Rev. 7:10). They will fall down on their faces and say, "Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen" (Rev. 7:12).

Worship Matters

The story of human history, from beginning to end, is the story of worship. This is because God has so structured his world that every person will worship through one of two men-Adam or Jesus Christ. The first man Adam was made homo liturgicus, and everyone bearing his image has inherited his fallen liturgical orientation toward idolatry. We are born worshiping the creature, not the Creator; we live our lives seeking salvation and satisfaction in pseudo-redeemers, not the Redeemer. We are a restless race, wandering "east," away from the divine sanctuary. But, through the Second Man Jesus Christ, we have the invitation to return and worship God aright in spirit and truth, in his presence. Through the incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ-the true Homo Liturgicus-God has opened a way back into his presence. Since the first son of God, Adam, through the national (typical) son of God, Israel, and the royal (typical) son of God, Solomon, to the final (last-days) Son of God, Jesus, and now the (redeemed) sons of God, the Church-God has been seeking a people to worship him. We are called to worship, and our hearts are restless until we respond to that call by faith and obedience, and come and feast on Christ: "[W]hoever comes to me shall not hunger, and whoever believes in me shall never thirst" (John 6:35). The consummate experience of this truth must await the final day when we will feast on, and with, the glorified Son of God himself, at the Wedding Supper of the Lamb. For now, it is right, fitting, and delightful to worship as God's redeemed people; then, it will be

right, fitting, and delightful to do so as God's glorified people. It is why worship matters now—because it will matter then, forever.

As It Is in Heaven

And so, as we gather each Lord's Day, between the now and not yet of God's kingdom, let us worship God for who is he, as one eternal God in three persons—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and for what he has done in creation and redemption, and for what he will do in the coming consummation. Let us worship God on earth as he is worshiped in heaven:

Praise the LORD!

Praise the LORD from the heavens;
praise him in the heights!

Praise him, all his angels;
praise him, all his hosts!

Praise him, sun and moon, praise him, all you shining stars! Praise him, you highest heavens, and you waters above the heavens!

Let them praise the name of the Lord! For he commanded and they were created. And he established them forever and ever; he gave a decree, and it shall not pass away.

Praise the LORD from the earth, You great sea creatures and all deeps, fire and hail, snow and mist, stormy wind fulfilling his word!

Mountains and all hills, fruit trees and all cedars! Beasts and all livestock, creeping things and flying birds! Kings of the earth and all peoples, princes and all rulers of the earth! Young men and maidens together, old men and children!

Let them praise the name of the LORD, for his name alone is exalted; his majesty is above earth and heaven. He has raised up a horn for his people, praise for all his saints, for the people of Israel who are near to him.

Praise the LORD!

(Ps. 148)

Amen and Amen.