Chudo Yebae in the Korean Protestantism:

A Model of Liturgical Inculturation

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Appendix: A Comparison of Ancestor Worship, Chudo Yebae, and Celebration of All Saints
Introduction

When Christianity was introduced in Korea about two hundred years ago, the biggest conflict caused was from the rejection of ancestor worship by Christians.¹ Missionaries considered the matter of Korean ancestor worship quite seriously and debated it for many years. The result was that ancestral worship was declared to be contrary to Christianity. Missionaries strongly emphasized “You shall have no other gods before me” as a principle of their mission work. They declared that ancestors are other gods and ancestor worship is a sin. However, rejection of the ancestor worship means avoiding the basic ethical principle of nationality. Korean culture was saturated with Confucianism, which centered on the principles of patriotic loyalty (Choong) and filial piety (Hyo). Filial piety was practiced through reverence toward parents and ancestors. Thus, ancestor worship has been regarded as “a ritualization of morals. significance of

¹ The Roman Catholic Church came to Korea (1866) and had a bloody persecution in this land. The first victim was prior to the missionaries. Ji Chung Yun refused to make ancestral tablets and he was brought to trial in October, 1791. Two months later, he was beheaded along with his nephew, Syang Yun Kwon. The Protestant missionary enterprise began with the arrival in Incheon of pioneer missionaries Rev. Horace G. Underwood of the Presbyterian Church in the USA and Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Easter Sunday morning, April 5, 1885. Regarding the issue of persecution, see Myung Hyuk Kim, “Ancestor Worship from the Perspective of Korean Church History,” in Ancestor Worship and Christianity in Korea Edited by Jung Young Lee (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989) 21-34.
filial piety.”2 Korean Protestantism does not neglect the significance of honoring the dead. Most of denominations provide the liturgy of Chudo Yebeae3 for the Christians. The Korean Christian church has developed a Korean Christian memorial service, Chudo Yebeae, to satisfy the need of local context. Chudo Yebeae is a kind of incultrated form of the traditional ancestor worship. However, appropriate teaching about ancestor worship is still a matter of debate in the Korean church. One can say that the issue of the ancestor worship and/or Chudo Yebeae has been a kind of “hot potato” in Korean Christianity. Korean Christian theologians and ministers have regarded Chudo Yebeae as an alternative to ancestral veneration. Can Chudo Yebeae, a Korean Christian memorial rite, be an alternative to Korean traditional ancestral veneration? In this study, I will emphasize the ceremonial, pastoral, and theological dimensions of the ancestor worship service and Chudo Yebeae in the Protestant churches in Korea comparing with the celebration of All Saints. I do not analyze the entire history of ancestor worship in Korea, and that of All Saints. Rather, I will briefly sketch the meaning and significance of those rituals in the first and the second part of this research. I will examine the history and theology of Chudo Yebeae in the third section. I carefully observe how ancestor worship, the celebration of All Saints, and Chudo Yebeae are related to each other in liturgy and


3 Here after, I will use the term, “Chudo Yebeae” to refer to ancestor worship in the Protestant churches in Korea. The direct translation of this term would be “memorial worship for the ancestors.” It is also called Chumoyesik or Chumouirye.
theology. My purpose for writing this research paper is hence to analyze the significance of *Chudo Yebae* from the perspective of liturgical inculturation.

I. Ancestor Worship

Korean ancestor worship originated from the shamanistic religion of ancient Korea. During the *Yi* dynasty (1392-1905), Neo-Confucianism became the primary philosophy of the country. *Ga-rye* (*Chu-tzu chia-li*), the book of family ritual, by *Chu-Hsi* (1130-1200) was the most important source of ritual practices for the *Yi* dynasty which strongly emphasized Neo-Confucian values and ways of life. *Ga-rye* indicates the standard customs for people in their daily life as well as four important rites of passage: *Kwan* (the coming-of-age ceremony), *Hon* (marriage), *Sang* (funeral), and *Je* (ancestor worship). *Ga-rye* is the basic text for regulating those ritual procedures. According to *Ga-rye*, Korean ancestor worship is best understood through the funeral service. The process of funeral rites has been well preserved during the *Yi* dynasty and is the basis of Korean funerals. However, ancestor worship is not a ritual exclusively practiced in

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6 The funeral service is the entire process for the dead, from the preparation of the body at the time of death to the anniversary of the deceased. *Ga-rye* provides people with a very elaborated nineteen step process for funeral rites.
Confucianism. Almost all Koreans learned the rite of Ga-rye and adapted it to their family ritual. Ancestor worship became the most important family ritual for all Koreans regardless of their religious orientation. Traditional Korean ancestor worship begins with the post-funeral rituals. After the funeral, there is a three-year mourning period. Family members dedicate the anniversary rituals to the deceased. When the three years of mourning is concluded with festive celebration, the family members then return to their ordinary lives. Then, they perform the anniversary which is called Kijesa (kije).

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7 According to Daniel B. Lee, there are twelve steps in the traditional funeral rites in the rural areas in Korea. The traditional funeral includes four steps of post-funeral rituals and anniversaries. The procedures of post-funeral rituals and anniversaries are as follows. Practically, ancestor worship begins with the funeral service.

1-8. Funeral service.

9. Post-funeral rituals

a. First rite (Cho-woo-je): similar to Ban-gok. It is performed by the mourners to console the soul of the dead upon returning home from the funeral.

b. Second rite: It is performed on the next morning to console the dead.

c. Third rite: It is held at the graveyard on the third day

10. The first year rite: on the first and fifteenth days of each month during the first year, the mourners are required to offer a meal in remembrance of the deceased.

11. So-sang (The first year anniversary)

12. Tae-sang (The second year anniversary), Tal-sang (returning to normal life)

addition to that, two more forms of ancestor worship, Charye and Sije, are practiced.

*Charye* is celebrated on New Year’s Day and *Chusuk* (Korean Thanksgiving Day, which is the same as the Chinese Full-moon day). *Sije* is performed four times a year according to the seasons.  

Young-chun Lee introduces the traditional order of the ancestor worship as follows.  

1. **Kangshin** (calling the spirit)
2. **Chohon** (first offering of liquor)
3. **Tokchuk** (reading of invocation written in Sino-Korean)
4. **Ahon** (second offering of liquor)
5. **Chonghon** (final offering of liquor)
6. **Hammun** (participants file out of the room where the offerings are being made)
7. **Kaemun** (participants file back into the room where the offerings are being made)
8. **Honcha** (tea brewed from the roasted rice is offered in the place of soup)
9. **Cholsang** (the ceremony ends)

The traditional Korean ancestor worship is enrooted in the ethical principals of Confucianism. Participants must be sincere during the ritual. All the family members must show their filial piety to the ancestors. Ancestors should be respected like living parents. Participants are required to bow down to the ancestors and the ancestral tablet is made for the deceased and the living. The table for the meal symbolizes the real presence of the ancestors during the ritual and the act of bowing down is the climax of honoring the ancestors. When one observes the entire procedure, it fully illustrates the Confucian

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8 For more information, see Andrew Sungmin Paek, “Korean Ancestor Worship” 170-72.

9 Young Chun Lee, *Charye wa Chesa (Rituals of Korean Ancestor Worship)* (Seoul: Dae Won Sa, 1994) 164-71.
way of life which emphasizes filial piety in the context of extended family structure. In this respect, Koreans strongly emphasize the importance of ancestor worship as an expression of respect toward their ancestors as an origin of their life.\textsuperscript{10}

Do the ancestors possess certain power to give blessings to the descendants? One needs to look carefully at the influence of Shamanism regarding this issue. In addition to Confucianism, Shamanism is deeply rooted in the Korean mind. Under the influence of Shamanism, Koreans aspire for a long life, many children, and a happy life in the mundane world instead of the heavenly world. In shamanistic understanding, the world of the living and the dead are not separate. The Korean shamanistic understanding of ancestor worship contains the idea that human beings are one part of a natural cycle. To die means to return to the place where human beings originated. Death means the body returns to the earth and the spirit to heaven. Shamanism also emphasizes the necessity of harmonious and personal relationships among all beings. The influence of Shamanism is vivid in the case of Kangshin.\textsuperscript{11} Kangshin (calling of the spirit) is from the idea that supernatural phenomena can be solved by a mediator, a shaman. This perspective is well reflected in ancestor worship. Interestingly, the worldview of Shamanism was creatively

\textsuperscript{10} In this respect, Sung Soo Choi declares that ancestors are not false gods, but the beloved ones. Thus, ancestor worship is not the real worshipping act, but an expression of the filial piety. See Sung Soo Choi, “The Theological Issues in the Ancestor Worship” Josangjesaga gatneun Sinhakjukin Munje) Kidokkyosasang (Christian Thought) (Oct. 1998): 120 an 124.

\textsuperscript{11} Daniel B Lee, 194. The order, in many cases, has been shortened for the common people.
included in the traditional Korean rites. One can find a combination of Shamanism and Confucianism in the traditional ancestor worship in Korea.\textsuperscript{12} Thus, the ancestor worship can be defined as the combination of shamanistic worldview and Confucian morality. The term, “syncretic phenomena,” is often used to describe the religions in Korea.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{II. The Celebration of All Saints}

In a Christian faith community, All Saints service is a ritual of remembering the death and resurrection of the dead person through Jesus Christ. The feast of All Saints began with a veneration of martyrs by the early Christians. Thomas J. Talley introduces the assembly at Polycarp’s tomb as an example of the veneration of martyrs in the early church.

\begin{quote}
[2] Thus we at last took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. [3] There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{12} In Confucianism, there are two kinds of spirits; good and evil. Only ancestors are good spirits, and others are evil. Thus, the acts of honoring of other spirits are prohibited in Confucianism. Regarding this issue, see In-Sik Choi, “Guishinui Jungche, Jugeunjaui Younginga?” (What is Guishin? Is it spirit of ancestors?) \textit{Mokhoiwa Shinhak} (Ministry and Theology) (Feb. 1998): 224.

\textsuperscript{13} H.B. Hulbert, one of the early missionaries, described this situation well. “(In general), we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophizes, and a spirit-worshiper when he is in trouble.” H.B. Hulbert, \textit{The Passing of Korea} (New York: Doubleday, 1906), 39.
birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested, and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be.\textsuperscript{14}

The Christians of the fourth century regarded the martyrs as a symbol of a church triumphant. The day for the veneration of all martyrs was varied throughout the local communities. It was celebrated on May 13 according to the Syrian deacon Ephraem, and the Church of Antioch celebrated on the Sunday after Pentecost. The Greek Orthodox Church is still celebrating “All Saints’ Sunday” on the Sunday after Pentecost. In the case of the East Syrian church, it is celebrated on the Friday after Easter.\textsuperscript{15}

In Rome, Boniface IV (608-15) consecrated the Pantheon as a Christian church in honor of Virgin Mary and all the martyrs on May 13, 609. On this day, the liturgy for the dedication of the church was performed and it clearly demonstrates the veneration of saints in that community of believers.\textsuperscript{16} In 8\textsuperscript{th} century, Gregory III foreshadowed the present celebration of All Saints day. He dedicated a new chapel in honor of “the Redeemer, his holy Mother, all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all the just and perfect who are at rest throughout the whole world.”\textsuperscript{17} All the saints were included in the feast, even those who were not martyrs. This is the moment of change from all martyrs to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] Adolf Adam, \textit{The Liturgical Year} (New York: Pueblo Publishing Co., 1981) 228.
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] Ibid., 228-29.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Talley, “For the All Saints—A Brief History,”42-43. Originally from Louis Duchesne, \textit{Liber Pontificalis}, I.417.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
All Saints. It also may have affected the appointment of the day for the feast of All Saints. In the middle of the eighth century, November 1 was the day for All Saints in England and Ireland. Louis the Pious instituted the day of feast for All Saints for his entire realm with the requisition of Pope Gregory IV (824-44). One can realize that the early feasts for the martyrs were deeply related with the season of Easter. This paschal connection disappeared after the Roman feast of May 13 was changed to November 1 in 835.  

In these days, the celebration of All Saints’ Day is one of the most wide-spread feasts among Christians. Even though it is one of the “special days” in the common calendar, it is celebrated by many denominations who do not designate the individual saints.

Then, who are saints? In Talley’s analysis, referring to the New Testament, they are “the living, witnessing members of local congregations, buried with Christ in baptism.


and risen with him to newness of life.”20 In Talley’s view, all other meanings and ideas on all the saints came from this definition.

John Baldovin discusses the significance of the veneration of saints from an ecclesial perspective. According to Baldovin, “Certain individuals by their death (and life) help to form the identity of the community by being models of Christ himself” and the feast of saints is the “celebration by the whole community of the mystery of Christ manifest in this faithful witness, to whom it can relate to rather directly.”21 Baldovin strongly emphasizes the significance of the feasts of saints as “the building up the faith of community.”22

All Saints Day service is conducted in a regular or ordinary manner. In other words, there is no distinctiveness of the All Saints Day service from other services. However, this service provided me with a new meaning of community, communication, and relationship with the dead and the living.

An Order of Worship for All Saints is introduced in The New Handbook of the Christian Year.23

Gathering

20 Talley, “For the All Saints—A Brief History,” 45.


22 Ibid., 343.

23 I introduce this order for the comparative study between the celebration of All Saints and ancestor worship in Korea. For the full description of this order, see The New Handbook of the Christian Year, 259-67. This is from United Methodist Church tradition and “one” of examples of the All Saints’ day services.
Greeting
Hymn of Praise
Opening Prayer
First Lesson
Psalms
Second Lesson
Alleluia (Hymn or Anthem)
Gospel
Sermon
[Naming of the Honored Dead]
Prayers of the People or Pastoral Prayer
Prayers for the Saints and Faithful Departed
Prayer of Praise for all the Saints
[The Peace]
Offering
Great Thanksgiving
The Lord’s Prayer
Breaking the Bread
Communion
Prayer after Communion
Hymn
Dismissal with Blessing

As the commentary on this worship asserts, “there is a clear eschatological vision and tone to this celebration, since it reminds us of those for whom the battle is over, the victory won, and also of our continuing pilgrimage toward God and the heavenly banquet.”

The worship has been enriched with many scripture readings and special prayers. Reading the Bible was one of the magnificent rituals that one experiences in the worship service, because each reading directly or indirectly includes all elements of All Saints.

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25 For example, one of the first lessons, Rev 7: 9-17, notes that saints as “a hundred and forty-four thousand…out of every tribe of the sons of Israel” and as “a great multitude which no man could number, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples
These rituals caused me to think of the communal sense of participating in worship service. For example, in the “opening prayer,” I noticed that we, as a group, said “Almighty God, you have knit together your elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of your Son Christ our Lord…” It is also strongly related with the idea of church as a community of the baptized. Stauffer notes as follows:

In the waters of the font we are brought into that great body of believers that includes all the saints of every time and every place, a communion of saints in heaven and earth. Christianity is essentially a corporate faith; we are baptized into the corpus or body of Christ.

Ritual elements play a crucial role of reinforcing pastoral identity in the Christian community. A part of one’s pastoral identity can be expressed through the ceremony in a very powerful way in terms of spirituality and theological praxis of the whole congregation. The celebration of All saints has many meaningful ceremonial and ritual elements such as naming the dead. This element is not usually present in other Protestant services. The naming of the dead is obviously very powerful. To Christians, the act of naming is not mere name calling. Each congregation member remind the person of Jesus’ crucifixion on the cross, of death, and the resurrection of Christ as well as the need for resurrection. The naming of the dead in this sense is not only a sign of reverence toward

and tongues,” 1 John 3: 1-3, one of the second lessons, describes the Jesus Christ as the foundation of our triumphant at the end of time. Regarding this issue, see Adam, 229-230.


the dead, but also the promise of new life, spiritual and eternal life. Also, this symbolic act signifies Christ’s victory over death. The All Saints’ Day ceremony challenged me to ponder why Christ came and died for us. The act of naming the dead gives the congregation the assurance of God’s grace. Due to God’s grace, we are new persons in Jesus Christ. 28

From this service, I thought about the nature of Christ. In traditional theology, God has born Godself in the human incarnation of Jesus, as fully human, tempted in the desert, afraid, betrayed, and abandoned on the cross. However, Christ has risen, which means God has triumphed over the finality of death. All Saints day service is a liturgy, and in this sense, it includes grief and joy together; a grief which pierces, liberates, provides hope, and joy. One can discover that the words of naming are really words that call for a response of rejoicing, for they are gracious words. This liturgy for the dead enables the congregation to have confidence in Christ who has overcome the power of evil and death, and finally to rejoice with Christ. All Saints’ day is a time for new beginnings in the faith, a time for returning to the Lord.

In this aspect, the character of the All Saints’ Day liturgy seems to be paradoxical. For even if Christians are desolate about their sins and our mortality, they can delight in Christ’s cross. The moment of darkness in the liturgy changes sorrow into joy. All Saints day service becomes filled with happiness, a Christian feast. All Saint’s day as a part of the liturgical year, is Jesus’ legacy that constantly and continually reminds Christians that

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28 During the service, the congregation was very emotional while the priest was naming the dead. I perceived that this aspect of the service was a healing and reconciliation process.
they always have to remember Christ died for the sin; that his crucifixion is not the last thing of his ministry, but a new starting point for Christians. Congregations hope that they can all be brothers and sisters in one human family under the power of resurrection of Jesus Christ. Through this evidence, I assert that there are many pastoral and theological aspects in the celebration of All Saints.

III. Korean Protestant Ancestor Worship, Chudo Yebae

A. A Brief History of Chudo Yebae in the Korean Methodist Church

Korean Protestantism usually prohibits the traditional way of ancestor worship in the Christian family. Historically, the Protestant missionary enterprise in Korea came with the enlightening movement, Kehwa-woondong: westernization or modernization which took place after Korea opened its doors to foreign countries in 1876. The missionaries inherited their faith which was deeply related with their history of civilization. As a result, Christianity in Korea was clothed in western culture and values which is expressed in the form of liturgy. The Western missionary’s theological perspectives prohibited the acceptance of certain Korean traditional elements such as ancestor worship. For that reason, one might say that there is no significant cultural or religious influence in the Chudo Yebae in the Protestant denominations. However, when one traces the origin of Chudo Yebae, one can easily find it is truly an example of inculturation in worship. -
The first record on the *Chudo Yebae* is found in *Korean Christian Advocate*, September 1897 issue. Moo-Young Lee, a member of Chungdong First Methodist Church, prepared a *chudo yebae* on the day of his mother’s death. According to the report, many church members were inspired by this memorial service and it was often practiced in the church. It is significant that a member independently decided to create a *chudo yebae* without the advice or direction of the missionaries.

There were many objections to this issue since this ritual is deeply related with the veneration of ancestors and it was severely prohibited not only by the missionaries but also by the Korean church leaders who were in accordance with the belief that the newly baptized needed to confess their faith by rejecting ancestor worship.\(^{30}\)

I can only presume that the *Chudo Yebae* was widespread in the local churches but it could not officially be approved by the Korean Methodist Church. It may not have been an easy task for church leaders to approve the veneration of ancestors since there was no alternative to show filial piety to ancestors from the denomination at that time.

However, *Chudo Yebae* was finally approved by the Korean Methodist Church in 1934. The Korean Methodist Church introduced a worship order of *Chudo Yebae*, “the memorial service for the deceased parents” in *Kyoreewa jangjung* (The Book of Disciplines) in 1935 for the first time in the history of Korean Methodist Church. The worship order is as follows.

1. Hymn

\(^{29}\) *Korean Christian Advocate* (September 1987). *Korean Christian Advocate* was established by Henry G. Appenzeller in February 2, 1897.

2. Prayer-by the head of family  
3. Scripture Reading  
4. Introduction of the deceased-conversation on the achievement and/or last will of the dead  
5. Hymn  
6. Silent Tribute  
7. Closing Prayer  

The unique element in this worship order is the prayer by the head of the family. This tradition well demonstrates the Confucian social structure in the life of Christians of the time. This tradition can easily be found in today’s Chudo Yebae order of service. Sermon is not included in the order but the Scripture reading is deeply related with the theme of ancestors and family. Silent tribute, even though there is no detailed explanation, was a moment for expressing their love and respect toward their parents just like bowing down before the table during the ancestor worship. The closing prayer is as follows:

Heavenly Father who is almighty who gives and takes our life, thank you for giving us this moment for remembering our deceased father (mother). Holy Father, let us not into a deep sorrow; instead, make us to be in solemnity in You. Please lead this ceremony from the beginning to the end. We pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.31

This worship order has been a basic form of Chudo Yebae for a long time and it is still being used by Christians. Yemoon (Worship and Liturgy) was published by Korean Methodist Church in 1977.32 The order of Chudo Yebae is very similar to that of


32 Boomonim Chudosick Yemoon (Memorial Worship for Parents) in Yemoon (Seoul: The Korean Methodist Church, 1977), 56-59. 1999 version of Yemoon provides a very similar order for Chudo Yebae. The same ten elements, from Call to Worship to
*Kyoreewa jangjiung* (The Book of Disciplines) in 1935. This order begins with the instruction for making a table for the picture of the deceased, flowers and candles.

1. Call to Worship
2. Silent Prayer
3. Hymn (Korean Hymnal 501 or 504)
4. Prayer
5. Scripture reading (1 Kings 2:1-3; Proverbs 3:1-10)
6. Introduction (remembering) the deceased-conversation on the dead
7. Sermon or short message
8. Hymn (Korean Hymnal 486 or 484)
9. Prayer
10. Benediction or Lord’s Prayer

In 2002, Korean Methodist Church published a new worship book, *The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship*. In Introduction of the *Chudo Yebae*, Korean Benediction, are found in the order. The suggested hymns are different (543 and 541) and the words in the prayers, even though content is about the same, are changed into the more modernized expressions.

33 *The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship* (Seoul: Korean Methodist Church, 2002), 334-340. Some local churches distribute their own worship order for Chudo Yebae. Mokdong Methodist church (Seoul, Korea) provided a detailed worship order for the congregation during the *Chuseok* celebration in 2006. It was designed by pastors of the church based on the worship order from Korean Methodist Church. The worship leader is the head of the family but it could be anyone in the family. Worship order is the following. 1. Call to Worship; 2. Creed; 3. Hymn (Korean Hymnal #534 or a favorite Hymn of the deceased); 4. Prayer; 5. Scripture reading (Psalm 25:12-14); 6. Introduction (remembering) of the deceased; 7. Sermon: Be Aware of God-way of blessing; 8. Hymn
Methodist Church suggests to invite a pastor (senior pastor) for the first memorial service. The worship order is similar to the previous worship books but the new worship book has more options for prayers. There are three prayer forms. First prayer is for the deceased non-Christians. Second prayer is for the Christian parents. The last one is for those who lived an exemplary life as devoted Christians. During the silent prayer, unlike previous books, the worship leader reads John 14:1-6. The last comment (which was not found in any pervious worship books) indicates that “fellowship is recommended after the worship.”

In brief, Chudo Yebeae was initiated by a Korean Methodist and it is truly a rare incident when one considers that the Korean church is highly affected by missionaries. The order has been developed in modernized language and provides more prayers, however, there is not much difference among the worship books in terms of the basic format.

B. Chudo Yebeae in the Korean Protestantism

Chudo Yebeae was initiated by Methodists in Korea and it has been widely spread among Korean Christians throughout the history. There are detailed orders for the Korean Hymnal #539 or a favorite Hymn of the deceased; 9. Lord’s Prayer (Benediction if an ordained pastor is attending).

34 The Korean Evangelical Holiness Church and Salvation Army approved and included Chudo Yebeae in their worship books in 1950s and Presbyterian church in 1970s. There needs to be more research to find out what the local churches were doing before having a worship order for Chudo Yebeae.
Christian ancestor worship in the service books of Korean Protestantism. The Chudo Yebae is very predictable to Korean Christians, because major denominations have a bulletin indicating worship order. There is no significant difference among the Protestant denominations in dealing with Chudo Yebae. All the worship orders include typical elements of Christian worship, such as prayers, hymns, a sermon, and the benediction. The Korean Presbyterian Church includes the prayer for the dead in the Chudo Yebae.\footnote{Ye-sik-su (Occasional Rites for the Korean Presbyterian Church), 182-83. Many Korean Protestant denominations have their own service books for the ancestor worship. However, there is no significant difference among them. The following is the element of Chudo Yebae in the Korean Presbyterian Church: Call to Ceremony; Apostle’s Creed; Hymn (Korean Hymnal 534, My Days are Gliding Swiftly By); Prayer; Scripture Reading (Heb. 11: 1-12); Sermon; Prayer (for the dead); Introducing the Dead; Remembrance of the Dead; Announcement; Hymn (Korean hymnal 531, Abide With Me); Benediction}

However, Korean Protestantism embraces the traditional Korean culture and value in its Chudo Yebae. In the case of The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship published in 2002, there are fourteen procedures including eleven rites for the funeral and one order for Chudo Yebae which are very closely related to the traditional culture and
religion of Korea.\textsuperscript{36} The Korean Presbyterian Church even includes \textit{Tal-sang} (returning to normal life)\textsuperscript{37} and memorial in the funeral service.

The Korean Evangelical Holiness Church also has memorial in the funeral service.\textsuperscript{38} There are several traces of the traditional and religious elements in the Korean Protestant funeral rites. One can see the traces of \textit{Ga-rye} (or traditional funeral rite) in the Korean Protestant funeral rites. \textit{Tal-sang} (returning to normal life) and the memorial can be found both in \textit{Ga-rye} and Korean Protestantism. The memorial is regarded as one of the most important family rituals in Korean Protestantism. Thus, the ritual for the ancestors is not forgotten in the Korean Protestantism. Korean Protestants inherited the Confucian traditions in their funeral rites. Reverence toward the ancestors is the most important teachings of Confucianism. Accordingly, every procedure of a funeral rite and the ancestor worship was conducted with utmost solemnity.\textsuperscript{39} Confucian morality is still working in the Korean Protestantism. In this sense, in the case of the Korean Methodist Church and the Korean Presbyterian Church, there are lengthy instructions which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship}, 256-340. 1977 and 1991 book worship (\textit{Yemoon}) have five rites for the funeral and one for \textit{Chudo Yebae}.

\item \textsuperscript{37} 100 days after the death. In the case of traditional rite it comes two years after the death. \textit{Ye-sik-su} (Occasional Rites for the Korean Presbyterian Church), (Seoul: Hankook Jangrokyo Choolpansa, 1987), 145-85.

\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ye-sik-su} (Occasional Rites for the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church), (Seoul: Kidokkyo Dae Han Sungkuyl Kyohoe, 1991), 209-61.

\end{itemize}
emphasize respect and solemnity for the dead during the funeral service and the *Chudo Yebae* from the beginning to the end. A Confucian-integrity is required for the participants during this worship.\(^{40}\)

In addition, the table for the participants is not restricted but remains open according to the Protestant worship books. The Korean Methodist Church and Korean Evangelical Holiness Church comment on the sharing of food at the cemetery after the worship service as a kind of *koinonia* meal.\(^{41}\) This is obviously a meal to extend horizontal unity among family members. One of the most important motives for this meal is the reinforcement of family identity and unity among family members. Needless to say, it provides the place where the community maintains their communal bond with the rest of the family members. Fortunately, this community formation, through *Chudo yebae* continues to be present in the Korean Protestantism.

Korean Evangelical Holiness church provides the prayer for the dead. It prays, “Let everyone of us think of his or her beloved, filial piety of descendants, and intimate

\(^{40}\) *The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship*, 256-340. In addition, Korean Evangelical Holiness Church emphasizes the sincere attitude with clean and neat clothes when people go to the gravesite for the *Charyee* (ancestor worship at the grave site) see *Ye-sik-su* (Occasional Rites for the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church), 258.

\(^{41}\) *The Korean Methodist New Book of Worship*, 333. Also see *Ye-sik-su* (Occasional Rites for the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church), 258. The meal is usually provided at the graveside in the case of *Charye* and funeral service. *Chudo Yebae* is usually held at home.
relationship among family members now…” The prayer emphasizes the unity among the family members.

The entire procedures of the Chudo Yebae is not strongly based on traditional Korean rites. One can say that the Korean Protestantism includes a Korean cultural and religious influence “in” the process, but not in the worship order of Chudo Yebae. This traditional understanding of the Shamanistic worldview is hardly be found in Chudo Yebae of Korean Christianity.  

\[42\] Ye-sik-su (Occasional Rites for the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church), 254.

\[43\] I recently found an essay on the web by a non-Christian who attends Chudo Yebae. It well describes what is happening during the service. It goes as follows. “On a more personal level, my wife’s family (extended family included) is Christian, and they do not practice jesa.[ancestor worship] However, on the anniversary of an ancestor’s death (i.e., the death of my wife’s grandmother and grandfather) and on Chuseok(Chusuk), we have “memorial services”[Chudo Yebae] where the whole family gets together for a big meal and a brief service in memory of the family ancestors. In other words, it follows the same pattern as the traditional Korean ritual, except without the actual sacrifice to the ancestors (i.e., jesa). I remember the first time I attended one of these services. As I sat there I thought, “Ah, they can’t practice jesa, so they have a worship service instead.”

My father-in-law leads these services. He is not the oldest of his brothers, but he is the most active in his church (he’s an ordained deacon [lay elder]). I’ve always been impressed with how he handles the situation. External appearances aside, he manages to conduct the service without mentioning the family ancestors in a context that might be
If one carefully observes the behavior of Korean people, it becomes obvious that Koreans are still living a Confucian way of life following classical Confucian social etiquette and standards of ethics. If one examines the family ritual for ancestor worship, it is clear that Koreans still embrace and foster the Confucius ideal of life. *Ga-rye*, a Confucian teaching of family rites, is still alive in the ancestor rites of many Koreans.

Examining the *Chudo Yebae* of Korean Protestantism, one can find that they embrace the Confucian way of thinking. Sincere attitude of participants is still an important part of the ritual. The meal at the gravesite has been sustained. The ritual is performed at home or at the gravesite accompanied by other family members. The notion of the extended family is still effective in Korean Christianity. Even though there was no significant evidence of traditional elements in the worship order, Korean Christians directly or indirectly have tried to recreate Confucian value in their entire ancestor worship process. This tendency rite is well expressed in many worship books from Christian denominations.

**C. Pastoral Aspects and Theological Dimension**

Why has ancestor worship been regarded as the most important ritual? Young Chan Ro explains the significance of the ancestor worship as the vertical unity between the ancestors and the descendants and the horizontal unity among the family members mistaken for ancestor worship. He selects a passage of Scripture to read and then gives a mini-sermon, during which he always applies the Scripture to our present lives.”

and relatives through the ritual.\textsuperscript{44} By performing ancestor worship, the descendants could experience unity with ancestors and other members of family. It creates “the structural unity of the family.”\textsuperscript{45}

Korean Protestantism emphasizes how important it is to reconstruct a community through the \textit{Chudo Yebae}. This is one of the most effective pastoral aspects in the ancestor worship in Korea Christians: rebuilding a new community, creating new spaces for the living, remembering the dead, and empowering the community with a strong bond through the shared memories of the \textit{Chudo Yebae}. This process can be an experience of recovery of horizontal unity among family members.

Two key elements in the procedures of \textit{Chudo Yebae} service of the Korean Protestantism are the remembering of the ancestors and the prayers for them. Worship books explain that remembrance is the time for people to express their memories of their lost ones. The liturgy for the ancestors recommends that people sing the favorite and adored songs of the deceased “to remember” the deceased. By offering their remembrance, survivors acknowledge that the dead may not be physically present with them, but the memory of the lost person is with them.\textsuperscript{46}

The other element is the “prayer for the ancestors.” This is the time for people to receive assurance. People obtain physical birth from God and their souls return, reside and dwell with God in the life after death. This prayer provides survivors with the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item{44} Young Chan Ro, 17.
\item{45} Ibid.
\item{46} In the case of the traditional ancestor worship, it is believed that the ancestors are really present at the ceremony.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
assurance of deliverance, not only for the deceased, but also for themselves. It is the conviction in the resurrected Jesus Christ through which Christians will be resurrected in and with Him. The faith in resurrection is clearly depicted in the prayer for the ancestors of Chudo Yebae. These two key elements, remembering of the ancestors and the prayer for the ancestor, are present in the Chudo Yebae, ancestor worship in the Korean Protestantism.

Based on my research, I realized that the traditional Korean ancestor worship was diminished under the influence of Christian concepts and practices. The tradition of bowing down is rejected by most Korean Protestant denominations. Even though the liturgy of Korean traditional ancestor worship ceremony was somewhat different from the Christian ancestor worship, the motivation behind the service is to remember the beloved person and to experience the recovery of the community in both traditions. From the rituals, such as “remembrance,” “the prayer for the ancestors,” I could find ceremonial elements in the ancestor worship service. The Chudo Yebae service provided people with a feeling of healing or recovery in God. Also the ancestor worship gives us an important theological message: the resurrection of the dead person in God.

D. Liturgical and Theological Encounter

After analyzing the ancestor worship and the celebration of All Saints, I realized that these traditions are different but somewhat related with each other. At the heart of these cultural differences, there is a philosophically and theologically diverse

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47 See the Appendix: A Comparison among Ancestor Worship, Chudo Yebae, and the Celebration of All Saints. It is created by author of this article.
understanding of death and resurrection. The ancestor worship demonstrates clear cultural aspects in Korean community life. The ancestor worship service has many cultural aspects reflecting the meaning of death and resurrection in traditional Korean beliefs. There are many projections of Korean traditional religions, such as Shamanism and Confucianism within the Korean traditional ancestor worship. Korean Protestantism has been strongly influenced by the Confucian idea of family life and social etiquette. Korean Protestants inherited the Confucian traditions in their Chudo Yebae rites.

On the contrary, the celebration of All Saints is a very symbolic tradition in its liturgy from the light of remembering Jesus Christ’s death and resurrection. The notion of Saints was witnessed in the New Testament, and the martyrs became the objects of veneration by Christians. The liturgy for the All Saints is quite elaborated. Through many ritual and ceremonal elements, such as naming the dead Christians, meaningful prayers, reading the Bible, the worship service was enriched in our Christian tradition.

Between two Christian rituals, Celebration of All Saints and Churdo Yebae there are similarities in the liturgy. Even though the two liturgical traditions are from somewhat different backgrounds, the motivation behind the service in both traditions is to worship, praise, and glorify God. From the well-prepared prayers and hymns, and the symbols, such as the naming of the dead, ceremonial and ritual elements are found in the service. The service plays a pastoral role in itself and gives people a new sense of remembrance, peace and healing in God. From this point of view, I believe that similarities and differences between two or three liturgical traditions (including Chudo Yebae) are clearly noticed.
At first, the ancestor worship and the celebration of All Saints are the rituals for unity among community members. The ancestor worship provided the vertical and horizontal unity among the family members. The ancestor worship is not only for the dead but also for the living community. Ancestor worship emphasizes the healing of broken relationships among families and the installation of the community of filial piety through the remembrance of the death. The ceremony of sharing foods was especially impressive. The meal at the service can be regarded as a symbol of this notion of unity. Korean Protestantism preserves this tradition in their *Chudo Yebae*. All the descendants are required to be present at the ancestor worship and/or *Chudo Yebae* in the Korean Protestantism and at this time, a *koinonia* meal is not prohibited.

The celebration of All Saints also emphasizes the unity among the members of community. It also stresses the relationship between the church on earth and God’s kingdom. In this sense, *The New Handbook of the Christian Year* clarifies that “to render thanks to God for the lives and deaths of the saints is to recognize the common bond between the church on earth and church triumphant in God’s love. It is this vision that is so marvelously expressed in the Great Thanksgiving prayer at the table.”48 In this respect, Talley explains the characteristic element in the celebration of All Saints is the “encounters between the living and the spirits of the departed.”49 The aspect that gives this service its particular significance is the naming of the dead. In addition, in “prayers


49 Talley, “For the All Saints—A Brief History,” 44.
for the saints and faithful departed,” participants were recommended to begin the prayer with a sentence, “O God of both the living and the dead.”\(^{50}\)

Thus, the All Saints’ Day is not just a day of the great figures in the church history, but all who are baptized. As Stauffer notes, “The communion of all the saints includes our own parents and grandparents and children, teachers and friends and colleagues who have been saints in our own lives.”\(^{51}\) The liturgy of celebration of All Saints serves, reminds, and helps us to recognize that the day of Saints is not only liturgy but also is a living Christian festival based on tradition through which we follow and reinforce our Christian community. I believe that the rich theology and liturgy is based on the faith in resurrection; the victory of Jesus Christ. This is the ritual for the all baptized who believe in the triumph of God. Here it is clear that the feast celebrates not only the canonized saints but all the dead who have reached their fulfillment, and in turn our dead relatives and friends as well.

Moreover, the liturgy of *Chudo Yebae* and that of All Saints are based on the belief in the resurrection of the dead person. Needless to say, the celebration of All Saints is mainly based on its theological origin in the theology of resurrection. It is clear that *Chudo Yebae* emulates this spiritual salvation and theology of resurrection. In the

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\(^{50}\) *The New Handbook of the Christian Year*, 262.

worship order, the importance of the faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the
departed Christians is clearly depicted. 52

Next, honoring the departed is another issue in dealing with the similarities and
differences between All Saints Day and Chudo Yebarae. The Saints in the Christian
community were witnesses of God. In the early church, martyrs were respected as a
model Christians. By honoring them, Christians share their memory of the mercy of God.
Modern understanding of the saints is that they are the departed Christians who had the
same baptism. Honoring the dead is obviously living in the boundary of the Christian
community.

The traditional ancestor worship provides many meaningful, thoughtful, and
profound aspects of commemorating the ancestors. This honoring act is strongly based on
the idea of filial piety, the most important moral standard for the Confucius society. In
Chudo Yebarae, honoring the dead is limited to his or her good life as a model Christian.
The Korean Methodist Church suggests a prayer as follows; “We thank God for giving us
this brother (or sister) who had lived as a Christian and who is a model of faith. Please
lead us to live like him (her).” 53 In a sense, filial piety is somewhat weakened in the
worship order. The honoring the dead is limited to the good deceased Christians. I

52 The traditional ancestor worship does not have the idea of resurrection. Under the
influence of Shamanism, the elements of thanksgiving are found in the traditional
ancestor worship. This thanksgiving is based on the belief that ancestors are mediators
between heaven and earth, god(s) and people.

53 Yemoon (Occasional Rites for the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul: Korean
Methodist Church, 1987), 84.
personally doubt the effectiveness of *Chudo Yebae* in this respect. I believe that *Chudo Yebae* is constructed specially for Christians, not for non-Christians. That is, it presupposes Christian faith with Christ as the mediator.\(^5^4\)

**Conclusion: Chudo Yebae As a Hidden Treasure of Inculturation**

I believe that Korean people consciously made a commitment to hand down their traditional ways of thinking and acting regardless of religious affiliation. This statement is appropriate when one discusses the ancestor worship in Korea. Even though the Western missionary’s theological perspectives prohibited the acceptance of Korean traditional elements of the ancestor worship, Korean Protestants directly or indirectly include traditional elements of the ancestor worship ceremony in their *Chudo Yebae*. It is not difficult to mention that *Chudo Yebae* is one of the best (if not the best) example of inculturation in the history of Christianity in Korea. It was introduced and designed by Korean Christians and inherited not only in the worship books, but also in the life of Christians. It has been widely practiced among Korean Christians. There is not much conflict over the issue of *lex orandi* and *lex credendi* in *Chudo Yebae*. It is a natural combination of the law of prayer and the law of belief.\(^5^5\)

\(^5^4\) Most pastors have educated their Christian congregations that performing ancestral veneration is idolatry and force their congregation to practice the Christian memorial service instead of ancestral veneration. This prohibition has generated, and at times, even exacerbated the conflict between Christians and non-Christians in the family.

\(^5^5\) During a seminar on Inculturation at Drew University, some students mentioned that the *lex orandi* was constructed with neglecting congregation’s common ethos and
From Anscar Chupungco’s view, inculturation is a process of “mutual enrichment.” It does not put in danger the nature and values of Christianity, nor does it endanger human culture as an expression of society’s life and aspirations. The process of interaction and “mutual assimilation” brings progress to both the process of “mutual enrichment,” not “mutual extinction.”

His understanding of inculturation can be illustrated by the formulas noted below:

Acculturation is: $A + B = AB$. In inculturation, the encounter between the two cultures occurs in mutual assimilation and mutual enrichment: $A + B = C$. This formula implies that the contact between $A$ and $B$ confers mutual enrichment on the interacting parties, so that $A$ is no longer simply $A$ but $C$, and likewise $B$ is no longer simply $B$ but $C$. However, because of the dynamic of transculturation, $A$ does not become $B$, nor does $B$ become $A$. Both undergo internal transformation, but in the process they do not lose their identity.

Chupungco’s liturgical inculturation can be defined “inserting the liturgy into the culture, history, and tradition of the people among whom the Church dwells.” Therefore, Chupungco’s liturgical inculturation seeks a ground where the liturgy and local culture can find a path of assimilation recognizing each other’s value. According to this conservative standard, Chudo Yebae could be regarded as a ritual between acculturation and inculturation.

pathos, so a congregation does accept this *lex orandi*. Therefore, *Chudo Yebae* in the Korean Protestantism is an inadequate substitution for an ancestral veneration ritual.


57 Ibid., 30.

58 Ibid.
According to Robert J. Schreiter, there are three types of approaches to construct local theology; the translation model, the adaptation model, and the contextual model.\textsuperscript{59} I believe that \textit{Chudo Yebae}, is a good adaptation model because this rite is partly focused on local culture, and is partly from Christian tradition.\textsuperscript{60}

I believe that Koreans need to recreate their religious and cultural values in Christianity. It is important to be concerned about the other traditions and/or cultures that exist in Korea such as Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Shamanism. Christians cannot directly incorporate these traditions within Christian worship. However, the values and meaning of traditional Korean ancestor worship should be respected because it is in the community in which people have lived and continue to live. Without a deep understanding of Korean culture and religions, incorporating indigenous Christian theology and liturgy will be difficult.


\textsuperscript{60} There should be different perspectives on this issue according to the theological orientation. I do not think an analogy between ancestors and false gods is proper. I believe that ancestors are not “other gods”, but those beloved family members whom people choose to honor from a Christian perspective. See Appendix of this article.
Grayson, about twenty years ago, argued that Korean Christianity needed more cultural flavor in its art, architecture and Christian Life. “Although the Christian churches are the predominant religious fact of late twentieth-century Korea, the direct Christian influence on Korean society and forms of cultural expression is disproportionately less than one would expect.”61 This comment is still valid when one considers the characteristics of worship and art and architecture.62 The Chudo Yebae could be regarded as one of the most effective and successful example of inculturation of worship and liturgy in the Korean church, however, there are immediate tasks for the Korean Christianity to create its own liturgy which embraces other traditions and cultures. The Korean Church needs to harmonize western-oriented rituals and Korean-oriented rituals in its Christian ancestor worship rite, Chudo Yebae.63 Aylward Shorter defines


63 For example, as Sung Soo Choi recommends, Korean Christians may have the ancestor worship or Chudo Yebae not only in home, but also in the church. See Sung-Soo Choi, “The Theological Issues in the Ancestor Worship,” 129. Koreans made an effort to seek and recreate the respective traditions from their religious and social history. For this
“Inculturation” as the on-going dialogue between faith and culture or cultures. It encourages “…the creative and dynamic relationship between the Christian message and a culture or cultures.” Continued development of the inculturated theologies and liturgy in Korea is desirable.

Bibliography

1. Books and Articles written in Korean


Ho Nam suggests that the whole Korean Church have an open mind regarding the use of Korean tradition in its Chudo-Yebae. The acts of bowing down and the communal meal are good examples. See Ho Nam, Liturgical Inculturation in the Marriage and Funeral Rites of Korean Protestants (Ph. D Dissertation, Drew University, 1999). According to Ho Nam bowing should be interpreted through the socially carried interpretation. Bowing is a descriptive code of respect or salutation in Korean community. That is, bowing, itself, is a social practice, so bowing should be interpreted within a social setting, not in biblical or western cultural setting.


Korean Christian Advocate ( ). (September 1987).


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2. Books and Articles written in English


3. Video Tape


4. Web Resources


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### Appendix: A Comparison of Ancestor Worship, *Chudo Yebae*, and Celebration of All Saints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>Ancestor Worship</th>
<th><em>Chudo Yebae</em></th>
<th>Celebration of All Saints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When</td>
<td>1. On birthday or day of death of ancestor</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>All Saints Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. New years day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. <em>Chusuk</em> (Korean Thanksgiving day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where</td>
<td>Home or gravesite</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>The head of the family</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clergy Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The head of the family or one who is the most active in church or pastor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Who is honored</strong></td>
<td>Ancestors (as mediators)</td>
<td>(Christian) Ancestors</td>
<td>All the Saints and all who are baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religious Affiliation</strong></td>
<td>Confucianism (and the influence from Shamanism)</td>
<td>Christianity (and the influence from Confucianism)</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Structure</strong></td>
<td>Based on the Extended family structure of Confucian Society</td>
<td>Confucian Society with Christian faith</td>
<td>Christian Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

by Deok-Weon Ahn