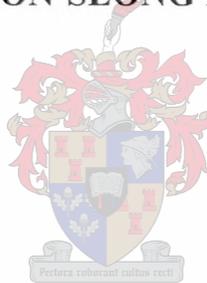# ECCLESIAL SPIRITUALITY

IN THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH:

A PRACTICAL AND HERMENEUTICAL

INVESTIGATION INTO THE PROBLEM OF

MARGINALITY

SOON-SEONG KIM

**Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Theology
At the University of Stellenbosch**

Promoter: Prof. B A Müller

December 2004

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: Soon-Seong Kim

Date: August 8, 2004

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is on the unique and unparalleled features that the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC) representing the broad Korean Church has displayed during last 120 years' mission history: a strong revivalism in the formative phase; a remarkable Church growth in the growing phase; a rapid moral secularisation in the declining phase.

Specifically this study aims to account for the problematic phenomenon manifested during last three decades and further to suggest a substantial alternative for the problem at this stage. To achieve this aim, this study employed a practical hermeneutical methodology and was approached in terms of ecclesial spirituality.

Chapter II, paying special attention to the marginality of the Korean nation destined to be a victim of world powers in modern history, provides a short history of the KPC from a marginal perspective to discern the particular geopolitical, socio-politico-economic, and cultural situations that presumed to have had a crucial impact on shaping the spirituality of the KPC.

Chapter III proposes, as a base theory, a definition towards the phenomenon of ecclesial spirituality: *Ecclesial spirituality is ecclesial apprehension and response to the meaning and power of God's presence and redemptive activity in the power-dominated world*. According to the proposed definition ecclesial spirituality takes shape through the hermeneutical process of the faith community in the dynamic interplay between divine, human and contextual powers operating in socio-historical situations.

Chapter IV analyses and explains, on the basis of the proposed definition, what and how contextual realities historically operated in shaping the spirituality of the KPC and further evaluates the features of the KPC's spirituality manifested in each historical phase. The result shows that the marginal situation of the nation operates as a crucial factor in the formation of the KPC's spirituality in each particular socio-historical context in either a positive or negative way.

Chapter V, as the normative and strategic phase of our research methodology, concludes by examining the theological identity of the Church in relation with the power-dominated world and by investigating the hermeneutical locus of ecclesial

praxis, whereby **marginality** is suggested as the praxial hermeneutical locus of authentic ecclesial identity and spirituality in the world. And further, identifying the Church as a marginal community in the world, this study finally proposes a spirituality of marginality as an incomplete suggestion of the direction towards which the spirituality of the KPC should steer.

This study contributes towards the development of an ecclesial hermeneutic for the benefit of ecclesial transformation in the world. Specifically, its contribution is to realise the distinctive identity and position of the KPC as *ecclesia crucis* in the contemporary situation. It can also motivate the significance of studies in ecclesial spirituality, not only for the KPC, but also for both Western churches and the South African white Church in their identity crisis in the contemporary dominant culture and drastically changed socio-political context.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing fokus op die unieke karaktertrekke van die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerke (genoem die KPC) soos gemanifesteer gedurende die afgelope 120 jaar: 'n sterk aksent op herlewing in die vormingsfase; daarna 'n merkwaardige kerkgroei fase en uiteindelik 'n snelle sekularisasie fase in die laaste fase. Dit vertoon ooreenkoms met ander Koreaanse kerke in dié tydperk.

Die studie probeer om laasgenoemde problematiese fenomeen van die laaste drie dekades teologies te verantwoord en 'n alternatiewe optrede met betrekking daartoe te suggereer. Die studie gebruik 'n prakties-hermeneutiese metodiek om die ekklesiale spiritualiteit te verken.

Hoofstuk II gee in besonder aandag aan die marginaliteit van die Koreaanse nasie insoverre dit 'n slagoffer geword het van moderne wêreldmagte. Dit word gedoen aan die hand van 'n kort geskiedbeskrywing van die KPC, gesien vanuit 'n marginale perspektief waarin spesifieke geopolitieke, sosio-ekonomiese en kulturele aspekte onderskei word ☐ wat almal 'n kritieke impak gehad het in die vormgewing van die spiritualiteit van die KPC.

Hoofstuk III probeer om 'n basisteorie te ontwikkel aan die hand van 'n definisie van ekklesiale spiritualiteit, nl. *Ekklesiale spiritualiteit is die ekklesiale aanvoeling van en respons op die betekenis van God se dinamiese presensie en verlossende handelinge in 'n wêreld gedomineer deur magte.* Hiervolgens word 'n ekklesiale spiritualiteit gevorm deur hermeneutiese prosesse binne die geloofsgemeenskap in die dinamiese wisselwerking tussen die goddelike, menslike en kontekstuele magte wat in sosio-historiese situasies hulle laat geld.

Op die basis van hierdie definisie word in hoofstuk IV 'n analise en verduideliking gegee van hoe hierdie kontekstuele realiteite die spiritualiteit binne die KPC gevorm het. Verder word die spesifieke aard van die spiritualiteit in elke historiese fase ontleed en geëvalueer. Dit toon dan duidelik aan hoe die marginale omstandighede telkens 'n kritieke faktor was in die vorming van die bepaalde spiritualiteit in elke spesifieke sosio-historiese konteks, hetsy positief of negatief.

Hoofstuk V verteenwoordig die normatiewe en strategiese fase van die gevolgde navorsingsmetodiek. Daarin word die teologiese identiteit van die kerk met betrekking tot 'n mag-gedomineerde wêreld beskrywe aan die hand van 'n ondersoek na die hermeneutiese locus van die ekklesiale praxis. Hierin word gesuggereer dat marginaliteit hierdie praksiaal-hermeneutiese locus is van 'n outentieke ekklesiale identiteit en spiritualiteit. Verder,

insoverre die kerke wesenlik 'n marginale gemeenskap vir die wêreld is, het die studie 'n spiritualiteit van marginaliteit aangedui as die nimmereindigende doelwit waarop die spiritualiteit van die KPC telkens weer gerig moet wees □ 'n soort eskatologiese spiritualiteit in hierdie wêreld.

Die navorsing wil 'n bydrae lewer in die ontwikkeling van 'n ekklesiale hermeneutiek wat die ekklesiale transformasieproses wil dien. Meer spesifiek wil dit die onderskeidende identiteit van die KPC sien as 'n *ecclesia crucis* in die eietydse situasie. Dit wil verder die diskussie oor ekklesiale spiritualiteit binne die KPC bevorder, maar ook in Westerse kerke en spesifiek in die kerke van Suid-Afrika op soek na 'n ekklesiale identiteit binne die eietydse dominante kultuur en 'n diepgaande, veranderde sosio-politieke konteks.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a long journey. The way was narrow and rugged. A shadow hung over me all the time. I could no longer see the path ahead. Now I realise it was actually the shadow of His wings.

I am grateful to God for the plentiful blessings which opened up the opportunity to engage in my doctoral studies at the University of Stellenbosch.
I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my promoter Prof Bethel Müller. Without his incisive comments, his caring encouragement and endless patience this study would not have been possible. I am also thankful to my external examiner, Prof C K Jung and my internal examiner, Prof Johann Celliers. They provided sound, detailed evaluations of my study with valuable criticism.

I thank Mrs Thompson, Dr. D Evans and Mr W Scholtz for proof-reading one or two chapters of my dissertation. They gladly spent time in correcting and polishing my English. My gratitude extends to Rev. D Hunter and all members of the Stellenbosch United Church, especially to Derek & Ruth Campbell and to Arnold & Tilda Skoonwinkel. The comfort and love in Christ that my family shared with them were really great.

I am thankful to my parents, brothers & sisters and their families. They supported me with continuous prayer. More personally I am much indebted to my wife, Won-Sil. She shared in all troubles during my ministry and study in Holland and South Africa. Only God knows the price she had to pay for so long because of her physical weakness. Loving gratitude and thanks go to my two daughters, Song-Eun(Rebecca) and Bo-Eun(Elizabeth). They also paid a costly price because of my ministry and study abroad for ten years.

I owe special thanks to the Han-So-Mang Church in Korea and some members (elder Y H Lee, W H Lee, C S Lee, K R Kim) of the Korean Reformed Church in Rotterdam, Holland and the former pastor Rev. J K Noh. Among the Church members, I am particularly grateful to the late Mrs Young-Hee Han and Mrs Jung-Soon Kang. Without their financial support and spiritual nurturing this study would have been impossible.

Finally, I would like to gratefully remember the prayer and concern of my colleague Prof W H Shin, and the privilege of a semester's leave of absence in the spring of 2002 granted by the Korea Theological Seminary.

A tough, but grace-filled course of my life-long journey is now over. Yet, I know that another wonderful course that He has designed for me lies ahead. Although the way may be even narrower and more rugged, I will willingly walk the way with singing. Until I see Him face to face!

To Him be the glory.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. Introduction

CHPTER II. A Historical Reflection on the Spirituality of the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC)

CHPTER III. The Dynamics of Ecclesial Spirituality

CHPTER IV. Analysing the Features of the Spirituality of the KPC

CHAPTER V. Quest for Marginality as the Praxial Hermeneutical Locus of Ecclesial Spirituality

CHAPTER I. Introduction

1.1 Problem and Aim

The Korean Church[1] has displayed some remarkable and particular features through ca. 120 years' mission history in terms of revival and growth that cannot be compared with other mission Churches in Asian countries. Showing an unusual acceptance of the Christian gospel, the Church grew fast from the beginning of the mission. During its early formative period, experiencing the powerful event of the Great Revival[2] in the utterly tragic historical situation of the nation, the Church then played, though it encompassed a small minority, a significant role in society. After the Liberation and the division into North and South in 1945, the [South] Korean Church achieved an unprecedented numerical growth during the past three decades of the 1960s-1980s in step with the modernity process of the country. Experiencing an explosive numerical growth, the Korean Christianity has grown as the most numerous religious group in membership in Korean society.[3]

Ironically, however, and inversely proportional to the rapid external growth, a phenomenon of salient moral secularisation — materialism, quantitativism, separatism, libertinism (Rhee 1995:276-286) etc.— began to come to the fore in the Church since the 1980s. By the 1990s, the Church growth stopped, the growth rate began to show the downward trend, and eventually an absolute decline began from 1993 onwards.[4] More seriously, the Church currently suffers from a grave degeneration of spirituality. In contrast to its authentic feature in the formative phase, the Church has lost its own integrity. The Church is reduced to a privatised religious group advocating a "middle class" Christianity, and consequently the influence and confidence of the Church is conspicuously decreasing in society.[5] Korean Christianity as a whole became an acculturated religion and its own identity is seriously in crisis.

---

[1] By the Korean Church is meant the Protestant Churches as a whole in Korea. But, historically since the national division into South and North in 1945, it denotes the same Churches in the South.

[2] Rene Monod (1986:2) remarks that this revival was one of the four great revivals that occurred in the 20th century outside the Western world, together with the revivals in 1927 Uganda, 1945 Formosa, 1965 Indonesia. For further information about the Korean revivals, see Monod's *De bidders van Korea, de geschiedenis van de Koreaanse opwekking*. Zeist: Pieters.

[3] According to the statistics by Gallup Korea (1998:17), as of 1997 the distribution rate of the population of religion in Korea is as follows: Non-religious 53,1%; Protestant Christian 20,3%; Buddhist 18,3%; Roman Catholic Christian 7,4%; the rest 0,9%.

[4] Recent government statistics show the Church growth rate as follows (Ro 1995:40): 1989: 9,0%; 1990; 5,8%; 1991: 3,9%; 1992: 0,6% 1993: - 4,0%.

[5] According to the research done by Gallup Korea (1998:141-143), the majority of responders (75,6% of non-religious; 62,7% of Protestant Christians; 73,0% of Roman Catholic Christians) relied that religions have currently lost its own integrity. In addition, 86,5%, 79,9%, 64,8% of each group replied that current religions are more interested in the extension of its own power rather than the pursuit of real truth.

1

And yet, more problematically, most Churches react to this critical situation in a programmatic or shortsighted way, not aware of their fundamental problem at a deeper level and focusing merely on a superficial level of the problems.

The questions posed in this study in respect to the central issue or problem facing the Korean Church are the following:

How could these two incompatible features of the Korean Church —remarkable growth and rapid secularisation[6]— during last three decades be explained?
What is the main cause for the problematic phenomenon currently facing the Korean Church?
And further, what substantial alternative for the problem should be suggested at this stage?

This dissertation aims to analyse and explain the above problematic phenomena and to suggest a helpful direction for the current problem in terms of ecclesial spirituality. The ultimate purpose of this study is to clarify the intrinsic position of the Church in the radically changing socio-cultural situation in which authentic ecclesial identity and spirituality is to be recovered.

The study of the Korean Church needs an attentive understanding for the particular socio-historical context around the Church. The Korean Church was born and has been shaped in a peculiar and uncommon circumstance. Its mission history coincides with the modern history of Korea as a small and weak nation, which is, in brief, marked by tragic suffering caused by the invasion of foreign powers: the ruthless colonial rule and relentless religious persecution by Japanese militarists (1910-1945), the national division into North and South[7] by world powers represented by USA and Russia (1945), and global-scale war due to the Cold War between the East and West Camp (1950-1953).

And yet, since the war the Korean society began to experience a rapid change. Specifically, in terms of economy [South] Korea achieved a remarkable development in spite of socio-political instability whilst passing through the modernity process[8].

---

[6] What is meant by the term "secularisation" in Korean context is significantly different from that in a Western context. While Western Churches understand secularisation primarily as "dechristianisation" and its social effects, the Korean Churches use the term unequivocally to describe the spiritual corruption of the Churches through the introduction and toleration of worldly spirits, including contemporary ideologies, popular trends, and religious syncretism (Rhee 1995:2).
[7] Korea is currently the only divided nation in the world, despite the fact that the global power structure of the Cold War has ended. As a result, now there are ca.10 million separated families in South Korea whose cherished desire for the reunion stems from a deeply held and genuine desire.
[8] During last three decades the Gross National Income per capita increased almost hundred times. The Gross National Income per capita was under US$100 until 1960s, but by 1996 it reached ca. US$10,000. Although there was an abrupt economic crisis at the end of 1997 along with the collapse of the Asian

Meanwhile, the national security of [South] Korea has continuously been threatened by North Korean communists since the armistice in 1953. Recently the intimidation reached a climax by the announcement of a nuclear weapons development program of North Korea, which threatens the world peace as well as that of the Korean peninsula.

From a perspective of global power structure, Korea is a marginal nation. Regardless of its own intentions, it is subordinated to foreign powers, specifically to American power, in terms of politics, economics, military and culture. Without considering these particular "situational" factors around the Church, it is therefore not possible to do justice to the Korean Church.

Until the present there have been several attempts to study the problems facing the Korean Church, specifically with reference to its integrity or identity in society. But no attempt to study in terms of ecclesial spirituality has yet been made. In his dissertation, entitled *Reformed Social Ethics and the Korean Church* at the Fuller Theological Seminary, U.S.A., 1993, N. H. Yang deals with the problem of the Korean Church in terms of social ethics. His argument is mainly focused on the Korean Church's lack of socio-political responsibility in the light of Reformed theological views. As another attempt, J. S. Rhee approaches the problem of the Korean Church in terms of secularisation in his dissertation, entitled *Secularisation and Sanctification: A Study of Karl Barth's Doctrine of Sanctification and Its Contextual Application to the Korean Church,* at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, Holland, 1995. He analyses the phenomenon of the secularisation of the Korean Church and tries to suggest Barth's doctrine of sanctification as an alternative in order to solve the problem.

A decisive limitation is found in both studies, however. It concerns their methodological approach. Both approaches are designed to apply theological principles or theories to the issues of ecclesial practice one-sidedly on the basis of systematic theological methodology. The resulting limitation here is that both studies lack deliberate considerations of particular situations as a profound element which has a direct impact on its problem, paying their attention merely to the phenomenal surface of the problems of the Korean Church.

C. D. Gwak's recent dissertation, entitled *Ecclesiology and Membership Trends in the South Korean Churches,* at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 2000 approaches the problem of the Korean Church in terms of Church growth. Analysing the phenomenon of rapid numerical growth during past three decades and recent decline, Gwak argues that the root of the problem stems from an unsound dominant

economy, South Korean economy has since then recovered.

ecclesiology influenced by American 'Church Growth theology', and proposes a practical theological ecclesiology as an alternative for true growth. Gwak's approach is based on practical theological methodology supported by other disciplines, i.e., sociology, economy, psychology, history, and political science. Despite the sound methodological approach, however, his view on the problem of the Korean Church remains still narrow in the sense that the problem is grasped in terms of the issue of Church growth.

For the purpose of studying the problematic phenomenon of the Korean Church, a new study based on a wider perspective is needed. It needs to be done at the macro level, considering more deliberately various situational factors around the Church that include the local context, as well as the global context. In particular the current problems facing the Korean Church need to be investigated in dynamic relation to the contemporary dominant culture. And yet no attempt has been made to approach the current problems facing the Korean Church in terms of ecclesial spirituality.

1.2 Significance of this Study

The significance of this study could be demonstrated in two directions: One is concerned with the identity crisis facing the Church in the contemporary dominant culture, and the other is associated with the primary task of practical theology. The problem of identity crisis is not merely confined within the contemporary Korean context. In a wider perspective, circumstances are identical in Western Churches. Strictly speaking, it would be more correct to say that the Korean Church treads in the steps of Western Churches. Regarding a new paradigmatic situation facing the Church with reference to its position in the modern secular world in the Western context, Walter Brueggemann (1997:40) recently remarks:

> However, the Church has become (in both the United States and in Europe) profoundly disestablished and decentered,… In a very large sweep, we may say that the Church is now faced with a radically secularized society… But it is possible to say that as the Church has colluded with the old economic, political hegemony, that is the *ancien regime*, it was poorly situated to respond to the new cultural, intellectual situation that displaced that *ancien regime*.

The contemporary western Churches facing a new situation of change are here described as "disestablished and decentred" Churches or metaphorically as Churches in "exile" elsewhere. And Brueggemann (:7) also points out that the circumstance of exile includes an experience of the "absence of God," which is not only a personal, emotional sense, but a public, institutional awareness that "the glory has departed" (:7).

It could be said that the current problem facing the Korean Church is in the same track of Western Churches in terms of secularisation, although the socio-religio-historical context is different. In this respect, the contemporary situation of the identity crisis facing the Western Churches and the Korean Church alike poses a fundamental question about the intrinsic position of the Church in the radically secularised modern world.

In so far as the issue of the identity crisis is concerned, the contemporary South African Church is no exception. Since the establishment of a black government in 1994, the SA Church, particularly the white Churches, now face a serious identity crisis. In this light, this study can shed light on the intrinsic place of the Church in the radically changing socio-cultural situation.

Furthermore, the other aspect of significance of this study is directly concerned with the primary task of practical theology stressing the identity and life of the Church in the world. The primary task of practical theology is obviously shown in Edward Farley's emphasis upon centering practical theology on a phenomenology of "ecclesial presence" (Farley 1983:21-41). According to Farley, contemporary practical theology requests a paradigm shift in its primary task from exclusive concentration upon the internal life of the Church to accentuating more the life of the Church in the world. This task is essentially concerned with the responsibility of contemporary practical theology transforming the world.

Many other theologians' (cf. Campbell 1972; Gerkin 1986; Van der Ven 1993a) emphasis on the importance of broadening the scope of practical theology beyond the boundary of the Church is to be understood in a similar vein. In the sense that this study thus concerns the primary task of practical theology in a contemporary situation, it has another significance.

1.3 Method and Research Design

This dissertation is based on the researcher's presumption that unparalleled, contextual realities, namely geopolitical, historical, socio-politico-economic and cultural situations around the Korean Church had a decisive impact on its formation, whether positively or negatively. That is to say, various contextual realities in each historical phase operated dynamically as a crucial factor in shaping the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church.

In this regard, practical theology informs the main research method in this study. With reference to its research method, practical theology recently underwent a paradigmatic

change. Traditionally, the theologising method in practical theology has mainly been a deductive one characterised by a one-dimensional approach. This methodology is, in brief, based on what is called a 'theory-to-practice' paradigm (cf. Browning 1991; Carroll 1991). According to this methodology, (theological) theory drawn from Bible interpretation or other theological disciplines is applied to (Christian or congregational) practice. Significantly, in this methodology human empirical elements are often overlooked or not taken into account.

But recently, together with the development of hermeneutics, a new method relating to theological research was introduced in practical theology. A growing consensus and emphasis is directed towards the empirical and hermeneutical dimensions in practical theology (cf. Louw 1998b; Van der Ven 1993b; Hendriks 1992; Heyns and Pieterse 1990). According to this new approach, the actions of Christians, in service of God, are viewed as communicative actions. The Church is involved in communicative actions with God, with each other and with society. Significantly, communicative acts cannot take place in a vacuum. They necessarily occur in a specific context.

The hermeneutical process is essentially involved in these communicative actions, where 'empirical elements' (i.e., human experience) play a role in the process of understanding and interpretation, namely in the process of theologising as part of the knowledge process (Louw 1998b:87). In the process existential, contextual and relational elements play an important role. Situational factors are, therefore, seriously taken into account in the hermeneutical research methodology in practical theology. Consequently theology can focus on real life issues in a more scientific way[9].

To investigate the praxes[10] of the Korean Church, in particular its socio-historical situation, this study will make use of a hermeneutical approach as a research methodology. The hermeneutical approach is a method to describe and explain the hermeneutic-communicative praxis as it occurs in reality. At the same time it is also concerned with examining and modifying the praxis with a view to transcending its limit. In this regard, the theological normativity deciding the theological quality of practical theology is an indispensable element in the hermeneutical approach in practical theology.

Summarising the concurrence of the key ideas on which today's practical theologians agree, Dingemanns (1996:92-93; cf. Louw 1998b:98) provides a research methodology for practical theology, which consists of four phases: descriptive phase; explanatory phase; normative phase; and strategic phase.

---

[9] In this respect, Louw (:90ff) describes practical theology as "a hermeneutical science".
[10] Praxis refers to concrete actions "by individuals or groups in the Church or society aimed at furthering the kingdom of God" (Heyns & Pieterse 1990:26).

The research design of this study will go through three movements, following the four phases:

Chapter 2, as a descriptive phase, deals with the historical development of the praxes of the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC) from early mission period till present. In this chapter one could observe the process of formation and changes of the KPC's spirituality as a lived faith in each historical phase, identifying various contextual realities that impact on the process.

In chapter 3, as an explanatory phase, the focus is on ecclesial spirituality. It addresses questions such as:

How are the remarkable phenomenal differences and disparities of the KPC's spirituality manifested in each historical period to be understood? How could the phenomenon be explained? For answering the questions, a definition to ecclesial spirituality will be attempted, which will serve as a base theory for the analysis of the phenomenon of the spirituality of the KPC.

In chapter 4, an interpretive or critical analysis and evaluation of the particular situations surrounding the KPC and the features of ecclesial spirituality manifested in each historical phase is made. Attention will be paid to the KPC's dynamic interplay with various contextual realities that play a decisive role in shaping the spirituality.

Chapter 5, as the normative and strategic phase, deals with the authentic locus of ecclesial identity in the contemporary dominant culture in terms of an ecclesial hermeneutic and also with a new direction toward which the KPC's spirituality should steer as an alternative for the problem currently facing the KPC.

1.4 Hypothesis

The hypotheses that this dissertation will explore on the basis of the preceding practical theological methodology are the following:

1. Two incompatible features of the Korean Church, namely the phenomenon of remarkable growth and rapid secularisation during the last three decades, are directly related to the particular life-situation around the Church. Therefore, they can be effectively explored only when approached in terms of ecclesial spirituality dealing with the experience of God by the faith community in a dynamic relation to contextual realities.

2. Contextual realities around the Korean Church, which form an unusual, unique circumstance as an arena of God's presence and redemptive work, are characterised

by marginality from a perspective of global power structure. Thus marginality might be a hermeneutical key in understanding the problematic phenomenon of the Korean Church. Special attention should therefore be given to the marginality of the Korean Church.

3. The dynamic impact of various situational factors upon the shaping of ecclesial spirituality may be properly studied with the help of a practical hermeneutical approach. That is, without a practical hermeneutical approach, a proper investigation of dynamic interplay of various situational factors with other factors in shaping ecclesial spirituality is not possible.

4. The study of ecclesial spirituality based on a practical hermeneutical approach needs an interdisciplinary approach. It could be studied in a balanced way only if theology is supported by the input and insight provided from other disciplines: sociology, economics, psychology, history, and political science etc. (Hendriks 1996:36).

5. The phenomenon of the serious degeneration of the Korean Church's spirituality in the contemporary dominant culture is inseparably linked to a loss of ecclesial identity. In this connection, marginality is again to serve as a hermeneutical key for grasping ecclesial identity. From a biblical and practical hermeneutical point of view, marginality is viewed as a praxial hermeneutical locus for ecclesial identity in the power-dominated world.

1.5 Delimitation

This study intends to explore the spirituality of the Korean Church. Thus the study of spirituality is not dealt with in depth at an individual or congregational level. Instead, it focuses on the Korean Church in general. Despite the danger of generalisation, the possibility of this study is based on two presuppositions: One is that the Korean Church as a whole shows great similarity in many ways. Similarity is shown in terms not only of doctrine, confession and religious inclinations, confession, but also of religious system and polity regardless of its denominational differences[11]. The other is that Korea has a high degree of cultural and social homogeneity, which is directly related to its geographical and historical circumstance. Korean people have, in particular, an experience of tragic suffering in common through history. As a small sized country with a mono-ethnic population, Korea was a continual battlefield of foreign powers since 17th century onwards because of her particular geographical

---

[11] According to Church statistics in 1995, about 63% of the mainline Churches represented by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches consist of conservative evangelicals, about 33% are moderate evangelicals, and the rest are liberals. The mainline Churches constitute the majority of the Korean Church, encompassing about 70% of all Protestants (cf. Gwak 2000:123, 126).

location. By the 20th century, the Korean peninsular became a laboratory of world ideologies as well as the arena of competition of world powers. It is not difficult to surmise that this peculiar geographical and historical circumstance would have had a great impact upon establishing a more or less uniform and centralised value system. And no one could deny that they have also operated as crucial factors in shaping a specific type of faith and spirituality in the Korean Church.

And yet, demarcation is inevitable. This is because theological variables are an important factor that cannot be overlooked in shaping spirituality in addition to historical and personal variables (cf. McGrath 1999:8-12). The area of study will, therefore, be devoted to the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC)[12]. Why the KPC? The reason is the following:

Firstly, the KPC have the oldest mission history in Korea, together with the Korean Methodist Churches, constituting the mainline Churches in Korea.

Secondly, the KPC have exerted a more notable influence on society and nation through history than any other denominations.

Thirdly, the KPC are currently the largest and major denomination among the Korean Churches in terms of membership[13].

Seen in this light, the KPC undoubtedly represent the Korean Church as a whole.

With reference to the historical period, the main focus of this study is directed toward the period from the mid-1990s until present since when a full-scale degrading phenomenon of the KPC's spirituality began to rise. But with a view to comparing the contemporary feature of the KPC's spirituality with those in each historical phase, the whole period of the history of the KPC will be scrutinised.

---

[12] The KPC are currently divided into four major denominations: the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCKT; *Tonghap*), the Korean Presbyterian Church (PCKH; *Hapdong*), the Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCKK; *Kosin*), and the Presbyterian Church of the Republic of Korea (PCROK; *Kijang*).

[13] According to the same statistics, the membership of the KPC covers about 60% of all Protestants.

CHPTER II. A Historical Reflection on the Spirituality of the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the history of the Korean Church[14] will be examined in terms of its spirituality as a lived faith. Following the practical theological methodology based on a hermeneutical approach, this first phase (i.e., description or observation) aims to depict how the faith and spirituality of the KPC were historically formed and manifested in those historical contexts and how it finally reached the current position.

As we proceed, we will identify the distinctive features of the spirituality of the KPC and the constituent factors that have formed and affected it: God's presence and his redemptive activity; various powers which have confronted the Korean Church in each particular historical context; the response of the KPC thereto. Due attention will be given to the political, socio-economic and cultural life situations which the Korean Church has historically faced as a crucial formative environment in which the spirituality of the KPC developed. Some preliminary remarks, prior to depiction of its history, need attention. So, the peculiar location of the country, the trait of the Korean people and traditional religions will be briefly dealt with.

2.2 The Country

Korea is a small peninsular which has an area of 85,156,40 square miles (now, South Korea: 38,232; North Korea: 46,540; the rest: demilitarised zone)[15] Situated in the heart of the Far East, Korea separates China, Russia and Japan, and also connects them. It has been, at the same time, a projecting shield to China, Russia's outlet to the Pacific Ocean and Japan's bridge to the Asiatic mainland. In other words, geopolitically the Korean peninsular is surrounded by three great powers, China in the west, Manchuria (historically) in the north and Japan in the south-east. The location itself indicates that it has been an alley of ordeal and a passage of oppression.

In times of war, it has long been a battleground. Conspicuously since the 15th century

---

[14] By the Korean Church is meant the Christian church as a whole in Korea. The history of the Korean Church is markedly divided into two periods; before and after the Liberation, on August 15th in 1945; since then the country has been separated into the North and the South Korea. Accordingly, the former period contains both churches in the north and the south of one country, while the latter is confined only to the South Korean Church.

[15] The peninsular is approximately the size of England and Scotland combined. Japan 145,869; China 3,628,166; Russian Federation 6,592,800 square miles(curt). cf. World Reference Atlas (1994: New York)

10

onwards, the invasion by the neighbouring powers continued repeatedly. During the period of early Protestant mission history, in both the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the peninsular was the prize contented for. In 1945, that is, after the Second World War, the Korean peninsular was divided into North and South inaccordance with the decision of Russia and the United States which represented the world powers at that time. In 1950, when the Korean War broke out, it became a battlefield between the East and West camps; the two power blocks of the world, the so-called Communists and anti-Communists. In summary, the peninsular was geo-politically the bridgehead in East Asia of the two world power camps.

In times of peace, however, it has been the highway of civilisation and culture in the Orient. This was so especially during the 7th and 8th centuries. Through Korea, Buddhism found its way to Japan. While the Koreans learned much from China in all the cultural fields, Japan, in turn, drew from Korea the arts of peace and good will.

2.3 The People

It is generally said that as every people of every nation are a collective body of souls, each manifests its own particular personality as a whole. Naturally the Korean people have their own personality, which has been formed under the influence of their biological inheritance, their historical and cultural development and physical environment, for instance, geopolitical location, natural surroundings, weather and so on.

The Korean people were generally said to be good-natured, generous, kind-hearted, and courteous (cf. Ham [1983] 1995:86-89)[16]. Historically, they were peace-loving people and courageous (:90-93). There is no myth of war or fighting in the stories of the foundation of the country. And there is no record of an attack on another country even before the 10th century when Korea was mightier than its neighbours. Instead, the history is replete with records of heroism and desperate bravery in defence of home and country. The Korean people thus tend to be non-aggressive to others.

The character of the Korean people is also generally thought to be emotional rather than rational. This factor has had ambivalent effects throughout history. On the positive side, it has been manifested in the trait of easily forgetting or forgiving their enemies. Koreans tend not to harbour enmity toward enemies in order to take revenge. It has, however, had a negative effect on the Korean heart as an oppressed people. Through continuous historical disasters since 15th century, resulting from the invasion by the neighbouring powers, the above inherent character has formed a particular

---

[16] Since ancient times, China had called Korea the country of courtesy in the East. This was quoted from an ancient Chinese text of the early 3rd century AD.

national sentiment called *Han* (한;恨)[17].

Han is, in a word, the wounded heart of the oppressed. According to *minjung* theologians, *Han* is a common denominator in the feeling of the powerless *minjung* who are the politically oppressed, economically exploited, socially alienated, culturally despised, or religiously condemned. When the suppressed experiences of people accumulate, *Han* appears. In a nutshell, *Han* is the particular national emotion of the marginalized Korean people through the long history of suffering for more than five hundred years, conspicuously since the 15th century onwards[18]. It was on the soil of *Han* that the Gospel of the Cross was sown by the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries.

2.4 Religions

Throughout the long history, there have been various types of national religions in the Korean peninsular (and in Manchuria where the Korean people once dwelt in ancient times): *Pungrudo*, Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, (Taoism)[19], and *Chondogyo* in chronological order.

Pungrudo was the oldest and indigenous religion of the Korean people during the ancient city states (10th century B.C.-2nd century B.C.). It is said to be the archetype of the religious mind of the Korean people (cf. Kim K J 1994:62). Korean people had faith in *Hananim*, the monotheistic heavenly God in the indigenous religion *Pungrudo* (ibid).

However, *Pungrudo* was inseparably combined and fused with Shamanism[20]which was introduced into Korea almost at the same time as *Pungrudo* (:66). And Shamanism has strongly influenced the religious mind of the Korean people irrespective of other types of religion introduced over the years into the Korean peninsular.

By the 4th century A.D., Buddhism had reached the Korean peninsular, and became a

---

[17] According to Y. H. Hyun, a minjung theologian, Koreans were born from the "womb of *Han*" and raised from there (Hyun 1981: 54). For an understanding of *Han*, see: Andrew Sung Park 1993. *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Nashville: Abingdon Press.

[18] S. H. Ham called the history of Korea one of suffering and thus the Korean people as "the Queen of suffering" (Ham :71-73, 81-83; 311-312). In this regard, the melody of *Han* is a sad tune, which sounds at the bottom of the heart of Koreans. The melody of *Han* is, however, also a vital sound of life that flows from the wounded heart of the marginalized Koreans through the long history of suffering.

[19] It is presumed that Taoism was introduced into Korean peninsular from China around the 7th century, but it has never been known in Korea as a separate religion with its own temples. However, Taoistic ideas have permeated all the religions of Korea, particularly Neo-Confucianism.

[20] Shamanism is a primitive religion widespread not only in Siberia, Mongol, Manchuria, China, Korea, and Japan, but even in North America and Africa as well. cf. Kim K J (1994:66).

major national religion during the period of three kingdoms (7th-10th century) and *Koryo* dynasty (10th-14th century). It served as a main religion permeating the spiritual, moral, socio-political and artistic world of Korea for over 1,500 years.

And later, during the *Chosen* dynasty (14th-19th century), Buddhism and Shamanism being out of favour due to their corruption and abuse in society, these major religions were replaced by Neo-Confucianism[21] which served as a sort of religion in controlling the political ideology, moral norms, social customs, and academic activities. It is a philosophical religious Way that searches after the essence of the human mind and the primordial principles of the universe. The 300 years from the 15th to 17th centuries were the high points of Neo-Confucianism, which later lost its influence, being caught up in a power struggle between its political adherents.

Tonghak, which changed its name to *Chundogyo* later, was a typical national religion founded by a Korean, Choi Jae-Woo (1824-1864) in 1860. It was a revolutionary life-movement of the religious spirit of the Korean people in the 19th century, when the country was faced with a political, social and cultural crisis. It had an impact upon the Korean people during the period at the end of the *Chosun* dynasty and during Japanese colonial reign, but its religious influence has soon diminished and almost disappeared in Korean society.

Protestantism was introduced into Korea in 1885 at the time of the collapse of the *Chosun* dynasty and the beginning of modern Korea (19th-20th century), which will be explicated in the following section. Despite the fact that Korean Christianity has the shortest history compared to its other religions, it has now become the major religion in society.

According to the government census of Nov. 1. 1995, (Yearbook of Religions in Korea 1996-1997), the distribution of religious populations among the whole population in South Korea is as follows: Christians 26.3 % (Protestants 19.7 %; Roman Catholics 6.6 %), Buddhists 23.2 %, Confucians 0.5 %, Other Religionists 0.82 %, Non-Religious 49.3 % (Total population: 44,554,000).

2.5 A Short History of the Korean Presbyterian Church from a Marginal Perspective

---

[21] Classical Confucianism was a practical moral philosophy emphasising practical moral principles and the right order of social relations in human life. It was basically a way of self-discipline emphasising loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity. But Neo-Confucianism, which was influenced and challenged by the thoughts of Taoism, and of Hua-yen Buddhism after the 6th century, is a philosophical Confucianism that explains the origins of man and the universe in metaphysical terms. cf. Kim K J (1994:87).

The discussion of this Protestant (Presbyterian) history may be divided into five periods. The first two periods, classified according to political situation, comprise the end of the *Chosun* Dynasty (1885-1910), the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). Since liberation (1945), however, Korea has been divided into North and South.

Accordingly, the discussion of Korea's history since 1945 is confined to that of South Korea except for only passing attention, if necessary. The post-liberation period in the South can again be divided into three periods according to the socio-economic and political situation, namely, the period of disorder (1945-1960), the process of industrialisation and modernisation (1960-1992), and democratisation and secularisation (1992- the present).

This section aims at a historical inquiry into the spirituality of the KPC. For better understanding, however, a brief remark on Catholic missions will precede the description of the advent of the Protestant missions.

2.5.1 The Advent of Roman Catholicism (1780-1885)

Korea's first contact with Roman Catholicism, an event that marked the first contact with modern Western culture, is connected with an invasion by neighbouring powers. In 1592 Japan invaded Korea and the war lasted for eight years, devastating the whole country[22]. This invasion was virtually Japan's first attempt to advance onto the mainland.

Ironically, during this war Korea had its first contact with Roman Catholicism, in the form of the General Konishi Yukinaga and his Japanese Army of 18,000 soldiers. They were in fact a Catholic Christian Army (Yi [1985] 1996:27; Min [1972] 1994:37). As the war dragged on, a chaplain was requested for the remaining forces and a Spanish Jesuitic missionary named Gregorio de Cespedes came over from Japan (The Institute of the Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:57). Although he stayed in Korea for about 6 months, it was not possible to preach the gospel to the Koreans, because

---

[22] Ham describes the misery of the Korean people at the time of the war as follows:

Divine Providence snatched the country from the brink of downfall. The whole land was in the depth of misery, however. Due to the war, the dead was beyond number and all industries were destroyed. Owing to the failure of crops and an epidemic, people in every province wandered around, starving. They even ate grassroots, and the bark of trees, and by day even cannibalism occurred in the street. Corpses covered the fields. In Seoul corpses that had been thrown outside the city gate formed a mound many times higher than the castle, and it took over one year to clear them away...(omitted)... No more than one year later, the national treasury was drained and the government openly allowed to sell official ranks which, however, nobody wanted. The enemies [Japanese] plundered, and the so-called Chinese rescue army robbed the people indiscriminately... nothing was left for farming (:217 my translation).

they kept away from the Japanese invaders (Min [1972] 1994:40)[23].

In 1626 and 1627 the king of the Mongolian Empire established by Genghis Khan, invaded Korea, with 100,000 soldiers (:47). The invasion followed Korea's refusal to obey the order to pay more tribute annually than before. When the war ended, the invaders took a Korean prince as hostage to Mongolia and after having conquered China, they brought him to Peking, the new capital. There, the prince came across a Catholic bishop, a Jesuit, and had personal contact with Catholicism[24].

Korea's first official contact with Roman Catholicism was through a small political group of scholars who had been marginalized in terms of a political power struggle. They were first interested, not so much on a religious level as on an academic level, in the Roman Catholicism that had been introduced into China in the guise of Western scholarship (Yi [1985] 1996:29). Devoting themselves to the study of Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu-Shiyi* (The True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven) with deepening interest in Western civilisation, they became the first converts to Roman Catholic Christianity[25]. And the new faith spread rapidly at the grassroots as well as intellectual levels[26] (cf. Kim, A E 1995:35). In 1784 the *Chosun* (Korean) Catholic Church was established.

However, a series of gruesome persecutions and martyrdom soon followed. For three main reasons, that is, the Christians' rejection of the Confucian ritual of ancestor worship, the involvement of several Christian elite in factious politics and the strong isolation policy against the Western powers by the ruling power, the Roman Catholic Christians suffered severe persecution and martyrdom for nearly a hundred years[27]. The extent was horrible. C. H. Robinson, one of the great mission historians said;

> It would be difficult to say with certainty whether the early Christians in the
> ancient Roman Empire had suffered as much as the Korean Christians in the early
> 19th century suffered for 70 years (quoted by Min [1972] 1994:89).

The Roman Catholic Church in Korea was thus established on the ground of severe

---

[23] After the war, about 50,000 Korean captives were taken to Japan, among whom a considerable number became converts there (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:58-59).

[24] However, as soon as he returned to his home country, he died of disease within 70 days, having made no contribution to the Catholic mission in Korea (Min [1972] 1994:49).

[25] It must be pointed concerning the Roman Catholic Christian mission in Korea that the first Christianity was introduced not by the foreign missionaries but by a group of marginalized Koreans themselves and spread rapidly even before the foreign missionaries entered Korea (cf. Ham :248-249).

[26] Five years after the first baptised Korean, Lee Seung Hoon went over to Peking in China for his baptism by the missionaries there, and returned home, the number of converts totalled about 4,000 (Min [1972] 1994:57).

[27] Besides the small scale frequent persecution, there were at least four major waves of persecutions on a very large scale in 1791, 1801, 1839, 1866. While the statistics are not-clear, according to one reliable reference, the three years' toll of martyrs calculated only from 1866-1868 was about 8,000 (Min [1972] 1994:95).

persecution and martyrdom during the first hundred years of its mission history.

2.5.2 The Advent of Protestantism (1885-1910)

The history of Protestant missions in Korea began with the official entry of two American missionaries into Korea on Easter Sunday, 1885: the Rev. Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916) of the Northern Presbyterian Mission and the Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902) of the Northern Methodist Mission[28].

Notably, however, there were several peculiar phenomena with regard to early mission history in Korea. Prior to their entry into Korea, in the early 1880s small Protestant Christian communities already existed in the mid-west northern regions of Korea (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:152-156). In addition, parts of the Bible, consisting of several parts of the New Testament translated into Korean, had already entered by the time the missionaries arrived. It was between 1882 and 1884 that the first portions of the Korean translation of the New Testament were printed and circulated (ibid). In 1882 and 1883 the translation of the gospels of Luke and John, and Acts of the Apostles, was done by a Scottish missionary, John Ross with the assistance of his Korean converts, while staying in Manchuria of China.

Those scriptures were distributed by Ross's converts, most of whom were merchants, to the Koreans in their own country as well as to those in Manchuria. As a result, Christian Communities had begun to emerge in Korea before the arrival of foreign missionaries. The first Korean Christian Community named *Sorae* was initiated by Seo Sang-Ryoon, one of the Ross' assistants in the translation of the Bible as well as the first colporteur thereof.

At the same time, in 1883 and 1884, the synoptic Gospels and Acts were translated into Korean by a Korean convert in Japan, Soo-Jeong Lee (:162-165). Having become a Christian whilst sojourning there as a magistrate sent by the government to further his studies, he strongly requested the American Church as well as the American missionaries in Japan to send missionaries to Korea (Yi 1998:105-109). In a real sense he was "a Korean Macedonian" (:105). And interestingly when the first missionary, Horace G. Underwood, entered into Korea, he had already acquired this translated text,

---

[28] In 1884, prior to the arrival of the first American Missionaries in Korea, Dr. Horace Allen, the first missionary appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, moved from China to Korea. However, his official status was not that of a missionary but that of a Physician for the American diplomat (Hunt 1980:16). Actually he had the double status of diplomat and missionary. Through his treatment of Prince Min Young Ik's wounds in the political upheaval of 1884, Allen had obtained the favour of King Kojong. He soon became the court physician and royal advisor. A few years later he became legation secretary in Seoul in 1886, and was then elevated to minister resident, consul general, envoy extraordinary and finally to minister plenipotentiary in 1901. As a diplomat and missionary, Dr. Allen paved the way for the missionary movement in Korea.

when coming through Japan (Min 1991:25). By 1885, the entire New Testament had been translated, bound and distributed as a single volume (ibid).

A Bible-centred and lay-oriented local church was thus born, and the Bible, albeit partly, had been translated by the Korean converts before the missionaries arrived and organised their work. From the beginning of the Protestant mission, Koreans were, therefore, eminently receptive to Christianity. "A whole nation was [is] as ripe for the preaching of the Gospel as any nation could be" (Speer 1897:6)[29].

In the following section the world situation at the time around the Korean peninsular will be examined.

2.5.2.1 The Protestant Missions and the World Power-Struggle

The 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th were the age of imperialism. By 1880 Western powers had already colonised most Asian countries and were competing in Korea to secure as much profit as possible, while Asian powers were also competing among themselves to occupy the Korean peninsular. Korea had strategic importance for both Japan and Russia.

Japan considered Korea as a bridgehead for the invasion of China and the rest of the Asian continent. For Russia, in turn, she could provide many naval ports that were not frozen in winter. Korea was, further, strategically attractive to Russia, because she desired to check the influence of Japan (Lee K B [1967] 1990:392-394). These conflicting interests in the Far East between the Asian powers made the situation more complicated.

England and America were also interested in the Far East, as, for England especially, Korea was one of the strategic locations for deterring the southward advance of Russia. In the eyes of England and her ally America, Japan was a useful partner that could be used to check the expansion of Russia in the Far East. For this reason the British and American governments wanted Japan to have superiority over Russia in Korea and those countries, therefore, became allies of Japan (:395-396).

China also, claiming to be a traditional suzerain to Korea, exerted strong political power in order to take the initiative over Korea, and became a rival with Japan (:364-365). After Japan had defeated China in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, the battlefield of which was Korea, Korea was likely to be colonised at any moment either by Japan or by Russia. Korea's fate was like a candle flickering in the wind. Having destroyed

---

[29] This was reported by Robert E. Speer, the secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. on his *Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Missions*, after his visit to Korea for a month in August, 1897.

the pro-Russian government through the brutal murder of the Korean queen Minbi in 1895, Japan then removed her last rival for occupation of Korea by defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

Finally, Korea was annexed to Japan on August 29, 1910. England had already consented to Japanese control over Korea in the 1902 British-Japanese treaty of alliance and she renewed this in 1905 (quoted by Han 1970:447). The United States also admitted the right of Japan to subjugate Korea on condition that Japan should acquiesce in the American occupation of the Philippines[30].

Thus, Korea was absolutely marginalized by the great world powers in those times. Under these political conditions of world-wide imperial expansion, Protestant pioneering missionaries came to Korea, to carry out their mission work. And almost all of the missionaries entered Korea under the protection of the American legation (Lee J Y 1983:388). Once the foundation was laid, the missionary movement often became a part of the diplomatic effort. In the nineteenth century the American missionary movement and colonial expansionism were thus interwoven (ibid). In other words, at the end of the 19th century, Christian mission and the American policy of imperialism were virtually inseparable (Yi 1998:194). By the time the missionary movement was ready to stand on its own feet, the American legation had been removed from Korea. At this time, December 1905, Korea became the protectorate of Japan.

In these situations it was unthinkable for the Western missionaries, especially the American missionaries to devote themselves to purely religious work, distancing themselves completely from the critical political issue of Korea's colonisation and her independence. Deciding which power to side with, was a dilemma.

If they encouraged the Korean Christians to resist the unjust invasion of Japan, they would immediately be regarded as the enemy of Japan and most probably be expelled from Korea. This is because Japan was actually in control over Korea after 1905 (Lee K B [1967] 1990:397). On the other hand, if they exhorted Korean Christians to accept the control by Japan and submit to it, they would certainly be suspected of being the agents of Japan and would lose the trust of Koreans.

Finally, they decided to choose a neutral or non-committal stance as their official policy (Yi [1985] 1996:136-142; Paik [1973] 1993:435-437; Yang N H 1993:166-167).

---

[30] This event is called 'the Taft-Katsura Agreemennt'. On July 29, 1905, Taft, the American Secretary of the Army, sent by President Theodore Roosevelt, exchanged a note with Katsura, the Prime Minister of Japan. The content of the agreement was that America acknowledged the Japanese right to become a protectorate over Korea on condition that Japan acquiesce in America's occupation of the Philippines (cf. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:324 footnote 54).

The neutralism or non-committal stance towards the oppressor or the oppressed was virtually another way of supporting the *status quo,* siding with the oppressor and taking part in the injustice in those political situations. According to L. G. Paik who examined a vast amount of missionary materials of those times, a large number favoured and co-operated with the Japanese and made an effort to quieten the restlessness of the Christians (Paik [1973] 1993:435). Especially strong was the pro-Japanese tendency among the leading missionaries (Yi [1985] 1996:139).

For them the Japanese take-over was thought to be in the best interests of Korea (Yang N H 1993:168). Following American support for the Japanese annexation of Korea, most American missionaries therefore favoured the presence of the Japanese government in the early days of Japanese rule (Suh 1994:305-306).

At a meeting in Pyongyang in September 1901, the American missionaries made a formal resolution to support the Japanese policy, following the thirteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans[31] (Yi [1985] 1996:136-137; Moffett 1962:67, Kang 1976:34-35). The missionaries tried to persuade new Korean converts to be loyal to the Japanese government. Koreans who had been thinking of the missionaries as the apostles of justice were greatly embarrassed to see that the missionaries took the side of Japan.

Feeling betrayed, they began to suspect that the missionaries might be "the handmaid of imperialism" (Yang N H 1993:169). Some Korean Christians simply left the church in anger. More radical ones attacked the missionaries on the street; some even threatened their lives. Not all the missionaries, however, agreed with the pro-Japanese stance. Several of them were sympathetic towards Koreans and made an all-out effort for Korea's independence.

At this time the King Kojong made many requests to the American legation for American advisors in foreign and military affairs, but his requests were repeatedly ignored. In 1903 Dr. Horace Allen travelled to Washington to speak with the President in person in a bid to save Korea from Japanese imperial ambition. Allen's pro-Korean and pro-Russian viewpoint, clashed, however, with President Theodore Roosevelt's pro-Japanese stance, and his diplomatic effort failed[32]. Eventually in 1910 Korea was

---

[31] "Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves (Rom 13:1-2)."

[32] Here another diplomatic attempt for Korea's independence by a Methodist missionary named Homer B. Hulbert needs also to be noted. A few days before the effectuation of the Korean-Japanese Treaty of 1905 that made Korea protectorate under Japan, Hulbert visited the White House to see the President and deliver the petition of the Korean King to him. The content of the petition was that the Treaty was invalid because it was made under the threat and violence of Japan and that America, in accordance with

19

annexed to Japan. As a result, the missionaries were faced unavoidably with the militarist power of Japan, and began identifying themselves with the oppressed.

Their mission work in Korea became part of the liberating process for the marginalized people; delivering them from oppression, injustice, ignorance and foreign domination[33]. One of the strategies of the early missionaries was to concentrate on women and the labouring class (Min [1972] 1994:198, 207; cf. Chang 1991:124). The missionaries thus engaged in vital medical services, education and Bible translation. Bible translation was focused not on the intelligentsia but on the common people, including the illiterate, which significantly contributed towards making the Bible accessible to the marginalized section of society (The Institution of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:201-202).

The outcome of the mission work is manifest in the number of converts, the liberation of the marginalized women and their zeal for prayer for the country. According to reliable statistics, following the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 and the Ulmi Incident in 1895, the number of baptized Christians in 1896 was 777, while by 1897 this number had increased to 5,000, of which 3,000 were Presbyterian (Yi 1991: 279). By 1905, there were about 10,000 baptized Christians and 30,000 catechumens. In 1907, the number of baptized Christians was still less than 20,000 with around 100,000 catechumens, including many new converts added in the Great Revival (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1996:275). If we estimate the population of Korea in 1907 to be between 15 million and 20 million, Christians comprised less than one percent of the whole population. Though the Christians were in the minority numerically, their influence was considerable in society.

---

the treaty that they had made with Korea in 1882, should try to rescue Korea from Japan. Until then, neither the Korean King nor Hulbert had known that Theodore Roosevelt had already agreed that Japan would occupy Korea. Though the arrival of the Korean King's petition was announced to the President, it was not officially acknowledged until after the Treaty between Korea and Japan had been effectuated. Hulbert got angry and severely denounced the unfaithfulness of the American government (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:306; Yang N H 1993:170).

[33] According to J. Y. Lee (1983:390-391), the failure of both the American diplomacy and the diplomatic effort of two missionaries had a positive outcome for missionaries and their work.

Firstly, it enabled them to be unattached to the protection of American diplomacy. In other words, the failure of the American diplomatic attempt broke the link between the missionary movement and American diplomacy. If the missionaries had continued under the influence of the American diplomatic policies in Korea, they would not have been different from other Americans in Far East.

Secondly, this, in turn, forced them to change their mission approach. They could no longer be chaplains to the capitalist exploiters or defenders of the imperialists. Instead, they had to confront the unjust colonial policy of Japan, identifying themselves with the oppressed Koreans.

Thirdly, it also contributed toward preventing Christianity from adhering closely to the ruling power in Korea. Dr. Allen was dismissed and recalled to the United States and consequently, his influence over and from the royal court ended. If his diplomatic effort had been successful, he would have exercised his strong influence over the royal court and then, inevitably Christianity in Korea might have been linked to the ruling power. Fortunately, however, although the American missionary movement was initiated in the royal court, its creative and effective work finally took root in the marginalized class.

In connection with early mission work, the subordinate role of the marginalized women was significant. At that time women were the most marginalized class in society. Their status was almost that of slaves (cf. Yang M K 1992:93) According to the Confucian value system, females were rigidly separated from males. A female was officially not allowed to be educated.

In this situation, through the wives of foreign missionaries the Gospel was spread to the Korean women. Several of them were trained by the foreign women-missionaries and later became helpers of the latter. They were mostly older, unmarried women, and particularly widows, the most marginalized of all women in society. They were called "the Bible women" and worked as colporteurs, evangelists, teachers, leaders of Korean women, and even more. The Bible women made long journeys, selling Bibles, preaching and evangelising in the face of strong objection and persecution. They led services for women, taught them how to read, and instructed them on various issues, such as the Bible, Sabbath-observance, conduct in the Church, control and care of the family, and health and hygiene (:104-106).

Practically, they were the pastors of many females, and their role evolved into that of women evangelists (Huntley 1987:423). According to M.F. Scranton, these women were highly respected because of their ability to offer up predominant prayer. They were called upon to cast out devils, as well as to offer fervent prayer for the healing of the sick. Their faith was often greater than that of their teachers (The Korea Mission Field 1907:53).

Thus, in the early missionary work, the role of the Bible women, i.e. the extremely marginalized section of an already marginalized people was of great significance. In actual fact, they were the powerful instruments of the Gospel. In a sense, the Korean Church has grown up on the foundation of their sacrificial devotion (Yang M K 1992:107).

Furthermore, the Christians' prayer for the country was especially noticeable. In accordance with the decision of the Presbyterian Council, all three hundred Presbyterian Church in Korea held meetings to pray for the country for a week, beginning the day after Thanksgiving Day in 1905. Some time later, a public meeting of prayer for the country was held in Seoul for a week. Thousands of Christians gathered every day and their prayers became "a sea of tears" (Yi [1985] 1996:143-144; Noh 1995:151-152). The prayer meetings for the country spread across the nation at the local church level, several churches sometimes combining. It was the painful outcry of helpless souls to heaven, continuing in many churches under the colonial rule in the form of the daybreak prayer meetings and the Wednesday evening prayer meetings.

In addition to this nation-wide prayer, the Christians protested against Japanese injustice by various actions (Yi [1985] 1996:144; Yang N H 1993:164-165). In spite of its minority status, the Christian church at the time thus played a significant role in society.

2.5.2.2 The Great Revival of 1907

In 1907 a very significant event occurred in Korean church history, namely, 'the Great Revival'[34]. It originated from the frustrations that both Koreans and missionaries had to face at that time (Min [1972] 1994:226-227). With relation to the cause of the intense revival movement in the 1900s, Blair, a contemporary missionary, pinpoints the brokenness of the Korean people which stemmed from the suffering and hopelessness that they suffered in an utterly marginalized situation:

> It is pitiable to see them grieve, to see strong men weep over national loss. They come to us and say, 'Is there any country so poor, so unfortunate as ours?' But it means much that their eyes are open. Formerly they were proud and arrogant; they were 'wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked', and knew it not. Now, with respect to this world, at least, they know just where they stand. They know they are despised and rejected. The arrow had entered Korea's soul. *Her spirit was broken.* For years now she has been sitting in the dust, mourning not only her present misfortunes, but also her past sins. Over just such a stricken people has God often stretched out his hand in blessing. *By brokenness of spirit Korea has been prepared for the Gospel* (Blair & Hunt 1977: 25 Italics added).

Their absolutely marginalized situation had led the Korean Christians to the brokenness of the spirit, which was eventually linked to the Great Revival. For Koreans who had only God to rely on in the miserable situation of their country, the way of prayer was the one and only way. Their desperate prayer finally prepared the way to the revival.

The missionaries were also in crisis because they had been estranged from the Korean people by America's pro-Japan diplomatic policy. Their neutral stance toward the

---

[34] It is generally agreed that the revivals of the early 1900s in Korea (the limited revival of 1903, the more general revivals of 1905, and the explosive awakening of 1907) were our 'genuine Pentecost' experience (Kim M H 1990:231). In a true sense, through this revival the Korean church was born.
According to R. Monod, the 1906-7 revival in Korea is one of the four great revivals outside the Western world in the 20th century: 1906 Korea, 1927 Uganda, 1945 Formosa(Taiwan), 1965 Indonesia. See: Rene Monod, 1986 *De bidders van Korea, de geschiedenis van de Koreanse opwekking.* Zeist n.d.
The world Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 reported that 50,000 Korean Christians had experienced the genuine Pentecost. See: World Missionary Conference, 1910 *Report of Commission I,* 77. Edinburgh.

Japanese government, as well as their admonition to the believers to obey the state power was no longer acceptable. Their frustrations caused by the ministry of the mission also drove them to prayer, putting their trust only in God (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:268-269).

Eventually, the fire of the Great Revival began in Pyongyang with intense prayer at the Bible study and prayer meetings in the New Year of 1907. The fire of the Holy Spirit followed the sermon on 1Corinthians 12:27— we are all the body of Christ and each one is a part of it— and the congregations began to pray for God's intervention in a world that was far from manifesting love and justice. All congregations were marvellously touched.

The following Sunday evening, the church had a 'strange experience' (Blair & Hunt 1977:70). There was no "life" in the meeting. The church was full of people, but something seemed to block everything. On the following Monday evening, the solemn mysterious power again dominated the meeting. When people entered the church, they felt ever, with a bodily sensation, the overwhelming presence of God. On that day the typical atmosphere of Pyongyang's Great Revival unfolded.

The congregations began to pray all through the night and the rushing stream of impressions lasted for several days. Later, the prayer movement and revivals spread over the whole country and continued throughout the following decades.

The remarkable characteristics of the prayer session included the confessions of sins and loud, communal prayers together in unison. In other words, the prayer was offered communally from one body of Christ. William Blair, an eyewitness of 'the Korean Pentecost', gave the best description of such prayer:

> After a short sermon, Mr. Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, 'If you want to pray like that, all pray,' and *the whole audience began to pray out loud, all together*. The effect was indescribable - not confusion, but *a vast harmony of soul and spirit a mingling together of souls* moved by an irresistible impulse of prayer. The prayer sounded to me *like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne* ... As the prayer continued, a spirit of heaviness and sorrow for sin came down upon the audience. Over on one side, someone began to weep, and in a moment the whole audience was weeping. Mr. Lee's account gives the history of that night better than any words can do. 'Man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor and beat the floor with his fists in perfect agony of conviction. My own cook tried to make confession, broke down in the midst of it and cried to me across the room:

"Pastor, tell me, is there any hope for me, can I be forgiven?" and then he threw himself to the floor and wept and wept, and wept, and almost screamed in agony. Sometimes after confession, *the whole audience would break out in audible prayer*, and the effect of that audience of *hundreds of men praying together in audible prayer* was something indescribable. Again, after another confession, they would break out in uncontrollable weeping and we would all weep; we could not help it. And so the meeting went on until two o'clock a.m., with confession and weeping and praying'... [Mr. Kim, an elder] Turning to me said, " Can you forgive me, can you pray for me?" I [W. Blair] stood up and began to pray, " Apa-ge, Apa-ge" (Father, Father) and we got no further. It seemed as if the roof was lifted from the building and *the Spirit of God came down from heaven in a mighty avalanche of power upon us*. I fell at Kim's side and wept and prayed as I had never prayed before (Blair & Hunt 1977: 72-73. Italics added).

The intense prayer during the revival led them not only into confession and tears but also into transformed lives. Blair describes it in this way: 'All through the city men were going from house to house confessing to individuals they had injured, returning stolen property and money, not only to Christians but to the unconverted as well, till the whole city was stirred. A Chinese merchant was astonished to have a Christian walk in and pay him a large sum of money that had been obtained unjustly years before' (:75).

Furthermore, Scripture reading paralleled the prayer that had begun in times of difficulty, and it proceeded with confession of sins, producing transformed lives of purity and finally expressing compassion for other souls in evangelism. Moulded in the flame of the revivals, the independent Korean presbytery was constituted in 1907[35].

Right from the beginning the presbytery sent one of the first seven ordained Korean ministers as a missionary to Chaeju Island of Korea. In the 1909 presbytery meeting another missionary was sent to Vladivostok for the Korean aliens in Russia, and another to Tokyo for the Korean students in Japan. Later, another missionary was also sent to Manchuria.

In the same year the One Million [Soul Winning] Movement spread out. It was a bold attempt when we consider the total number (ca. 200,000) of Christians at the time. After his visit to Korea in 1907, Dr. J.R. Mott, one of the ecumenical movement's pioneers, said: " Look at Korea. Now the spiritual stream of revival sweeps over the whole country... This fact shows how the Holy Spirit works... Of the possibility that we

---

[35] At that time, there were 32 missionaries, 40 Korean ministers and elders; the church members numbered 17,890 baptized Christians, 21,482 catechumens and 69,098 enrolled Christians and the number of local churches totalled 38(organised) and 984(unorganised). See: Min Kyung-Bae, *The*

can evangelise the whole world within this century, everyone can be convinced on seeing the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea" (quoted by Min [1972] 1994: 287). It was the Korean Church growth after the revival that gave him the motivation and conviction for his slogan of evangelising the whole world within the 20th century.

Through this revival, the church in an extremely marginalized situation acquired the power to confront the tragedy of national trial as well as the courage to break through the long rugged valley of despair and suffering set before her[36]. Furthermore, it provided the momentum to form the constitution of the Korean church, occurring as it did within the context of the ongoing persecution and suffering of a marginalized people.

This revival had a profound impact upon the Korean Church as a whole (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996: 273-275, cf. Park Y K 2000: 451-502): Firstly, the pure faith and spirit of Christianity were expressed deeply in this revival. The Korean Church experienced the assurance of the presence of the Holy Spirit, the confession of sins, and the conviction of God's judgement and His justice and love.

Secondly, it contributed to a better mutual understanding between the Korean Christians and the missionaries. The superior feeling of the latter and the unconditional submission of the former were modified and purified by the confession of their sins. This resulted in the deep mutual understanding and trust.

Thirdly, it also contributed to the elevation of the moral standard of the Korean Christians. The repentance of sins in the deep inner heart enhanced the purity of their faith and laid a foundation for the embodiment of the Korean Christian's piety.

Fourthly, it was from the time of this revival that the Korean church began to be characterised by its zeal for prayer, Bible study and evangelism. From that time on, the (daily) daybreak prayer, over-night prayer and the regular meeting for Bible study and prayer became a characteristic tradition[37].

2.5.3 Summary

History of the Korean Church, revised. 266. Seoul 1987.

[36] With relation to the 1907 revival, the lopsided, nationalistic viewpoint from which the event has been interpreted as a mere product of the missionaries' attempts at depoliticisation, should be criticised. See: Min Kyung-Bae, *ibid., 254-260.*

[37] The tradition still continues, but from the eighties onwards the purpose and content began to degenerate, together with the church growth movement. For an understanding of the prayer life of the Korean Christians, see: (ed) D. A. Carson, 1990 *Teach us to pray, prayer in the Bible and the world,* World Evangelical Fellowship.

The historical context of Korea during the early mission period was internally and externally a state of extreme disorder and oppression. The Korean nation was politically, socio-economically and religio-culturally at the nadir, by means of continuous invasion and oppression by neighbouring powers as well as collapse of domestic administration. Eventually, Korea was victimised by Japanese imperialists. In this desperate situation, Protestant mission began and the Korean people showed, at the very outset of the mission, an eminent receptivity to the Gospel.

The mission work became part of liberating process for the marginalized people. The outcome of the mission work was manifested particularly in remarkable number of converts and the liberation of the marginalized section in society. The Christians' fervent prayer for the nation was especially noticeable. Their desperate prayer in the hopeless national situation was linked to the experience of the Great Revival, which fundamentally shaped the spirituality of the KPC: repentance and transformation of life, eagerness for Bible study, fervent communal prayer and zeal for evangelism.

2.6 Japanese Colonial Rule and Communism (1910-1945)

Over three decades, from 1910 until 1945, the Korean Church had to share her fortune with Japanese colonial rule. In August 1910 Korea was annexed by Japan by force and this marked the beginning of 35 years of colonial rule which ended in 1945. At the time the Korean Church identified itself with the homeland in its deep trial and grief and therefore she became the first target of Japanese persecution.

In addition, in the 1920s and 1930s Russian Communism infiltrated into Korea, taking advantage of the social confusion. In those days the whole country suffered dire poverty as a result of severe exploitation by the Japanese. Many Koreans had to leave their homeland for Manchuria and Russia in order to survive, where Christians suffered the severe persecution of communism. Thus, both imperialism and communism[38] were powers that the Korean Church had to confront during this period.

In this section, the marginality of the Korean Church will be investigated again by revealing the severe persecution and martyrdom caused by its confrontation with imperialism and communism.

2.6.1 Japanese Persecution and the March First Movement

---

[38] The aftermath of communism lasted for several decades and finally divided the country into North and South. Throughout the Korean War that had been stirred up in 1950 by the Communists in the north, the ideological confrontation between North and South still continues down to date.

Japanese colonial rule developed in three stages: 'military rule' by the bayonet in the first decade, 'cultural rule' by appeasement in the second decade and an 'obliterative rule' since the 1930s. The military rule by the bayonet in the first decade was manifested in the form of political oppression, economical exploitation, cultural obliteration and social discrimination.

Not only military personnel and policemen, but also teachers and public officers wore the long swords while on duty. The long sword was the symbol of threat and oppression. After the occupation of Korea, Japan launched into the economic exploitation of Korea. Having explored all the territories of Korea, the colonial government confiscated almost half of the land (Yi [1985] 1996:152). Many Koreans, losing the land that they had inherited from their ancestors, were reduced to the status of tenants or had to leave the home country (Noh [1993] 1995:57). Moreover, the government suppressed the growth of Korean capital by requiring the permission of the government before a new company could be founded.[39]

In school the use of the Japanese language was enforced in all classes. To go abroad for travel or study was forbidden, while tens of thousands of Koreans were forced by the government to move to Manchuria. The Koreans were deprived of freedom of speech, meeting and association. Discriminatory treatment against Koreans in favour of the Japanese was to be found in every area: employment, payment, promotion, and opportunity for education and in application of the laws (Noh [1993] 1995:54-63; The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:24-25).

Meanwhile, the Japanese rulers had begun to arrest and detain those Koreans who had a national consciousness, trying to prevent a concentrated resistance against the colonial government. The main target was the Christians. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Korean Christians began, more and more, to take a prominent place in the affairs of the Church and in society as a whole (Grayson 1989:198). So the Japanese rulers attempted to weaken the Korean Church in several ways in order to reduce it to a state of total submission.

One of the first attempts was the Conspiracy Trial of 1912. On a fabricated charge – the assassination of the governor-general, Terauchi Masatake – they arrested ca. 700 teachers and students. Finally, 122 persons were accused, 107 of whom were Christians (Yi [1985] 1996:155; cf. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:312). They were mostly prominent Christian leaders. In spite of the falsity of the allegation that was clearly revealed in the process of investigation, 105 persons

---

[39] During the First World War 1,880 companies were formed in Japan every year, but throughout this

were found guilty at the first trial (Yi [1985] 1996:156). Although eventually all but six of the alleged conspirators were acquitted, the suffering endured by Christian leaders and a few missionaries was extreme. Three of them died in prison after cruel torture.

This incident proved that the Japanese rulers must have seen the Christians as the most powerful group and one that could challenge their total domination of Korea. The trial and its outcome also highlighted the growing link between Korean nationalism and Christianity.

After the incident, the policy of oppression of the Church and the Christian schools began to be practised more openly[40]. In 1915, the governor-general announced two religious laws. One was the Private [Religious] School Law, which prohibited the mission schools from teaching the Bible or worshipping in the chapel (Yi [1985] 1996:158-159; Min [1972] 1994:326). The pro-Japanese Methodist schools immediately followed this law and stopped their religious activities, while the Presbyterian schools appealed to the government for reconsideration and prayed that the law would be withdrawn before the end of a 10 years' probation period (Rhee 1995:263).

The other law was the Religious Propaganda Law, which required not only permission for the establishment of a new church but reports of church statistics and activities, so that the Korean churches could be tightly controlled (Yi [1985] 1996:157). On the basis of that Law, all religious publications were censored; the sermons at the Sunday service as well as the content of Bible meetings were subjected to surveillance. Several Hymns, for instance, 'Onward, Christian soldiers' and 'Stand up, stand up for Jesus' were banned, because those hymns were considered to promote nationalism.

One minister had been warned of immanent arrest because of his preaching about the Kingdom of Heaven. The reason was simply because the only kingdom on earth was regarded as that of Japan (Yi [1985] 1996:154). The expression "fight against sin!" was interpreted as "fight against Japan!" Persecutory measures gradually restricted the religious communities, especially the Christian church. The severity of military police control in the first decade of Japanese occupation provoked the Korean people to the limit of their endurance.

---

time only one company emerged in Korea (Song 1986: 74-5).

[40] In October 1910, the private schools totalled 2,250, of which the religious schools numbered 829. By the end of June 1918, due to the continuous policy of oppression the number of private schools was 809, of which the religious schools numbered 323. In May 1919, only 742 private schools remained, including 298 religious schools (Yi [1985] 1996: 158-159; cf. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1989] 1996:329).

Finally, the Korean people stood up against the Japanese rule in the 1919 March First Movement, which proclaimed the Declaration of Independence signed by 33 representatives of the people, and resulted in a nation-wide peaceful protest for three months (Han 1990:475-478). More than two million people participated in 1,542 demonstrations (Rhee 1995:263). The Korean church participated actively in this anti-imperialist resistance.

Of the 33 signatories of the Declaration of Independence, sixteen were Christians[41]. Thus in the preparatory stage and at the stage of the people's rally and also in its transition to a provisional government-organising movement, Christians played a vital role (The Institute of Korean Church History [1990] 1994:32-35; Yi [1985] 1996:163). In particular, the Christians' participation in the spread of the resistance over the whole country was far-reaching and very active.

The March First Movement occurred concurrently in 12 towns including Seoul. The Declaration of Independence document was distributed by the students and Christian youth. Obviously such rapid spread of the movement throughout the country owed much to the 200,000 Christians and their churches.

More importantly, it was the Christians' insistence on non-violence that gave the spontaneous uprising its unique character (Noh [1993] 1995:191-198; Grayson 1989:201). The protest was essentially a pacifistic movement, for the Korean demonstrators did not have any weapons. Nevertheless, the Japanese soldiers and policemen responded to this demonstration in a most brutal way. They violently killed 7,509 Korean people, arrested about 47,000 and injured 15,961 by inhuman torture (Rhee 1995:263; Park 1975:534-555). According to the statistics of the military police at the end of that year, Christians numbered 3,426 among 19,525 arrested Koreans, i.e. 17.6 %. Significantly, the Christians were the largest religious group of all those arrested (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:38; Yi [1985] 1996:164)[42]. Considering that the Christian population measured about 1.3-1.5 % of the whole population (c.a. 16 million), this was a remarkably high number (Yi 1997:16).

A harsh retaliation took place against Christians and churches. Japanese rulers, via the

---

[41] Of other participants, there were 15 Chundo (Korean indigenous religion with a strong nationalistic character) believers and 2 Buddhists (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994: 32, footnote 24). The Korean Christianity was, at that time, only a minority group in society in terms of numbers.

[42] Among all those arrested, the number of Christian leaders including ministers, 244 was almost double of that of Chundo and Buddhist leaders. Notably, among the arrested the total number of females was 471 of whom the number of Christian females was 309. This amounted to 65.6 % of all female participants.

police and military force, demolished church buildings and bell towers, and destroyed countless Bibles. They began to arrest Christians as their main target (Min [1972] 1994:343-344). The most inhuman brutality was the well-known massacre at Chaeam Church near Suwon. About the time when the March First Movement was nearing its end, around 2:00 p.m., on 15 April 1919, a Japanese military officer appeared in Chaeam village. Having brought together the Christians into the church building, he and his followers shot at the Christians. Even then not satisfied, they set fire to the Church. All 29 Christians in it were burnt to death and the church building was reduced to ashes (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994: 36).

Ghastly massacres also occurred in Sachon Church in Kangso, Chongju Church, Kangkye Church, Wiwon Church, Noru-pawi Church and many other Korean churches in Manchuria (Japan Christian Quarterly 1986:83). Thus, that year, the Korean Church added another chapter to its history of martyrdom[43]. The statistics above showed that Japanese retaliation was severe especially against Christianity. This also proved that through this March First Movement the Korean church walked on the high road of national destiny, proving the falsehood of the notion that Koreans were a soft and spiritless people and that Japanese colonial rule was inevitable (Yi [1985] 1996:165).

However, by the 1920s, the political situation had become even worse and the national independent movement was totally halted within the country.[44] Due to terrible economic exploitation as well as ongoing political oppression, the two decades, 1920s and 30s found Koreans near total despair. To make things worse, Russian communism infiltrated into Korea at that very time. Korean Christianity came to be surrounded by hostile forces on all sides. A group of members who had complained about the church's non-violent or non-resistant attitude toward national independence, left the church, being disappointed in the church's attitude regarding its one-sided emphasis on personal salvation.

Consequently, Korean Christianity, whose main principle was non-violence and non-resistance, directed itself towards two movements: one was a social participation movement and the other was the revival movement. Naturally the former was more

---

[43] According to the report from the 8th General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church, 3,804 people were arrested during this movement, 134 of whom were ordained ministers or elders (Min [1972] 1994:345). This number amounted to 13 % of all ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church at that time (Yang N H 1993:179). Further, forty-one were killed, and 1,642 were sent to prison (Min [1972] 1994:345). Twelve Presbyterian Church and eight schools were destroyed (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:37). The situation of the Methodist Church was not very different. At their annual conference that year, it was reported that of twenty-eight pastors, fourteen were in prison (Young 1993:180).

[44] After the March First Movement, as national independence had become impossible within the country, most of the political leaders fled to China, Manchuria, or America, and they established a government in exile in Shanghai, China, thus continuing the political and armed struggle (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:59-63).

inclined to be both theologically liberal and socially active, while the latter tended to be both theologically conservative and concerned with purely 'church' affairs.

On the one hand, various Christian social movements unfolded. Among them these were the promotion of the use of home products, the village movement for farmers (who were most severely exploited by the colonial government) and the temperate living and social purification campaign, which promoted abstinence from smoking and drinking, and from the use of opium, and abolition of licensed prostitution etc. These social programs were the best that the church could do for the nation in that situation (Noh [1993] 1995:241-257 Yi [1985] 1996:168-172).

On the other hand, the revival movement, after the 1920s, tended to be futuristic, transcendental and mystical. Faith, hope and dignity were planted in the hearts of the poor, despised and despairing people in their extremely marginal contexts. The revival preachers emphasised the virtues of humility, concession and poverty, and also stressed that while there was no hope in this world ruled by Japan, there was the heaven of the future prepared by Christ (Yi [1985] 1996:85).

2.6.2. The Advent of Russian Communism

During the two decades of the 1920s and 30s, Japan's continuous exploitation, together with the aftermath of the Great World-wide Depression, kept the Koreans in desperate economic straits. Many people lost their livelihood and due to extreme poverty, people left for Manchuria and Russia in increasing numbers. At this opportune moment, the Russian communism that had initiated the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 began to permeate rapidly into Korea via Communists who strove to convert the world to communism.

It was quite natural that the slogan of communism, Liberation of the Oppressed, should fascinate the Koreans suffering under severe oppression and exploitation. The ideology of communism appealed especially to the intellectuals, patriotic leaders and politically aware youngsters. Socialism and communism were far more conscious of the national spirit and ideal than was the Church. The collision between Church and communism was inevitable.[45]

Soon anti-Christian organisations came into being and went into antagonistic action against the Church. On some occasions, they openly opposed the spreading of

---

[45] For the detail of the collision, see: Chi-Joon Noh, [1990] 1993, *A Study of the Korean Protestant Nationalistic Movement under the Japanese Rule*, 73-86, Seoul: The Institute of Korean Church History Studies. And also Jung-Min Suh, 1994, *The He in History*, 377-394, Seoul: Handeul.

Christianity and submitted articles that criticised the church in the newspaper[46]. A spirit that opposed Christianity spread among civilians and this was largely due to the Communist ideology (Kim 1995:72).

The persecution of the church by the communists soon followed. The collision between the Korean Church and communism inside the country was slight, because both groups were strongly oppressed under Japanese rule (Min [1972] 1994:454). The communist activities were, however, very active outside the country, i.e. among the Korean immigrants in Russia and China. On the grounds that the ideology was different, the communists in Russia and China attacked the churches and murdered many Christians. They plundered church buildings and sometimes set fire to them. In particular, under the severe persecution several churches were reduced to ruins.

The communists charged many pastors and leaders with groundless crimes; some were put in prison and others were brutally murdered. In September 1925, the communists in Manchuria martyred Korean missionaries for the first time. The four missionaries were alleged to be the spies of Japan (ibid). And in October 1932, two pastors were also martyred[47].

According to the report of the 24th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church

---

[46] The following article reflects their antagonistic attitude towards the Church at the time:

> Nowadays people who run away into religion are increasing. Among them there are even more youngsters who flock to Christianity.... The Korean Christianity has a proper tendency to suit the taste of the public. That is to say, it represents escapism from real life. Thus, people seek the truth of the social life, social justice and social peace not by struggling with reality, but apart from it, in Christianity. As a result of economic maltreatment, a group of people who flock to Christianity and seek peace of mind and life always curse the reality, filling their mind with the artificial heaven and hoping to cross over the Jordan River... other than by means of a struggle, it is impossible to expect social peace and security of living as well as social justice. Nevertheless, the Christians entrust its solution to the surrealistic world like floating clouds. And they say love and meekness, they say justice and love for mankind. These pitiful men who preach love for mankind on the basis of the class antagonism which exists as a stern reality close their eyes to the true reality and escape from it. Those kinds of escapism and disregard of reality cannot but result in affirmation and support for reality. Thus Chosun of Jerusalem has been reduced to the authority-follower and it has become the refuge of the two-faced hypocrites who lead people blindly and ride roughshod over the poor. You Christian Church! You Chosun of Jerusalem like whitewashed tombs! You will indeed be blessed! Nothing but the ground of your temple will be left (quoted by Kim 1995:80 my translation).

[47] In October 1932, about thirty Communists assaulted a village in East Manchuria at night. Pushing villagers and Christians into the church building, they threatened them: saying, if they followed the Communists, their lives would be spared, but if they followed Jesus, they would be killed. As nobody replied, they pressed the pastor, Young-Jin Kim and his brother, elder Young-Kuk Kim for an answer, shouting and demanding to know why they didn't reply. Then, the two brothers answered together. "I believe in Jesus!" As soon as they had spoken, the communists inflicted cruel punishment and murdered them, husking their skins (Min [1972] 1994:454-455; Kim 1964:49-50).

(1935:182ff), in January 1935, four evangelists were martyred on their way to North Manchuria in order to visit churches and evangelise[48].

In Siberia and Vladibostok the situation was the same. One faithful pastor named Young-Hak Kim who had been appointed to be a missionary to Siberia was falsely accused by the communists of being a reactionary element and sentenced to 10 years hard labour. Having been sent to the remotest part of Siberia where temperatures fell below minus 50 degrees C, he suffered martyrdom together with 10 other companions by drowning due to ice breaking, while labouring. Looking upon the brethren's suffering in Manchuria, Rev. In-Seo Kim prayed tearfully as follows:

O, Lord my God

For what purpose do you let this people go to Manchuria? ...

Where should we set up our church building?

And where could we plough a field? ...

On the land, bandits rise like a swarm of bees,

killing people and assaulting the place of worship.

Communists are wandering like tigers

murdering the evangelists and destroying the church

yet, with empty hand we are not able to defend.

Who will wrap up the body wounded by the sword?

Who will comfort the soul shocked by gun shot?

O, Lord my God

Wipe away every tear from the eyes of Chosun's daughters

who are crying out at Songha riverside!

---

[48] When five evangelists were passing by the Osori riverside, forty communist guerrillas confronted them. They were arrested and beaten until their clothes were all covered with blood. Condemning them as agents of Japanese imperialism, the guerrillas were about to kill them by putting them into the ice-hole of the river in order not to waste a single bullet. Their leader, pastor Kyung-Hee Han ordered his fellow travellers to escape, because he thought it would be better to be shot rather than to be put into the ice-hole. Soon four of them had been shot and the guerrillas put the bodies into the ice-hole. One had a narrow escape from death and he reported the scene of the martyrdom. Having received the report from Manchuria, Rev. In-Seo Kim wrote the following article:

North Manchurian Churches have been built on the blood of martyrdom. Though we know only the name of pastor Han, beside him there are innumerable names of Christians martyred by extremely cruel Communists, the martyr killed by being beaten with a hammer, the martyr murdered by being nailed in the crown of the head, the martyr slain by having the skin torn off the head, the woman martyr dispatched most cruelly. The number of martyrs amounted to hundreds; it is said that several of them have been tortured by being skinned alive by the Communists, such as pastor Hyun-Cham Kim... It is said that a pastor's house is a mud hut hard to live in and a pastor's wife has almost nothing to cover her body and children do not wear enough to keep off the cold.... For these young children of the pastors in Manchuria, how can we be unmindful? (quoted by Kim I S 1936:3 my translation)

Receive the blood of martyrdom of Chosun's Christians
which soaks the land of Manchuria!
(Quoted by Kim 1995:91 my translation)

They were a Korean Diaspora, aliens in the extreme margin, who shed the blood of martyrdom, simply because they were Christians. In spite of its noble motto, 'the realisation of justice and equality through participation in the realities of life', the communist ideology, in actual fact, unmasked itself as a terrible beast in killing the brethren. After the liberation, the communist party assumed the reins of government in the north under the patronage of Russian communists. Later, in 1950, they provoked a war against the South, which left an ineffaceable scar in the heart of the Korean people as well as in the Christian church.

2.6.3. Confrontation with Japanese *Shintoism*

During the 1930s and early 40s, Japanese imperialistic ambition reached a peak. Since the March First Movement, Japanese rulers attempted a so-called "cultural rule" as an appeasement policy, whose aim was virtually directed at more efficient exploitation and ultimately at the Japanisation of the Korean people (Yi [1985] 1996: 165; Rhee 1995:264).

By the 1930s, Japanese imperialists began to manifest their final policy: Korean language and culture were to be eradicated and the new generation was to be taught to think, act and speak just like native Japanese (Han 1970:492). The exclusive use of the Japanese language was enforced in all schools and meetings, including Christian services of worship, together with the strict prohibition of the Korean language. Further, all Koreans were ordered to change their Korean names to Japanese names. Finally, all Koreans, including Christians, were compelled to worship at Japanese Shinto shrines. For the Korean Christians, this was the final test of their faith (Rhee 1995:264).

Shintoism is Japan's indigenous syncretistic religion that worships '*Kami*', and forms the religious ground of the Japanese people at large (Lee K S 1962:11-26). The Japanese word '*Kami*' indicates a deity, or a spiritual being. From ancient times, the Japanese worshipped *Kami* as represented by awesome natural phenomena, mythological figures, historical heroes, and the spirits of their ancestors (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:285; Kim 1991:193). All the visible *Kami* were thought to come out of the 'hidden world', and the hidden world was believed to exist in the body of *Kami* or the man as the soul or spirit (Lee K S 1962:16).

Shintoism, therefore, can be said to be a polytheistic religion handed down from a primitive age. Among all the nature-gods, the Sun-goddess came to be the highest deity, the centre of the mythological thought of the Japanese people, and later, this Sun-goddess was identified with the ancestor-deity of the Imperial Family of Japan (Lee K S 1962:11). Under the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism that had constituted the mainstream of the Japanese people's religious tradition, *Shinto* developed its theories along with the theories of those religions until the *Meiji* Restoration in 1868. Yet it still remained a secondary religion (Yang N H 1993:181).

After the *Meiji* Restoration, however, the government attempted to set up the old religion in its modern form as the state religion, in order to sanctify the authority of the *Tenno* (Emperor), and to encourage national unity under him. The *Tenno* was appointed as the lineal successor to the Sun-goddess, and as such he was the incarnate deity, while Japan was the "divine country"(Lee K S 1962:36-55). That is to say, the Japanese emperor is the highest deity on earth, the one to whom every knee should bow, the Japanese people are all children of deities, despite some differences in rank, and the Japanese islands are the special creation of the deities. Under this principle the government set up a king as part of a strong nationalistic religion, which required, by 1890, shrine worship as well as Emperor worship by the people as the religious expression of loyalty to Emperor and nation.

In the early days, *Shinto* was declared to be a "ritual of the state", not a religion (1882), and was separated from other religions (Yang N H 1993:181). This measure was intended to ward off the Western criticism that Japan had violated such constitutional principles as freedom of religion and separation of Church and state. The true purpose of the measure, however, was to place *Shinto* above all the other religions (Kim 1991:195-6). Finally, *Shinto* militarists issued a law which required all the Japanese to bow to *Shinto* shrines (1890). Thereby, Christian witness and resistance in the Japanese Church nearly died out, especially during the time of war, except for a minority of Christians who stood up faithfully in their Christian witness (Lee K S 1962:12).

In 1918, Japan began to build a *Shinto* shrine in Seoul. This was completed in 1925. Shrines were then built in every town and every sub-county. Until then, shrine worship had not been forced upon the Koreans. It was in 1931, the year in which Japan invaded Manchuria, that the Japanese government began to force shrine worship upon Koreans. The chauvinistic militarists who prevailed in Japan during the 1930s required Koreans to make shrine worship as an expression of their unconditional loyalty to the Japanese emperor (Kim 1970:19-22).

In 1932, as their first target, the colonial government imposed the obligation of shrine

worship upon all schools, requiring the pupils to bow before the Emperor's portrait, to attend special ceremonies at shrines, to offer prayers to the dead, and to bow towards the Imperial palace. The extent of compulsion in Korea was greater than in Japan itself (Lee K S 1962:158-159). In the same year, however, the twenty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea passed a resolution to refuse to participate in shrine worship (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:294)[49].

In November 1935, at a meeting of the principals of the middle and high schools held in Pyongyang, the governor of Pyongnam Province demanded that the principals should worship at the shrine. G. S. McCune, V. L.Snook and H. M. Lee, Presbyterian missionaries who were serving as principals of Christian schools, refused to follow this injunction (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:290). The governor warned them that if they continued to refuse to practise shrine worship, they would be deported by force, not to mention the closing of the schools. After the meeting, McCune discussed the matter with 27 Korean pastors of Pyongyang, and all but one pastor refused to comply with shrine worship.

Eventually, in January 1936, the governor revoked the authorisation of McCune and Snook, and McCune was deported to America. In February, Dr. Darby Fullton, the American General secretary of the Board of Foreign Mission in the Southern Presbyterian Church visited Korea. He was knowledgeable concerning Japan and *Shinto*, having been born and raised in Japan where his father had been president of the Kansai Theological Seminary. During his stay in Korea, Dr. Fullton made an announcement, the so-called, 'Fullton Announcement', at the meeting of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries. He stated that shrine worship was an unquestionably religious action and idolatry and that if the Japanese authorities continued its enforcement, all the schools under the supervision of the Southern Presbyterian Mission would close their doors (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:296-299).

Not long after this announcement, in July 1937, the Sino-Japanese War broke out, and the government began to enforce shrine worship in Christian schools that had not followed the previous injunction until then. All ten schools that belonged to the above denomination offered stubborn resistance, and accordingly, they were closed either by force or voluntarily. Soon, the Northern Presbyterian Mission followed the same path and closed eight schools under their supervision. Finally, the Pyongyang Theological Seminary established by the Presbyterian mission was closed on account of its refusal

---

[49] After the resolution, every year till 1937 the issue was raised at the Assembly by the different presbyteries in connection with the conflict between the refusal of their children and the demand by the school authorities to comply (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994: 289-290).

to accept shrine worship. In distinction to other denominations that surrendered earlier to shrine worship, the Presbyterian Church fought against it to the last until she was forced to pass the positive resolution on shrine worship in the 27th General Assembly in 1938 (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:299).

In contrast to this, the Vatican announced to the Japanese Roman Catholics in May 1932 that they might worship in the *Shinto* shrine on the grounds that shrine worship was no more than a ritual expressing patriotism and loyalty to the state. A note of the same purport was sent to the Korean Roman Catholics in May 1936. This was exactly the opposite to what had been stipulated in the bylaws of the Korean Roman Catholic Church, namely that "Catholics should not worship in the shrine, for it is a place to worship other gods", which, ironically, had reflected the 1918 Vatican condemnation of shrine worship (Rhee 1993:265). This ambiguous attitude of the Vatican was the result of the influence of Mussolini's policy upon the Vatican, which had been requested by the Japanese government (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:299-300; Yi [1985] 1996: 183-184).

A month later, in June 1936, the Korean Methodist Church also decided to sanction shrine worship. They allowed their congregations to worship in the shrine. When this was at issue at the congregational level, in 1938 the Korean Methodist Church reconfirmed the shrine worship, accepting the statement of the government that *Shinto* was not a religious practice but a duty for every citizen (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:300; Kim 1970:28).

Encouraged by the surrender of the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches, the government pressed the Presbyterian Church even more strongly into shrine worship. By coercion and manoeuvring, in February 1938, the Pyongbuk Presbytery, the largest Korean Presbytery passed a resolution allowing worship in the shrine. Until September of the same year, 17 out of 23 presbyteries followed the precedent of the Pyongbuk Presbytery (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:293).

Finally, the government applied force to the General Assembly to accept the official interpretation of shrine worship[50]. The Assembly met under police surveillance: high level police officers were seated at the front facing the 193 commissioners, and there

---

[50] In order to carry through their purpose, the authorities ordered the police to interrogate the commissioners to the Assembly in their respective communities before the Assembly met. Thus the commissioners to the Assembly were made to face the issue, and the local police could hold them if they refused to comply. Those who were outspoken against shrine worship were refused permission to travel, so that only those who were prepared to vote for shrine worship or would keep silence on the issue at the Assembly, were allowed to go. With the commissioner's arrival in the city of Pyongyang where the Assembly was held in September, 1938, the missionary commissioners were called to the police station where the chief of the police required them to keep silence on the shrine issue, and asked for their signatures on the paper recognising his request. The missionaries refused to sign (Lee K S 1962:160).

were 93 policemen, about half in plain clothes, who sought to listen to every conversation. The missionaries among commissioners were refused to speak their voice by the moderator who was already under the pressure by the authorities. Missionaries tried to protest against the unlawful procedure of the moderator, but police silenced their protests. In this manner, the Presbyterian Church gave its approval to shrine worship.

Thus, the Korean Church completely lost its biblical authority before the secular authorities, succumbing to the power of the police forcing the resolution of the Presbyterian General Assembly on shrine worship (Lee K S 1962:160). There remained in Korea no denomination that officially refused shrine worship.

After the 1938 Assembly, the government ruthlessly forced the church to bow before the *Shinto* shrines. During the persecution the pastors of each local church were first targeted. If a pastor refused to obey, the police would arrest him and ask the church to discharge him from his duty of ministering to the church on the ground that he had not followed the Assembly's resolution. At the same time each presbytery that was faithful to the Assembly's resolution labelled those who had resisted in its district as non-licensed, and removed them from the list of ministers. Furthermore, if any congregation did not follow the order of a presbytery, the police closed the church. In such cases Christians would gather at Christian homes for worship and prayers, thereby strengthening their fellowship and their resistance (Lee K S 1962: 161).

After the enactment of the Religious Bodies Law in 1939, every Christian who would not worship the *Shinto* '*Kami*' was imprisoned. In order to search out the non-shrine worshippers thoroughly, three questions were strictly asked of all Christians: "Is *Shinto* worship religious or civil?" " Who is superior, the *Shinto* Goddess or Christ?" and " Which is first, the empire or the Christian faith?"; according to their replies, they were punished or set free (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:293; Yi [1985] 1996:189-190).

In this dreadful atmosphere, however, a group of resisting Presbyterian ministers, evangelists, elders or deacons spread the 'Non-shrine Worship Movement', visiting the sympathising churches and individual Christians. Secret police agents pursued them constantly, and wherever they stayed, the hosts of the houses were carefully questioned as to what had been asked among them. All their words and deeds were recorded in detail by the police and later, when they were arrested and imprisoned, the serious charge was laid that they were violators of the law regarding maintaining public order and peace.

Rev. Ki-Chul Choo (1897-1944) who engaged in this struggle as an eminent Calvinist

was one of the leaders of 'Non-shrine Movement' in Pyongyang (in the north-west province), together with Rev. Gi-Seon Yi. He confronted all the difficulties connected to opposing shrine worship, thereby resisting Japanese imperial government to the death. After lengthy suffering[51], Rev. Choo was martyred in prison on April 21st, 1944.

Elder Kwan-Joon Park (1875-1945) was also one of the prophetic witnesses. While there was no official protest from the church in Japan or Korea, Kwan-Joon Park, as a layperson together with his two companions – Yi-Sook Ahn (lady), Young-Chang Park (elder Park's son) – played a significant role as God's witness to the parliament of Japan. Convinced strongly that in a time of crisis for the nation as well as for the church, a man of truth could not keep silent, but must speak confronting the danger of the nation (Ahn 1956:50), he warned the Japanese rulers against the policy of compulsory shrine worship in words and deeds. In 1939, Kwan-Joon Park went over to Tokyo and protested against the promulgation of the Religious Bodies law that was submitted for parliamentary approval[52].

In his warning letter he declared that national prosperity and fortunes depend on God's providence, and therefore all the nations should be obedient to God. He also proclaimed that if the state made a religious law by which the Christian church came to be under the state's control contrary to God's will, Japan would not escape God's wrath (Ahn 1956:98-99). Park's group was immediately arrested and imprisoned, and Kwan-Joon Park was martyred in 1945. His complete commitment to Jesus Christ made him incredibly courageous in witnessing to the truth without fear of any other power than Christ's.

---

[51] His last sermon entitled ' Five items of my prayer' reflects his agonising prayer during his long imprisonment. While preaching, he requested his congregation to participate in his prayer together as follows (Kim M H 1990:237):
1) Help me to conquer the power of death!
2) Help me to endure the longsuffering!
3) I commit my elderly mother (then, 80 years old), my wife and children,
and my congregation to the Lord's hand.
4) Help me to live and die in righteousness!
5) I commit my soul to the Lord.

[52] According to the Law, all Japanese churches including the Korean churches should be reconstructed and unified into the pro-imperialist United Church of Japan (Rhee 1995:266). When they attempted in vain to prevent the law from being passed or at least to reach the parliament to present their view on the issue, Kwan-Choon Park finally decided on an extraordinary action. On the day when the Religious Bodies Law was to go through, they took seats on the second floor in the gallery of the House of Representatives. As soon as the president of the House declared the session open, elder Park threw down a warning letter prepared by himself for the president of the House, and he shouted these words: "This is the Great Message of Jehovah God!" The whole House suddenly fell into pandemonium for a while, just as though a bombshell had been dropped.

Rev. Sang-Dong Han was a leader of the other strong group in the province of Kyungsang-south, which resisted shrine worship. The principle of the resistance was the same as that of the other group in Pyongyang. Shrine worship was considered as idolatry, the violation of God's commandments. What was especially noteworthy about this group was that they not only protested against compulsory shrine worship, but also tried to preserve the holiness of the church more actively. Among them the following practical steps were agreed upon:

1) to disband the complying presbytery in the province,

2) to reject the baptism by the complying ministers,

3) to organise a new presbytery which was uncompromised,

4) to encourage mutual support between those who stand for the
     true witness,

5) to propagate the movement by personal evangelism and visitation.

  (Yi [1985] 1996:188; Lee K S 1962:167).

The resistance movement of the group was confronted with strong opposition by Japanese authorities. In 1940 most of those resisting were imprisoned until the end of the Second World War in 1945. With the Japanese defeat in the Second World War on August 15th, 1945, they were released. The number of Christians imprisoned on account of their refusal of shrine worship by then had reached more than two thousand. About fifty lay-Christians and ministers had been martyred, and two hundred local churches were closed (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:337-338; Yi [1985] 1996:189). Indeed, they were the "remnants" of the Korean church, the "seven thousand in Israel who have not bowed down to Baal" (Rhee 1995:268) [53].

Their confession had the following things in common:

1) Confession of the Lordship of Christ; Jesus Christ is the only Lord
     to serve and follow unto death.

2) Conviction of God's sovereignty; God is the only Ruler and Judge,
     who will destroy all earthly nations that go against His will.

3) Priority of prayer; Constant prayer in Spirit and thereby continuous
     empowerment by the Spirit are essential to be a faithful witness.[54]

---

[53] After the 1945 Liberation, Rev Sang-Dong Han and Rev. Gi-Seon Yi appealed to the Korean church leaders for national repentance and renewal of the spiritually secularised church, but their cries were not willingly heard. Instead, they were driven out by the dominant majority and gradually alienated so that they formed a minor denomination (Yi [1985] 1996:195; Rhee 1995:268). This was the first schism of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

[54] Rev. Ki-Chul Choo emphasised the importance of prayer through his sermon entitled 'The Holy Spirit and Prayer' as can be seen in the following summary:

> The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of prayer. Prayer is all-important and all indispensable to believers. Prayer is controlled by the Spirit. Sometimes we experience prayer that is

Since the 1938 surrender of the Presbyterian Church, the Japanese government kept the Korean church under control, and from 1940 onwards, the Japanisation policy of the colonial government reached its zenith. In addition to the enforcement of shrine worship, the policy of integrating the Korean church into the Japanese church under the control of the *Shinto* militarists was drafted and put into effect.

In 1940, the Korean Methodist church decided 'to unite herself with the Japanese Methodist Church, in order to break from the foreign mission control and establish the Japanistic Christianity' (Yi [1985] 1996:192). Many other Christian denominations changed their structure in accordance with wartime demands and complied with the government policy. Several other denominations were forced to disband by reason of their strong expectation of Christ's advent (ibid). While the Presbyterian Church pronounced its shift to Japanese Christianity, the 29th General Assembly in 1940 requested the withdrawal of the foreign missionaries; The outward reason was "to escape from depending on Western countries and establish an autonomous Christianity" (Yi [1985] 1996:191).

The Korean Church became a handmaiden to the militaristic state. The integrity of many church leaders was ruthlessly trampled down by the secular authorities. After December 1941, when Japan started the war with America, the extent of oppression against the churches became even stronger. In March 1942, as a preliminary step towards obliterating the Korean Church, the colonial rulers established 'the Chosun Christian Denomination' thereby uniting all denominations (Yi [1985] 1996:192).

Following the direction of the government, the Pentateuch and the Book of Revelation were removed from the Bible, because in the Pentateuch the idea of nationalism was too strong and in the Book of Revelation the Advent idea was emphasised. The alteration and removal of the hymnbook followed, and later, the whole of the Old Testament was discarded. Finally, the Scriptures in their entirety were revoked except for the Four Gospels (ibid).

By 1943, the second year of the war the Korean Church arrived at a most critical stage. The churches were ordered to confess the Imperial Oath[55] and at every worship service,

---

overflowing like a fountain from our heart. Such a prayer is not man-made but a Spirit-controlled prayer. A religious man without prayer could be a religious philosopher but not a man with the Spirit. The Holy Spirit opens our confused heart and prays for the believers according to the will of God. Prayer is made not only in quietness but also in repeating loudly only 'Father, Father, Father', when you are in great difficulties or darkness. If anyone of you does not know the Spirit, dwell with Him and have a life of prayer (Kim 1958: 215-216).

[55] The content of the Imperial Oath was as follows:

to bow down three times toward the east where the Japanese emperor resided and even to place symbols of the *Shinto* deities behind the pulpit and let people make obeisance to them (Kim 1963:429-433). All church meetings had to be changed according to a war-time structure. Sunday afternoon and evening services were banned, as was the Wednesday evening prayer meeting. Japanese language lessons and forced labour were imposed in the church buildings. Church bells were donated towards making weapons for the war; later even church offerings were collected and, under the name of donation, used to manufacture military planes. As of October 15, 1942, 1,540 bells had been offered by the Presbyterian Church and later, more than 3,000 were added (Yi [1985] 1996:192-193; The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:312-313).

Thousands of youngsters were drafted for the battlefield and hundreds of young women were recruited as sexual entertainers for Japanese soldiers under the guise of 'Voluntary Service Corps'. In proportion to the severe oppression, the apostates' corruption also reached its height. The pastors who complied with shrine worship went not only to the *Shinto* shrines to worship the Japanese '*Kami*', but also to Training Camps for the re-education of the Christian ministers on the *Shinto*. Later, they were even baptised in the name of the *Shinto* Goddess for "purification" from anti-imperialism (Yi [1985] 1996: 193; Rhee 1995:266).

Eventually, on July 19th, 1945, as a final endeavour of obliterating the Korean church, the Japanese government forced every denomination to disband and to organise 'the Chosun denomination of Japanese Christianity' (Min [1972] 1994:506). It was three weeks before the Japanese defeat in the Second World War.

On August 15th, 1945, after the American bombing of Hiroshima, the Japanese emperor announced the surrender of Japan, and Korea was liberated. The conspiracy of the *Shinto* militarists to completely demolish the Korean Church was ruined.

2.6.4 Summary

The Korean Church under Japanese colonial rule from 1910 until 1945 was confronted with imperialism and *Shintoism* (and partly with Communism), suffering severe persecution, together with ruthless political oppression, vicious economic exploitation and cultural obliteration. Under such a terrible situation of sufferings, though she was a minority group in society, she resisted the imperial power in a non-violent way and unfolded various social and revival movements. At a later stage, however, the majority of the Korean Church submitted to the enforcement of *Shinto* shrine worship. But, a

---

" We are the subjects of the Empire. With complete loyalty,
        we will dedicate ourselves to militant nation !"
Every morning the Oath was to be recited in all government offices, schools companies and churches.

minority group of the KPC protested against it to the last. In such an extremely marginal situation, holding their own identity, the KPC manifested their spirituality in three features according to the ensuing situation: solidarity with the desperate nation, pietistic and other-worldly faith, and discipleship based on eschatological faith.

2.7 Liberation and the Korean War (1945-1970)

Liberation on August 15th, 1945 brought to the Korean people the restoration of their national sovereignty, but this did not mean perfect independence. With the joy of liberation, another tragedy loomed, namely, the division into North and South that continues to date. In this section, the changing socio-political situation and the response of the Korean Presbyterian Church to the situation will be examined.

Our attention will be given to the position of the Korean Church in the midst of the reality of the division as a result of being a victim in the world power structure. The changing situations will include the restoration of the national sovereignty and the social confusion; the ravages and effect of the Korean War caused by the ideological confrontation. And further, the continuing movements of revivals and prayer in the vortex of affliction, the formation of anti-Communist ideology and the pro-American as well as pro-government attitude and the division in the Church will be also considered.

2.7.1 Division into North and South

In February, 1945, when the defeat of Japan appeared immanent, the representatives of the three allied powers—Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin—concluded a secret treaty in Yalta: they decided on division along the 38th parallel in Korea, on condition that Russia participates in the War against Japan. Thereby, the allied powers made Korea serve their own ends.

On August 9, 1945, the Russian army marched in and claimed the area north of the 38th parallel. Then on September 8, 1945, the American army occupied the country south of the 38th parallel: Korea thus came under the military rule of two armies, completely irrespective of the Korean people's will. In December 1945, at the Foreign Ministers' conference, America, Britain and Russia officially decided the trusteeship of Korea (Lee K B [1967] 1990:475). In spite of the Korean people's desperate anti-trusteeship movement, the attempt to restore unified and independent government was unsuccessful, due to communist interference in the North instigated by Russia. Inevitably, in 1948 two separate governments were established, one in the North and one in the South, each by general election, and as a result Korea was divided into

North and South.

At the end of 1945, there were a quarter of a million Christians and about 3,000 local churches in North Korea. The Christian church in the North was the largest and strongest organisation there, since it contained most of the leaders and intellectuals in the North (Rhee 1995:269; The Christian Press 1996:301).

However, as the Russian Army occupied the North, the Communist party began to take the initiative in politics. Conflict between the Communist party and Christianity was inevitable. In 1946, the pro-Communist Christian confederation was forcibly organised by the Communists, and imprisonment or expulsion threatened ministers who refused to join the confederation (The Institute for Korean Church History et al 1996:396). The Communist party openly oppressed the anti-Communist conservative Christianity that didn't comply with the policy of the party. As a result, in 1946 and 1947 most Christian leaders fled to the South, seeking religious freedom (:401).[56]

Meanwhile, in the South Christians had the initiative in the establishment of the First Republic of Korea. Syng-Man Rhee, a devout old Christian patriot who had returned to Korea after 33 years of political exile, was elected as the first President. Most Cabinet and Parliamentary posts as well as other important positions were filled by Christians, this being achieved through the President's personal favour as well as the democratic bias of those trained in church activities (Rhee 1995:270; Yang N H 1993:193).

At that time the Church naively believed that Korea had a "Christian" government, because she had a "Christian" President and officials. Christians who had suffered under the colonial government for 35 years supported the government whole-heartedly and enjoyed every privilege given to the Christian minority of less than 5 %. Many Christians, however, failed to relate properly to the "secular" government (Rhee 1995:270). The Korean Church was not yet mature enough to understand, theologically, the true nature of the state or political power, and she failed to be critical towards the sinful ambition for political power of this 'Christian elder' President. Eventually, in 1960, the government was overthrown by the Student Revolution, due to its massive injustice and corruption. On May 16th, 1961, a military dictator, General Chung-Hee Park seized the power by coup d'etat and a military government was established.

---

[56] Yet, under this Communist oppression, the flame of revival was not completely extinguished and a revival began in the North under Lee Sung Bong, a Holiness Church evangelist. By 1946, although the Christian leaders were being arrested, the revival had spread. In the spring of 1947, forty pastors in Pyongyang motivated special 40 days of prayer meetings for revival. Each of the churches held early morning and evening prayer meetings in each church, and most churches experienced a great revival. The revival of 1947 spread throughout the North. In spite of increasing persecution, churches continued to grow until 1950 (Kim M H 1990: 234). After the Communist government was established in the North in 1948, however, Christianity came to be totally under the control of the Communists.

2.7.2 The Korean War and the Church

While the democratic government in the South was busy coping with social anomie, the totalitarian Communist government in the North was burning with ambition to communise the entire Korean Peninsular. Eventually, on June 25, 1950, the North provoked a war and launched a surprise attack on the defenceless South. In a short time the North Communists occupied the whole of the South, except for a small area in the south-east. With the intervention of the United Nations, the Korean War sparked a global war between the communist camp and the liberal camp, and the Korean peninsular became the battlefield of the ideological fight between East and West. S. H. Ham describes the global aspect of the Korean War as follows:

> Now the land of embroidered rivers and mountains became the cemetery of the world. To this country that China, Manturia and the shrewd Japan had once devoured and vomited; to this land that the wicked Russia would fain have devoured, China and Manturia came again; Russia came again; America that had opened her [diplomatic] door to Korea for the first time [as a Western country] came again. Moreover, all countries of the world... trod on this land, fighting with each other for three years, and the soldiers fell down, their blood gushing out, and were buried in this country. This country became the altar of humanity, the altar of UN and the altar of all nations. (Ham [1983] 1995:299 my translation).

Throughout her whole history there had never been such a terrible conflict in Korea (:292). The Korean War was characterised by a formidable ideological fight, which differed from that of any other war in its history. The hateful enemy was no longer a neighbouring country; instead, it was a different ideology. Anyone who had a different ideology was your enemy; your enemy might be among your brethren and in your family.

During the War, ironically, the same person could be a friend today and a foe tomorrow, and never know the reason. Often, in the course of military advance or retreat, one side would occupy a village which had been occupied by the enemy shortly before, and most of the villagers would be slaughtered on the pretext that they had supported the other side. Numerous innocent people were killed in the South as well as in the North, not only by the enemy, but also by their own troops.

About five million people were killed during the War (Suh 1992:130)[57]. Much of the

---

[57] The civilians numbered 4.5million, the South Korean army soldiers; 227,748, the North Korean army soldiers; c.a. 540,000, the US army soldiers; 33,629, the UN army soldiers; 3,194, and the Chinese Communist army soldiers; c.a. 900,000 (Kim S N. *The Korean War* in Britannica CD 2000).

country was burnt to ashes, and millions of war refugees and casualties – the wounded, the widows and the orphans – resulted[58]. It was the Christian church that suffered the most serious damage, because Christianity was the greatest enemy of communism. To the Communists, Christianity was 'the gathering of nationalists' and 'the agent of American Capitalists'. Korean Christianity which had been the first target of oppression by Japanese imperialists, being labelled as 'nationalists', became once again the prime target of attack by the Communists, under the same pretext of their being 'nationalists'. Ironically, the same 'nationalists' were also considered by the communists to be 'the pro-American power group' (Suh 1992:134-135).

Accordingly, during the Korean War, the Christians were severely persecuted: the number of ministers who disappeared or were captured and martyred by the Communists totalled 236 in the Presbyterian, Methodist and Holiness Churches alone (KNCC[59] 1986:85), and the number of churches damaged or destroyed totalled 948 (Roh 1995:14). The massacre of Christians occurred in many churches in the South as well as in the North: in Wondang Church (in the South) 73 out of 75 Christians were collectively slaughtered (KNCC 1986: 85; Suh 1992:136).

Significantly, during and after the Korean War, the revivals and the prayer movement continued in the South. Robert Finley, an American visitor to Korea in 1950, reported the prayer movement in the following way: 'It came as a shock to me to find Korean believers meeting for prayer every day at 5 a.m. I had never seen such devotion to the Lord as this; hundreds of persons continued all night on their knees in pure worship'. Finley addressed a prayer conference on Samkak mountain in Seoul and one day spoke to the intercessors at 4 p.m., after which a thousand people scattered in prayer groups to pray and fast all night; so they continued for three days and two nights. This prayer was of the over-night and daybreak variety, and it was characterised by fasting and intercession (Kim M H 1990:234-235).

Soon the prayer linked again with the revival that had partly occurred in the North as well as in the South. The revival in the South was reinforced by the northern refugees before and after the Korean War when they came over to the South across the line of death. The revivals and prayer movements continued into the 1950s and 1960s.

Here we would give our attention to a man of prayer, the Presbyterian minister, Rev. Yang-Won Sohn. His life of prayer was like a flower, viz 'the rose of Sharon' which bloomed in a thorny bed. Rev. Yang-Won Sohn was imprisoned from 1940 to 1945 for his strong opposition to Shinto shrine worship, but he spent much of the time in prayer

---

[58] Ten million families were separated, and 43 % of the industrial facilities and 33 % of all the houses in the whole Korean peninsular were devastated (ibid).

[59] The original title is 'The Korean National Council of Churches'.

and thanksgiving[60].

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Rev. Sohn was determined to protect his congregation – a colony of lepers – from the Communists' assault, until the bitter end, and began to conduct special prayers, including prayer meetings three times a day and periods of over-night prayer and fasting. The Christian lepers were encouraged thereby to meet martyrdom boldly if that were God's will. He often spent whole nights in tearful prayers. In the end he was martyred by the communists.

In 1933 Rev. Sohn wrote the following precious letter to his brother exhorting him to pray:

> I wish you to be a man of prayer. Jesus Christ was really a man of prayer. From his hair to his toes, from the manger to the cross, he was a man of prayer. From his resurrection until today he is still praying. Christianity is, therefore, a religion of prayer. A Christian is a man of prayer. A Christian life cannot be separated from prayer. The whole of the Christian life is prayer. Christian prayer is not prayer which fulfils human desire. Christian prayer does not emanate from the earth but is given from heaven. When Jesus' prayer appeared, human prayer disappeared; even that of John the Baptist. Be, therefore, a man of prayer, and be constant in prayer. Do not cease praying. Be diligent in prayer (quoted by Kim M H 1990:238).

Throughout the Korean War, the dynamic spirit of prayer was nurtured in the Korean Church, and this was later to become an important factor in the church growth movement.

Meanwhile, the terrible experience of the war had an indelible, negative impact on the heart of the Korean Christians. The first-hand encounter with communism during the War from 1950 till 1953 fixed the understanding of communism for the Korean Christians, especially those who had escaped from the North during the War. In fact, such a fearful confrontation as that of the Korean Church with the power of communism was unparalleled in modern history (Suh J M 1994:378).

On July 27, 1953, a cease-fire agreement was concluded at the request of Russia, but on the back of the Korean nation, 'the Line of world history' had been drawn (Ham

---

[60] One of his anecdotes after his release is well-known. When his two pious sons were shot to death by a communist at the 1948 Insurrection of Communists in the South, he went to the church to pray. He thanked God for allowing him to become the father of two martyred sons, and then he prayed for the youth that shot his sons. After the riot had been quelled and the area brought under control, Rev. Sohn pleaded with the government to spare the life of the youth doomed to die, and eventually adopted him into his family.

[1983] 1995:299). Thus, the heart of the Korean people was split and the body of the Korean Church torn, half lying under the feet of communism and half within the grasp of capitalism. The shots have stopped, but the North and South are still pointing their guns at each other, together with the American and Communist armies. Despite mutual efforts to unification the war in the Korean peninsular has not yet ended.

2.7.3 Confusion and Schism

The Korean War, which was a global and civil war, had an enormous impact on Korean society and the Church, making the Korean people the direct victim of the 'Cold War'. After the Korean War the Korean peninsular became a zone of Eastern and Western confrontation according to the 'Cold War' structure between the East and the West. This global power-order intensified the dependence of Korea on the big powers i.e. the United States and the Soviet Union (historically). Internally, each part of the divided Korean peninsular demanded the autocratic or dictatorial government for its own national security. Accordingly, an autocratic government was established by the Communist Party in the North, while in the South a military government was established by coup d'etat.

In addition, an indelible, extreme and dualistic way of thinking was inscribed on the minds of Korean people, together with a sense of extreme insecurity because of the ever-existing threat of war. For the Korean Christians who had experienced a terrible confrontation with communism, the Korean War was undoubtedly 'the war between devils and angels'. That is to say, the Soviet Union or East Camp was identified with 'Satan' and the United States or West Camp with 'the crusader'.

A strong anti-Communist ideology had formed in the Christian mind, particularly among the Christian refugees from the North. The Communists (in the North) were recognised as perpetrators, the Christian Church as a victim. In fact, the anti-Communist attitude of the Church existed since the 1920s, during the colonial period, but it became greatly intensified during and after the Korean War. For Christians who had suffered terrible persecution by the communists, communism was understood as the evil power itself. Consequently, a kind of 'militant anti-Communist' attitude dominated the whole Christian Church during and after the Korean War (Kang 1996:271)[61].

---

[61] Immediately after the truce negotiations a representative Christian press condemned the Communists as "atheistic materialists and the Satanic group that is never permanently reconciled with religion" (Gidokgongbo 1953:July 20th). Naturally, for Christians the Communist power was nothing but an object of overthrow, which in fact, became the greatest mission of Korean Christianity. The press stated: "The greatest mission of Christianity in Korea is firstly to overthrow the Communists and to deliver our nation from them, and later to establish the democracy" (Gidokgongbo 1952:Feb 4th). This attitude showed that Christians were in the vanguard of overthrowing the Communists. It was totally

On the other hand, the Communist government in the North that had been severely affected by America's indiscriminate attack, now identified America with Christianity, and expressed their enmity toward Christianity as follows:

> Their inhuman brutal barbarity itself, i.e. terrible massacres of innocent people, plunder and arson all of which were attempted by the American imperialists during the last three years' war in Korea, in the name of 'God', reveals the vile, reactionary essence of the religion of which the imperialists take advantage for their invasion and plunder (quoted by Goh 1988:294 my translation).

These strong anti-Communist and anti-Christian ideologies based on 'black and white' logic both in the South and North threatened the national homogeneity, and this mutual enmity eventually developed into an incurably antagonistic relationship.

Meanwhile, the strong anti-Communist ideology in the South was directly linked to the strong pro-American attitude. In fact, for Korean Christians, who were the only group in Korean society that had kept a continuous contact with American missionaries since early mission days, the Americans had appeared to be benefactors since pre-liberation. Due to this special relationship, at the time of the 1945 liberation, the Church was the most 'Americanised' group in society (Kang 1996: 273).

This pro-American attitude was intensified by the Korean War. America as the world's biggest power, and as a Christian country representing the West Camp, was understood as the saviour that had delivered the Korean people from 'the evil hand.' In fact, in the course of restoring the country in the aftermath of the War, America provided a vast quantity of relief goods and funds for Korean people, and the Protestant churches were the best channels for aid, all of which increased the dependence of the Korean Church upon the American Church. This meant the direct enhancement of America's influence over South Korea, and in fact, America[n church] became a suzerain to Korea[n Church]. Since the 1950s the Western (American) culture has rushed unfiltered into South Korea.

As a matter of fact, from the beginning of the early Protestant mission, the American Church's influence upon the Korean Church has been considerable, not least in terms of the formation of the faith, theology and spirituality.

As South Korea came under the military rule of America with the 1945 liberation, the influence of the American Church and missionaries (who had re-entered after their expulsion before the liberation) began to increase, and became more direct and steady

---

unthinkable that the church should consider them as a partner in the national initiative for peace.

than earlier (Kang 1996:97-128). In such a complicated situation, during and after the Korean War, the Korean Presbyterian Church eventually came to experience three big schisms in the 1950s.

The first schism occurred in 1951/1952, irrespective of the American influence. After the 1945 Liberation, as previously mentioned, a minority group which had attempted to reconstruct the Church by disciplinary measures against Shinto-shrine worshippers (pastors and ministers) was expelled by the majority authoritarian group (Lee 1993:195). This was based on the Reformed Church principle regarding Church discipline.[62]

At a time when the chastity of the Korean Church had been completely trampled by the Shinto militarists, Rev. Sang-Dong Han and Rev. Nam-Sun Choo had mapped out in prison the reconstruction of the Church and the establishment of a theological seminary which was to succeed the Pyongyang Theological Seminary (Hur 1996:18-20). On September 20th, 1945, about twenty released Church leaders proclaimed five principles for church reconstruction:
1) Church leaders (pastors or elders) who worshipped the Shinto-shrine
    should restart their ministry only after repentance and disciplinary action.
2) The discipline should take the form of self-discipline and guilty pastors must
    temporarily resign from their ministry for at least two months during
    their self-discipline.
3) While pastors and elders were temporarily retired from office, deacons
    or laymen should lead the services.
4) These principles for Church reconstruction should be communicated to
    every presbytery and every local church, and should be practised forthwith.
5) The [new] theological seminary for training ministers should be restored and
    reconstructed (Kim Y S 1956:45).

However, these principles were totally rejected by the majority of those who had participated in the Shinto-shrine worship.[63] The newly reconstructed Kyongnam Presbytery was expelled from the 36th General Assembly (on May 25,1951) and the

---

[62] According to Dugsung Choi, professor of the Koryo Theological Seminary, the motif of the reconstruction movement of the Church was strongly based on the restoration of the identity of Reformed ecclesiology in that historical context. The emphasis was laid on the purity of Christ's bride and the orthodoxy of the truth. See: Choi, Dugsung 1996. *The ecclesiological foundation on the establishment of the Kosin denomination,* in Coram Deo (1946-1996), Busan: Korea Theological Seminary Press. 141-186.

[63] The majority criticised the released leaders as self-righteous separatists or men with a spiritual superiority complex who had forgotten the mystery of grace (cf. Min [1972] 1994:514). On the other hand, the Institute of Korean Church History Studies disagrees. Considering the extent of the apostasy and treachery of the Church during the Japanese war, the repentance movement for the liquidation of the past was of great significance (cf. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1995:323).

following year, 12 representatives were rejected by the 37th General Assembly. The Koryo Theological Seminary[64] established by the released leaders in Busan in 1946 was also, from the beginning, not accepted by the General Assembly. The expelled Kyongnam Presbytery inevitably organised a new denomination called *Kosin* (The Presbyterian Church in Korea; PCKK), on October 16, 1952.

The second schism followed in 1953, in connection with the issue of liberal theology. In 1938, due to the anti-shrine worship issue, when the Pyongyang Theological Seminary proclaimed the closure of the school for an indefinite period and most of the faculty members were imprisoned, or deported, or had fled abroad, several leaders who had accommodated themselves to Shinto-Shrine worship established a new theological seminary in Seoul, the Chosun Theological Seminary which was accepted by the General Assembly.

Rev. Jae-joon Kim, the leader of the faculty members, advocated the cause of an anti-missionary and independent theology for Korea as the motive of establishing the new seminary. His theological method was based on historical criticism. After the 1945 liberation, the Chosun Theological Seminary still existed in Seoul and was the only affiliated Seminary of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Jae-joon Kim taught higher biblical criticism to his students who had grown up in the conservative tradition, and this radical approach caused confusion.

Finally, the students appealed to the 33rd General Assembly in 1947 about the matter with a written petition signed by 51 students, stating that Kim was teaching liberal theology (Kim Y S 1956:216-222). The 34th General Assembly passed a proposal, to send Kim to the United States for rest and study for a year, but the Chosun Theological Seminary did not accept this ruling. The Assembly decided to establish the Changnohoe Theological Seminary so that there were then two theological seminaries under one Presbyterian Church.

Two years later, the 36th General Assembly decided to terminate the relationship with both seminaries and, instead, to establish a 'Chonghoe' seminary. This measure was, in

---

[64] Bruce F. Hunt, an American missionary, known as a follower of J.E Machen, was the so-called fundamentalist attached to the teaching ministry at the Koryo Theological Seminary. He was one of the two American missionaries who tried to protest against the unlawful procedure of the moderator, when the resolution on shrine worship was about to be passed in the 27th General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1938. His participation in teaching at the Koryo Theological Seminary was, then, misunderstood by the dominant group as proof fact that the Seminary was controlled by the Machen followers. According to Soon-Gil Hur, a professor of the Koryo Theological Seminary, this was far from the case: Re-entering Korea after expulsion, F.Bruce Hunt joined the Seminary three months after the Seminary had already been established. His participation was totally based on his personal judgement that the Seminary was successor of the previous Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which had been closed because of the refusal to attend the shrine worship. cf. Hur, Soon-Gil 1996. *Fifty Years History of*

fact, designed to close the Chosun Theological Seminary. Separation was inevitable. Finally, on 10 June 1953, the group which supported the Chosun Theological Seminary proclaimed independence from the General Assembly. At the 39th General Assembly in 1954, Kim was struck off the list and the right of ordination was taken away from all students who graduated from the Chosun Theological Seminary.

Thus, on June 10, 1954 the new denomination called *Kijang* (The Presbyterian Church of the Republic of Korea; PCROK) was formed. From the beginning, the *Kijang* denomination showed opposition toward the Western (American) missionaries and, at the same time, held on to an ecumenical stance in close co-operation with the World Council of Churches (WCC).

The third schism which occurred in 1959 was more directly related to the American Church's influence. At that time there often existed two groups within the same denomination, a so-called 'ecumenical' group and an 'evangelical' group. The former consisted of those who wanted to retain membership of WCC, while the latter was comprised of those who opposed the WCC. The 'evangelical' group organised the National Association for Evangelicals (NAE) following after the evangelical group in the American Church, which was affiliated to the World Evangelical Fellowship.

NAE attacked WCC as pro-Communist, and these two groups opposed one another. In the process of a struggle for leadership, two incidents took place. The first incident was Rev. Hyong-Yong Park's serious blunder in connection with the handling of public money for the theological seminary land purchase, and the second incident was the voting issue on the election of the representatives in the Kyonggi Presbytery. The 44th General Assembly became a battleground between the NAE group and the WCC group, and eventually the General Assembly was split into the NAE group called *Haptong* (The Korean Presbyterian Church; PCKH) and the WCC group called *Tonghap* (The Presbyterian Church of Korea; PCKT). Both denominations attempted reunion in vain on several later occasions.

Although it was admitted that there was a wide gap between the two theological ideologies (Chae 1997:129), behind the schism there was, undeniably, the negative influence of American missionaries and churches. In particular, the effect of the schism within the American Protestant Church at the end of 1950s caused by the confrontation between the WCC group and NAE and ICCC groups, was directly reflected in the schism in Korean Protestant Church, including the Korean Presbyterian Church (Kang 1996: 113-128).

Koryo Theological Seminary Busan: Korea Theological Seminary Press. 73-74.

In summary, confusion and schism of the Korean Presbyterian Church occurred in a socio-political context arising from the following factors: the issue of the Shinto-shrine worship during pre-liberation days; the division into North and South after the 1945 Liberation; the terrible confrontation with communism during the Korean War in 1950-1953 and the aftermath of the intensified American power. Since then, schism and polarisation between the conservative and the liberal groups have become entrenched in the different constitutions of the Korean Church (Noh 1995:19), especially in connection with the issue of political and social participation. As a result, a complete polarisation of different denominations resulted. In the following section, the polarisation will be further examined.

2.7.4 Summary

National Division and the Korean War caused by the Cold War after the World War II were the new socio-political situation that the Korean Church faced after the liberation in 1945. The horrible experience of the war resulted in a dire poverty and social anomie. Especially, a fearful confrontation with communism during the War led the Korean Church to the formation of a strong anti-Communist ideology. This caused a strong enmity against the North Korean Communists, threatening the national identity. Further, the anti-Communist ideology and the national insecurity by intimidation from the North inclined the majority of the KPC to rest blindly on political or state power and thus to form the pro-government and pro-American attitude. As a result, the majority of the KPC except a minority group supported recklessly the dictatorial regime, overlooking their prophetic mission in the face of the unjust power. In addition, the pro-American attitude led the KPC to become subordinate to the American Church financially as well as theologically. This propensity caused schism, confrontation and polarisation within the KPC.

2.8 Military Dictatorship, Industrialisation and Church Growth Movement (1970-1993)

During the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s, Korean society came to experience a cataclysm not only in terms of political, but also of socio-economic upheaval. Park's military regime intensified its power against the background of Communist threat on the one hand, while on the other hand, it attempted a growth-oriented economic policy. Intimidation by North Korea, as well as the economic growth plan, provided a convenient excuse for the ruling class to maintain a forceful dictatorship. Immediately after Park's assassination in 1979, General Doo-Hwan Jun seized power by military force. Eight years later in 1987 the former General Tae-Woo Roh was elected as President in a democratic election, which was the beginning of democratisation.

Eventually in 1993, a democratic civilian government was established.

On the socio-economic front, rapid economic growth together with industrialisation and urbanisation caused inevitably massive social problems such as the gap between rich and poor, industrial injury and destruction of the family system.

Meanwhile, the Korean Church achieved remarkable growth in terms of numbers during the same period. The nation-wide movement of mass evangelisation was initiated by conservative church leaders, on the one hand, while the *Minjung* Theology for the powerless people developed, on the other hand.

In this chapter our attention will be given to how the Korean Church was confronted by political and economic power structures, the latter being largely dependent on foreign capital and taking the form of a multinational corporation. The related polarisation into two extremes of the Presbyterian Church i.e. the progressives and the conservatives, and further, the struggle of the Church to escape its marginal position by adhering to those secular powers, will be highlighted.

2.8.1 Political Power and the Church

As mentioned previously, the terrible experience of the Korean War against the Communists and the cease-fire, which left the Korean peninsular vulnerable to the constant threat of war, created a need for a powerful state in the South. For the Korean people endless political incidents since the end of the 18th century had promoted a sense of fear and uncertainty and had led them to long for a strong political power. As a result, the military coup by General Chung-Hee Park in May 16, 1960 was welcomed by most people.

The Church, both the KNCC and the non-KNCC group, also responded favourably to the military coup[65], because it was considered "inevitable" to save the country from the "invasion of the Communists" as well as from "injustice and corruption"(Gidogkyo Sasang 1961:June). Since General Park had broken his promise that the coup leaders would hand over the reins to civilian rule, however, the progressive KNCC group and the conservative non-KNCC group began to follow extremely polarised policies with regard to the military government. The former took a stand against the military regime, but the latter that comprised the majority of the Church continued to support recklessly

---

[65] When the coup took place, *the Christian News* said, "We are happy now to be under authoritative government. We want to see the lawless restrained even at the cost of our freedom"(Gidokgongbo 1961: May 29). The paper reflects the thinking of most ordinary people who were concerned only with social stability at this stage, regardless of the political injustice i.e. the encroachments on human rights, freedom and democracy.

the military government (Rhee 1995:271; Yang N H 1993:205-206).

Toward the middle of his second term, Park and his aides attempted to amend the constitution, plotting to prolong his reign. Many concerned Koreans opposed the amendment, fearing that such prolonged reign would inevitably result in the corruption of power. "A Committee to Oppose the Amendment of the Constitution for the Third Presidential Term" was organised by some dissident intellectuals and politicians, among whom were several church leaders of the progressive camp. On August 15, 1969, this committee published a paper expressing their opposition to the amendment. In this statement, they stressed that the church should play a prophetic role by attacking unrighteousness and by committing itself to the cause of justice (Chosunilbo, Hankookilbo 1969: Aug. 24).

The counterstatement of 242 pastors of the conservative churches soon followed under the title of "The Amendment of the Constitution and the proclamation of the freedom of the conscience." In this document they accused the progressive leaders' paper of "confusing the consciences of numerous simple laypersons." They insisted that the church should remain 'neutral' in political matters according to the principle of separation of church and state (KNCC 1987: 81).

As soon as their statement appeared, another statement was issued by the Association of Conservative Churches.[66] In this new declaration under the title of "Our position on the Amendment of the Constitution", they affirmed that "We Christians welcome the decision of President Park on the issue of the Amendment and want to see strong leadership in this kind of national and international situation" (KNCC 1987:82).

As a matter of fact, the conservative churches did not remain neutral. They were as political as the progressives were. The real difference between the conservatives and progressives was that the former were supportive of the government, while the latter were critical of it (Choi 1983:224).

Later, on October 17, 1971 during his third term, through a special presidential proclamation, Park suddenly suspended some articles of the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and banned political activities and party politics. At the same time, emergency martial law was also declared. Meetings and demonstrations for political purposes were prohibited from that day onward, the press was required to submit to pre-censorship and the colleges were temporarily closed. According to the

---

[66] The members included the most eminent leaders of the conservative churches in Korea, such as Hyung-Yong Park, Yoon-Sun Park, Yong-Gi Cho, Joon-Gon Kim, Jang-Whan Kim and Yoon-Chan Kim all of whom had signed the "neutralist" declaration three days before (Yang N H 1993:212).

constitutional proposal later to be called the 'Yushin'[67] Constitution, the president was to have almost total power, equivalent to that of a King under a monarchy.

Park's government argued that it was actually "indispensable" for the establishment of "Koreanised democracy" until the reunification of Korea was achieved. The college students, the intellectuals, the politicians of the opposite party, and some Christians strongly felt this to be an unjust and tyrannical development. But, they were prohibited from expressing their opposition to the Yushin Constitution under the emergency martial law.

At this time, *The Christian Times* published a column under the heading of "the necessity of the 'Yushin' Constitution" in which they stressed the necessity of 'Koreanised Democracy'. The column argued that the people should be united in supporting and carrying out "this historical task" of Yushin for the following reasons:
1) It was necessary for the reunification of Korea.
2) The state of division required the Yushin Constitution, because of the special need for national defence.[68]
3) It should be supported because of the reliability of the President Park's strong leadership.[69]

While the conservative churches continued to support the government, progressive leaders of the KNCC group became actively involved in the resistance movement against the government, often encouraging student demonstrations. After Prime Minister Jong-Pil Kim pointed out at the breakfast prayer meeting for the Prime Minister, attended by 450 Christian businessmen, that their resistance amounted to unlawful actions, the KNCC issued a statement on November 18, 1974.

According to the statement, the teaching of Romans 13 that all powers are from God "presupposed the legitimacy and limit" of the political power; The government was "entrusted with a conditional authority by God" for the welfare of the people and for the order, peace and justice of the society; Therefore, when human authority goes beyond its limit and becomes unfaithful to its responsibility, the church, as the "trustee of the Word of God", is required to "criticise and correct" it. Furthermore, it continued, when a government stands against the will of God and attempts to perpetuate its power,

---

[67] This term means 'to reform evil custom or systems'.

[68] Gidoksinbo (Nov. 11, 1972) also argued as follows, supportive of the logic used by the government.: Koreans should not make a fuss about such trifles as democracy, human rights, and freedom. To do so would be against the prosperity of the nation. Just as America has American democracy and England its own English democracy, so Korea should have its own Korean democracy... To adopt the Yushin constitution is to throw away the clothes we borrowed from others and wear clothes of our own.

[69] Attacking the inefficiency of the parliamentary institutions and party politics, *the Christian times* argued that for the sake of the efficiency of the parliament Christians should support the ruling party of the strong leader, President Park. Also see: *Gidoksinbo*, November 10, 17, 24, 1973.

the church ought to "refuse to cooperate with such government and ought rather to withstand it" (KNCC 1987:506-8).

Immediately after this statement, the conservative churches within the KNCC issued a statement to the effect that those who were critical of the government were causing "social disorder". Moreover, they argued it was "unbiblical" for the Christians to issue anti-governmental statements and to participate in critical demonstrations. According to their understanding of the biblical principles regarding church-state relations, the church should pray for and obey the government as long as the government did not violate freedom of religion (Gidoksinbo 1974: Dec. 7).

Another statement followed, this time from the Association of the Conservative Churches, which argued that the commandment of Romans 13 was "unconditional," saying that one must "think of how Paul acted under the Roman government." According to its argument, "Such anti-governmental action as demonstration was only benefiting the Communist enemy" in North Korea. The statement ended with the insistence that the Church should be devoted only to "saving souls through evangelism" (: Nov.30).

These polarised attitudes of the Korean church toward the Park government continued after his assassination (1979) until the end of the disgraced Doo-Hwan Jun's military government (1988). The pro-government attitude of the conservative churches was often expressed by their participation in the Presidential breakfast prayer to bless the regimes, prohibiting any government criticism within the Church, and publishing support documents on controversial matters of government. Their basic logic was that if the Church took an anti-government attitude, it would benefit the North Korean Communists, and that if the North Korean Communists ever invaded the South, it would be impossible to believe in Jesus. So, the Church should not challenge the government, which protected the believers from their enemy and allowed freedom of religion, no matter how unjust that government was (Ko 1991:345).

On the other hand, the progressive KNCC group consistently held fast to their anti-government attitude under the military regime. Having a deep insight into the reality of the division of Korea as the most fundamentally evil structure, they courageously paid the price for the realisation of political justice. Several scholars were deprived of their honourable professorships and some leaders were imprisoned, while the conservative leaders were praying for their dictator at the breakfast prayer meeting for the President. The former's indomitable protest against injustice was obviously the result of their theological reflection upon the socio-political/economic situation in the 1970s and 80s (Suh 1987: 280).

On May 20, 1973, when all political activities were prohibited under the emergency martial law, the progressive KNCC group expressed their theological determination in "the theological declaration of Korean Christians" as follows:

> Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Messiah ever lived and dwelt among the oppressed, the poor and the sick in Israel. As he courageously protested against Pontius Pilate who represented the Roman Empire, and witnessed to the truth, he was crucified. He has been raised from death and now exerts the power of transformation and sets the *minjung* (the people) free. Following in his footsteps, we determine to live among the oppressed and poor and to protest against any political suppression and to participate in the transformation of [our] history. For this is the only way to the Kingdom of our Messiah (Documents 1975: 43 my translation).

For most Christians, however, the progressive KNCC group's radical action seemed to depart from basic principles of the Church of Christ. In terms of the method of their struggle, they appeared to be too radical. Employing methods of violent protest and labour instigation, they were willing to identify themselves with certain contemporary ideologies, such as Marxist revolutionism, politicism, secularism, and materialism rather than with the Christian way of resistance (Rhee 1995:271). Therefore, it was widely rejected by the majority of the Korean Church and even by individuals within the KNCC group (ibid)[70].

2.8.2 Industrialisation, Urbanisation and *Minjung* Theology

The Korean society of the 1960s and 70s was, in a word, characterised by industrialisation and urbanisation due to the Economic Development plans of the Government. Ignoring the issue of income redistribution, Park's military regime drove forward the excessively growth-oriented economic policy on the strength of its dictatorial power. As cheap labour was the mainstay of industrialisation at that time, the government deliberately operated the Low Grain Price Policy to force the man power of rural areas to turn to industrial work, the majority of this cheap labour being available in rural areas (Choi 1996:269). As a result, people in agricultural areas struggled to survive and eventually a great number of young people moved to the cities to find jobs in order to support their families. Once they had settled in cities, to some degree, the rest of the family would join them. This pattern resulted in the group of the urban poor.

---

[70] Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the progressive KNCC group's resistance movement against the military regimes made a significant contribution to democratisation and the development of justice in Korea. cf. Yang N H 1993:235; Rhee 1995:271. They were, undeniably, the only section of the Korean Church that boldly and at all costs resisted the dictatorial power of the military regime.

The urban population in 1955 was merely 24.5 % of the whole population, but by 1966 it had increased to 32.5 %, and in 1975 reached 48.4 %. By 1985, the urban population had increased enormously and was recorded as 65.3 % of the population (Yi 1992:74). With the so-called miraculous economic growth in the 1970s and 80s, urban centralisation reached its highest level. This was responsible for cataclysmic changes in Korean society such as the collapse of the traditional family system, the disintegration of community-oriented society and the widened gap between the rich and the poor.

The rapid economic growth induced social stratification along the typical lines of Capitalism, i.e. 'the rich get richer, while the poor get poorer'. Despite the fact that such rapid economic growth during the 1970s was possible with cheap and plentiful labour from the rural areas for the manufacturing industries, most of the labourers were badly treated and poorly paid, and their human rights counted for nothing. They were, in fact, the victims of socio-economic injustice and the most marginalized social class.

On November 13, 1970, a shocking incident took place, when a 22-year old worker named Tae-il Chun protested against the unwarrantable treatment of his fellow workers by burning himself to death[71]. Tae-il's death voiced the painful outcries of the marginalized victims shrouded in rapid economic growth, opening the eyes of the progressive theologians to the reality of the life of the marginalized people, the so-called 'minjung' in Korean society at that time. Motivated by sympathy with the suffering and agony, the sighs and tears of the powerless people, *minjung*, their theological reflection began and later, this developed into "*Minjung* Theology".

The *Minjung* Theology thus started from the "experience" of the powerless and marginalized people. Its theological reflection was, in fact, provided by the mission

---

[71] At the age of sixteen, Tae-il had begun work as an apprentice in a sewing shop at the Peace Market in Seoul. The working conditions in this mile-long, three-story building were miserable. Neither fresh air nor sunlight ever penetrated its windowless walls. His co-workers were nearly all young people like himself; the average age was eighteen, but nearly 40 % were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. They worked fifteen-hour days, with only two days off a month, to earn a daily wage of only seventy to one hundred Won – when a typical lunch for the shop owners cost two hundred Won. The gruelling schedule wasted their young bodies; many developed tuberculosis, bronchitis, irregular menstruation, etc. One day Tae-il saw a young sewing machinist vomiting blood, and the incident compelled him to study labour laws and organise a labour union. In March 1969, he was fired on account of these activities. In his deep frustration, he retreated into the prayer house of his church. During six months there, he determined to protest unto death against the subhuman treatment that the labourers at the Peace Market had to bear. His diary reveals his resolution to sacrifice his life for the cause of his fellow labourers; 'I must go back to you, my poor brothers and sisters...I am willing to give my life for you... the Saturday of August, the day of resolution...   Dear God, have mercy upon my effort to be a morning dew-drop.' In the same year, finding a sewing machinist job at the Peace Market again, Tae-il gradually began to organise a labour union. On 13 November 1970, Tae-il and 500 other labourers peacefully marched into the Peace Market with a placard that read: 'We are not machines.' When a special police unit was dispatched to disperse this lawful demonstration, Tae-il immolated himself. While dying, he

workers. Living and working together among the poor, they experienced the stark reality of the poor with their bodies, not merely with their minds: the physical pain of heavy labour; the frustrations, anger, indignation and despair caused by unendurable suffering (Kim Y B 1992:3-4). The mission workers realised that a "pre-packed Gospel" could not be communicated to the *minjung*. Rather, the Gospel was truly discovered and rediscovered from the life situation of the *minjung*. In addition, from the perspective of the suffering *minjung* the reality of the *minjung* and their unique place in the justice and compassion of God were discovered in many stories of suffering and aspiration of the Bible (cf. Moon 1985:123-137).

Significantly, for the *Minjung* theologians, the *minjung* was understood to be not only the perceiving subjects of real historical experiences but also the architects of history, bearing the burden of human societies and sustaining them through their suffering and endurance (Kim Y B 1992:5). According to the *Minjung* theologians, most history, heretofore, has been written by the elite and the powerful, and the story of humanity has been told by heroes, lords, kings, political leaders, economic and cultural elites and the dominant classes. The *minjung* by contrast have been relegated to insignificant roles and to the footnotes in this kind of historical writing. The *Minjung* theologians realised, however, that real history cannot be understood without the *minjung*'s own account of their experiences in that history, that is, their own stories (ibid)[72].

Thus, the stories of the marginalized victims of Korean history were reinterpreted from the perspective of the suffering *minjung* as the real subjects of the history. For example, the peasants and slaves who sustained the economy of the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910), *Jongshindae* who were forcibly taken as official prostitutes for the Japanese imperial soldiers during World War II and the war victims—widows and members of families separated by the Division—during the Korean War with its Cold War polarisation, were presented as the subjects of history who had been bearing the real burden of society (Kim Y B 1992:5-6).

Significantly, the *Minjung* Theology turned its attention to the marginalized in society in the historical context of the 1970s. While the *Minjung* Theology aligned itself with political resistance to the military dictatorship, it was in solidarity with the marginalized victims in the vortex of economic growth. It stressed that "Christianity

---

cried aloud, 'Do not exploit the young lives! Don't make my death futile!' (Suh N D 1983: 351-353).
[72] Nevertheless, according to the *Minjung* theologians, the stories of the *minjung* that reflect their sufferings and their historical contributions are, for the most part, not known and the records that do exist are usually suppressed by the powerful. Indeed, much of history is lost and certainly, the unknown part of human history is greater than its known and recorded part. Even the known is a distorted and partial history, for the role of the *minjung* is generally omitted or erased from the history books – books written for the powerful by the elite of society (Kim Y B 1992:5).

should be incarnate among the *minjung*" (Hyun 1982:15-18), for "if one does not hear the sighs of the *Han* of the *minjung*, one cannot hear the voice of Christ knocking on our doors (Suh N D 1983:68)."

Due to its theological radicality[73], however, the *Minjung Theology*, having a vulnerability despite its creative insight and its boldness, resulted in a strong repulsion from the majority of the conservative-dominated Korean Presbyterian Church and thereby lost its popular reasoning power at the local church level.

2.8.3 National Evangelisation Movement and Church Growth

The 1970s and 80s were also two decades in which remarkable church growth occurred. During the 1970s, the Protestant Church membership more than doubled[74]. Nearly four new churches were planted every single day during this period. By 1989, Christians accounted for 26.2 % of the total population of Korea (Gallup Korea 1998:218), and formed the largest of all the religious groups in Korea (cf. Gwak 2000:40). It is generally agreed that such rapid growth in church membership was in fact rare in the history of Protestant mission in the world. In what follows, our attention will be given to the nation-wide movement of mass evangelism initiated by

---

[73] Several characteristics and problems of the *Minjung* Theology are listed below.
First, *Minjung* Theology is a contextual and indigenous theology (Ryu 1982: 258). It starts from the life situation of *minjung*, as a living reality, who are suffering and oppressed in Korean society. According to Chang-Won Suh, the situation of Korea requires the 'context' to be a 'text' for understanding the Bible (Suh 1989:36-8). Thus, it is the Korean story of suffering and hope that defines the essential nature of *Minjung* Theology. In addition, it adopts the syncretistic approach, which accepts the element of truth in non-Christian religious and cultural tradition, especially in the indigenous messianic tradition throughout Korean history.
Second, in *Minjung* Theology the *minjung* are identified with Jesus. More precisely speaking, Jesus is "not the Messiah for the *minjung*" but "a personification or collective symbol of the *minjung*" (Suh 1982: 244). According to Byung-Mu Ahn, Jesus stood and lived with the *minjung*. He died outside the citywall of Jerusalem, outside the place of the upper classes and of the oppressive Roman rulers. Within the city walls lived the so-called righteous, outside lived the *ochlos-minjung* i.e. the marginalized. Thus, the event of the death and resurrection of Jesus is identified with that of the *minjung*, and Christ is present among the suffering *minjung* today. One step further, the *minjung* is not an object, but a subject of salvation. As there is the potential for salvation (liberation) in the *minjung*, they who are suffering and struggling work out their salvation by themselves (by *minjung* movement). The real object of salvation is not the *minjung*, but non-*minjung* and it is only through solidarity with the suffering *minjung* that non-*minjung* can encounter God in today's life. Apparently, there is no room for the doctrine of Christ's redemption for the *minjung*.
Third, the *Minjung* Theology is a theology of participation. It is radically critical of the existing political and social structure. According to the *Minjung* theologians, it is not the *minjung*, but the non-*minjung* such as the ruling class and the existing church, which the *Minjung* Theology tries to awaken. The real sinners that should regret and repent are not the *minjung*, but non-*minjung* or anti-*minjung* (Ahn 1987:117-118). Thus, the *Minjung* Theology accuses the ruling class, which exploits and suppresses the suffering *minjung*, as well as the existing church that looks on or backs up the *status quo*.
[74] According to the recent statistics (Gwak 2000:36), the membership of the Korean Protestant Church was about 700,000 in 1960, 3 million in 1970, 7 million in 1980 and 12 million in 1990.

the conservative church leaders.

As already mentioned, during the 1970s and 1980s the national security was seriously intimidated by North Korea. In addition, society was disturbed by the continuing resistance of students and of several political leaders against the dictatorship of the military regime, while rapid economic growth was underway. In this situation the conservative Church leaders devoted all their energies to national evangelisation, whereas the progressive church leaders concentrated their concern on the political struggle against the government's dictatorial power as well as on the suffering *minjung*. Ironically, while the progressive leaders were imprisoned on account of their resistance against the government, the conservative leaders held mammoth crusades, which were actively supported by the same government, even down to the regular Breakfast Prayer Meeting held for the President.

At this time, four mass evangelism crusades were held one after another; the Billy Graham Crusade of 1973, Explo'74, the 77 Holy Assembly Crusade and the 1980 World Evangelisation Crusade. Every crusade meeting was nation-wide and interdenominational. Its main goal was a national evangelisation of all Koreans. About 500,000 attended every rally at the same place (Yoido Plaza in Seoul).

The Billy Graham Crusade of 1973 whose motto was "50 Million to Christ" was the first of these mammoth crusades. The figure equalled the total population of both South and North Korea at the time, and at the final meeting held on a Sunday afternoon (June 3) was more than one million attended. It was the largest gathering of the Christian Church in its lifetime of two thousand years, well organized, and directed toward soul winning (Lee 1988:171). The main rally in Seoul was followed by rallies in six major cities, all following the same pattern. During this crusade a total of 31,918 new believers came to accept Jesus Christ as Saviour. This Billy Graham Crusade was an initial explosive for the suppressed *Han* of the "pentecostal-*Minjung*" (Yoo 1987:210) as well as a stimulant for subsequent mammoth crusades[75].

At that time, President Park established the so-called *Yushin* system by force, and freedom of speech as well as attendance at meetings was prohibited under emergency martial law. Even in such a state of things, the dictatorial government permitted the mass rally and assisted the Crusade in many ways. Significantly, from this moment, Korean Christianity, previously a minority group, began to emerge as a new power group in society (Lee 1988:175).

---

[75] Before starting the crusade, on May 16, 1973, Billy Graham had an interview with President Chung-Hee Park, a dictator. He said in admiration that though Korea could not be a super-power politically or economically in international society, spiritually she was already a super-power nation and the centre of the spiritual movement in Asia and that she would lead other Far-Eastern countries.

After only fourteen months another vast Crusade, Explo'74 was held by the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ, a branch of Campus Crusade for Christ International founded by Dr. Bill Bright in the U.S.A. Explo'74 was mapped out by Rev. Joon-Gon Kim, the leader of KCCC and sponsored by Campus Crusade for Christ International. The motto for this Crusade was "The Jesus Revolution, the Third Explosion of the Holy Spirit." Explo'74 focused not only on evangelism but also on the teaching of basic principles of the Christian life, for example, assurance of salvation, the Spirit-filled life etc.

The Explo '74 crusade exceeded the Billy Graham Crusade statistically in almost every aspect. The average attendance at each main rally was 1.1 million. They recorded the most decisions (272,000). During their witnessing time the participants witnessed to the Gospel in schools, hospitals, markets, shopping centers, parks, everywhere throughout the capital city. The most exciting and Spirit-moving item was the overnight prayer meetings led by Korean evangelists. At five all-night prayer meetings, held from 11:00 p.m. until 5:00 a.m. over 1,430,000 were present.

The national evangelists had organised these prayer meetings themselves, and so having confirmed the possibility of orchestrating an entire crusade themselves, the launching committee for the '77 crusade was formed. It comprised fifteen of the leading evangelists from different denominations.

Thus, the '77 Holy Assembly Crusade was, from the beginning, conceived and initiated by indigenous church evangelists, unlike most of the massive crusades which until then had been initiated or sponsored by foreign, mostly American ministers. The slogan was "National Evangelisation, only by the Holy Spirit, and only by hands of Koreans." Rev. Hyun-Kyoon Shin, the leader of the '77 Crusade presented his vision that this national campaign would be "by Koreans, for Koreans, and of Koreans" (Lee 1988:193). His plan was for the entire nation to become an evangelised country and furthermore, a launching pad for world missions.

At that time Korean people were politically threatened by the popular U. S. Democratic presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter's public promise to the American people that he would withdraw the U.S. Army from the Korean peninsular. For Koreans who had already witnessed the fall of Vietnam to the communists after the withdrawal of the American troops, Jimmy Carter's plan was a grave threat. In this context Rev. Shin proclaimed to the Korean public that it was time to return to God, suggesting that this crusade should be a national repentance movement seeking protection from God for this tiny country in the midst of international conflicts in the Far East.

The church leaders, expecting the same mighty work of the Holy Spirit, chose the year 1977 for the Holy Assembly of the National Evangelisation Crusade – 1977 being the 70th anniversary of the 1907 Great Revival in Pyongyang. The main goal of the '77 Crusade was the revival of the Church by the power of Holy Spirit through national repentance and national evangelisation. In order to achieve this goal more effectively, three years of nation-wide preparatory meetings for revival and evangelisation preceded the main meeting at Yoido Square in August 1977. About 80,000 people accepted the Gospel in the main rally. The co-operative work between the various denominations was also notable. Officially 37 denominations co-operated in this crusade.

The political situation at the end of the1970s became critical with the assassination of President Park on October 26, 1979. The new military group, which had been led by General Doo-Whan Jun, held real political power and controlled the civilian government in the transition period. In May 18-26, 1980, a mass demonstration by civilians against the military regime was held in Kwangju, and hundreds of people were shot to death by the military acting under martial law.

In such a vortex of socio-political disorder, another mass crusade, the '80 World Evangelisation Crusade – "Here's life, Korea", was held from August 12-15, at the same place. In the 1980 Crusade, the evangelists, most of whom were church pastors, and members of the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ, a well organized para-church mission who worked together to evangelise the fatherland. In a sense, this crusade was a combination of the three previous mass crusades of the 1970s. World Evangelisation was the main title of this crusade, and the primary target of national evangelisation was more strongly emphasised than ever. Its motto was to evangelise 80 % of the non-believing fellow-Koreans by the year 1984, the centennial year of Korean Protestant mission (Kim J G 1983:14)[76].

Preceding the main crusade in August, personal prayer was offered and prayer meetings continued. In eighteen months, 13,434 prayer meetings were held, the size varying from district to district. A forty-day national prayer and fasting campaign was held from February 10 to March 20, 1980 across the country in response to the critical political situation. This centred on personal repentance and commitment and called for the seven million Christians of Korea to claim from God a nation-wide moral and

---

[76] Joon-Gon Kim, the executive chairperson, expressed his vision as follows;
Let us remember this is the last river, the river Jordan, for evangelizing the fatherland. We must cross it at this time. We are just like a woman who is at the delivery room. The last effort is needed, this last one-time effort to deliver the baby, Christianization of the fatherland. It is the moment of birth for a new Christian nation in this country. This is our vision. Let us share this vision that we evangelise our fatherland and then evangelise the whole world (Kim J G 1983:29).

spiritual awakening. During the forty-day period, each church was challenged to set aside a three-minute break during the Sunday morning worship service for personal repentance and meditation on social morality. Every Christian was encouraged to fast by giving up at least one meal per week (Yoo 1987:217)[77].

Important emphasis was laid on training. Christians across the country received evangelistic and follow-up training to be effective witnesses of the Lord and consistent disciples. A total of 988,600 Christian workers received evangelistic and discipleship training through the KCCC's mediated training units (Kim J G 1983:30). Prominent leaders from foreign countries were also invited. Donald Mcgavran and Robert Schuller from the United States participated in leading seminars during this crusade.

This rally was actively supported by the dictatorial government. As an indication of its support, the 12:00 to 4:00 a.m. martial law curfew was lifted on the Yoido Plaza area specifically so that the people could remain outside to pray (:34). The statistics for participants in the main crusade were unprecedented[78]. It was reported that about one million new believers received Christ as their Saviour (Ro and Nelson 1983:29). In addition, when challenged to invest at least one year of their lives in a foreign country for the Gospel, over 300,000 responded as missionary volunteers (Lee 1988:225).

Together with the numerical growth of local churches, tremendous spiritual openness across the country resulted from the crusade (Lee 1988:225). Rev. Joon-Gon Kim (1983:35) evaluated that the '80 World Evangelisation Crusade was a "spiritual turning point" in the Korean nation.

The four crusades of '73, '74, '77, and '80 had a profound impact on the Korean Church. Above all, the national evangelisation movement directly affected church

---

[77] The climax of preparation for the crusade was a three-day prayer and fasting rally at the Han-ul Mountain Prayer Retreat Centre from February 28 to March 1. More than 30,000 people gathered. 10,000 were turned away for lack of space. As the building could hold only 10,000, the people had to change places every two hours. Since it was very cold outside, 10,000 would come inside for two hours of prayer, and then they would exchange places with another 10,000 who were playing outside on the mountains (Kim 1983:31). From June 23-25, 3,000 ministers gathered at the same place, where they fasted and prayed for three days for the crusade and evangelisation of the fatherland (Lee 1988:219). Personal prayer was also strongly emphasised during the entire promotion and preparation phases of the crusade. Every Christian was given one of eighty-seven different prayer cards listing five prayer items: 1) the name of a North Korean village (to reunify north and south Korea), 2) the name of one of the provinces in Mainland China (where Korean emigrants live), 3) the name of one of the countries of the world (every nation was prayed for during this time), 4) the doubling of their own church membership, 5) their own personal 'embryo' Christian (the person in their area of influence to whom they would witness and bring to Yoido Plaza, during the crusade). In addition, they prayed for one of eighty-seven specific '80 World Evangelisation Crusade prayer items. Altogether, five million cards were distributed across the country (Kim J G 1983:32).
[78] Total attendance in the four days' main rally was 10.5 million. Surprisingly, each evening 1.5 million Christians remained all night on Yoido Plaza to pray for national evangelisation.

growth. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Protestant Church membership increased by more than four times. Besides, these massive crusades provided the Christian minority in Korean society with a vision for national evangelisation. The "Pentecostal-*Minjung*" whose state of mind had been desperately low through war and poverty, burst into zeal for soul winning. For them, the national evangelisation movement was also another expression of national salvation from the socio-political crisis.

Furthermore, the vision and passion were linked to those of world evangelisation. From that time on, the Korean church began to send missionaries overseas on the strength of church growth as well as the economic development [79]. Sending missionaries abroad became another mark of successful ministry. As a result, the zeal of local churches for sending missionaries frequently overstepped the mark for the Mission Board of their General Assembly.

There was a "down" side, however, from this period onwards, for numerical church growth began to emerge as the supreme goal in the majority of the Korean churches. Swept along by the socio-economic streams of rapid growth, evangelism, group Bible study, preaching and even prayer were mostly focused on expansion of the church. The so-called "Prosperity Theology" of Yong-Gi Cho, the Pentecostal leader and pastor of Yoido Full Gospel Center Church, the world's biggest congregation (currently, c.a. 600,000) as well as the Theology of Church Growth from the Fuller School of Missions stirred up the Korean pastors' enthusiasm for external church growth (Rhee 1995:279). These theologies, bolstered by materialistic values, exerted a decisively harmful influence on the Korean Church.

Featuring in socio-economic life and four nation-wide rallies, the word 'success' had a dominant place in many a pulpit. Conforming to this 'success-oriented' competitive society, the Korean churches en bloc were about to emerge as a powerful group in secular society. As the membership expanded, every church set about expanding her own building and acquiring facilities such as an education centre, church bus, retreat center and cemetery. Besides, various programs for Bible study as well as discipleship training were introduced and developed, but these were mainly designed to promote church growth. As a result of such excessive competition towards rapid growth, various spiritual pathologies began to emerge; success-oriented quantitiativism, unsound mysticism, and indifference to social engagement and schism (Choi 1984:119)[80].

---

[79] As of Dec 31, 2000, 8,103 Korean missionaries were sent all over the world, which means Korea is now the second largest mission country next to the United States. According to the statistics, the number of missionaries sent abroad was 93 in 1979; 511 in 1986; 1,645 in 1990; 3,272 in 1994; 5,948 in 1998. (Korea Research Institute for Missions 2001 Report).

[80] At the centennial anniversary rally of Korean Protestant mission in 1984, church leaders reflected on the problems following the rapid growth: quantitativism, unsound mysticism, indifference to social

In short, the majority of the Korean Church was intoxicated with the drive towards success and expansion of their ministry especially during the two decades of 1970s and 1980s. As a result, their ministerial achievements showed various pathological symptoms. Leo Oosterom (1990:114-115) pointed out precisely this atmosphere of the Korean Church, after having spent a year of his study in Korea, as follows;

> There is, however, a danger in the nationalist tendency in Korean Christianity and its missionary thought. Korea conceived its firm belief in God's election of their people when the country was in a state of utter misery and oppression. The nation [in the South] has prospered in the meantime, but not every form of oppression has been abandoned yet. A national pride has developed on the basis of the achievements of the [South] Korean people in the past decades. Likewise, the vast majority of the Korean churches have developed a sense of pride on the basis of their miraculous growth. Proof for the election of Korea has now been identified in the success of nation and church, and not in the confession that God chooses that which is weak and vulnerable. The notion of national election has grown into a national pride, a strong feeling of superiority over other nations and churches. Too many missionaries leave Korea to spread the success-story or the success-formula of Korean Christianity, instead of spreading the Gospel of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The need for international, ecumenical co-operation in the theological education of Korean missionaries is, therefore, urgent.

Apparently, the triumphant mood was dominant in the average Korean Church during the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s, which saw remarkable external church growth as well as rapid economic growth. Most significantly, owing to the blessings of the economic growth, the majority of the Korean Christians made their way into the middle classes (Lee W K 1992: 76, 112). Through this external growth, the Korean Church en bloc emerged from her marginal position in terms of economic power and social status. Meanwhile, the successful ministry as well as the material affluence of the Church brought her to self-complacency, thus attracting special attention from the world Church.

2.8.4 Summary

The Korean society during the 1970s and 80s faced socio-economic upheaval. Rapid economic growth based on industralisation brought forth urbanisation, causing various social problems. In these rapidly changing situations, the KPC devoted themselves mostly to their own growth and expansion. Only a minority group within the KPC that advocated and supported the *Minjung* Theology was concerned about the oppressed

---

engagement and schism .

and poor in society and protested against the political suppression. But, the majority of the KPC kept silent or actively supported the unjust power regime. Moreover, they achieved mass evangelism crusades, even being supported by the dictatorial government. Though the national evangelisation movement had a great impact on church growth, the growth was mainly focused on external expansion and thus brought forth various spiritual pathologies in gear with so-called 'Prosperity Theology'. The remarkable church growth during the 1960s-1980s led the KPC to establish a religious power group in society, escaping from a marginal position in terms of social status.

2.9 Democratisation and Secularisation (1993 - the present)

By the early-to-mid-90s Korean society changed dramatically in terms of its socio-political and economic structure. After passing through a persisting struggle for democratisation against the political injustice during the reign of the new military power from 1980 till 1991, political freedom was eventually achieved in 1993 by the establishment of a civilian-led government. Meanwhile, rapid economic growth was reflected in the GNI of US$10,000 per capita in 1995[81], placing Korea in the ranks of advanced countries.

Together with the development of the industry of information and technology, socio-cultural circumstances also changed drastically. In the aftermath of globalisation, traditional value systems collapsed and Korean society changed into a plural society. In this section, our attention will be devoted to the current position of the Korean Church in this drastically shifted social and material context.

2.9.1 Material Affluence and Decline in Membership

Since the establishment of the new government in 1993, drastic social changes manifested themselves in various ways. Democratisation extended personal rights and individual freedom, freeing people from political oppression and injustice under the prolonged reign of the military power over thirty years. High income thanks to economic growth nurtured material affluence, which led people's life pattern to that of advanced countries, bringing about a development in leisure, welfare and medical facilities. In addition, the industry of information and technology that rapidly developed by the 1990s brought about a radical revolution in the way of life, together

---

[81] According to the statistics (Korea National Statistical Office 2003, Dec.), GNI per capita in 1960 was US$ 79; $249 in 1970; $1,009 in 1977; $2,020 in 1983; $3,201 in 1987; $4,268 in 1988; $5,185 in 1989; $6,810 in 1991; $7,183 in 1992; $8,998 in 1994; $10,823 in 1995; $11,385 in 1996 and $10,013 in 2002. As of December 2001, GNP per capita of Korea takes the 13th and GNI per capita of Korea takes the 36th in the world ranking.

with globalisation. Above all this drastically changed life pattern led Korean society to the value system of materialism, which consequently resulted in moral secularisation (cf. Rhee 1995:276-281).

The drastic social changes had a great impact on the Christians themselves and on the churches. Whether consciously or not, the Korean Church *en bloc* joined the trend set by society's moral secularisation. As an apparent indication, from 1993 onwards, membership of the Korean Church began to register an absolute decline of 4 % (Guthrie 1996:199). It was virtually a historic turning point in that for the first time since the Protestant mission the continuous numerical growth was reversed. According to an official statistics of the government in 2001, membership of the Korean Church decreased by 11.6% during five years since 1995 (cf. Paek 2002:1). And remarkably, the youth membership began to decrease rapidly since 1993 (Gwak 2000:42).

Regarding the changed situation that emerged within the Korean Church in the early-to-mid-90s, an American theologian, Carl F. H. Henry, remarked as follows:

But by 1986 the Christians numbered 10 million, or 25 % of the population. Emphasis on Bible study, a vigorously lay leading leadership, self-support, and self-propagation nurtured a Christian community that for a time grew at several times the rate of population expansion. Korean churches early dedicated themselves to evangelism and cross-cultural missions. National churches have now taken full responsibility for witness to the point that large enterprises like The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) have entrusted leadership to nationals. *There is another side to this story, however*. The collapse of Marxist theory globally and the triumph of capitalism has brought economic benefits to a rising middle class. The military threat once posed by North Korea is yielding to expanding hope for reunification. The lowering of survival pressures nurtures a sense of self-sufficiency among a professional younger class in pursuit of secular goals. South Korean Church growth has now lost momentum, going from 9% in 1989 to minus 4% in 1993... (omitted)... Yet some observers fear that many Korean churches are bewitched by big numbers, and now tend to regard charismatic features as the decisive test of spiritual advance. Quantity is sometimes valued above quality, and huge mission efforts sometimes overlook one-on-one evangelism. Should the one in four Koreans who profess to be Christians be exerting more noticeable influence upon social, corporate, and political life, or is church growth defined only in terms of the gospel's relevance inside the church doors? (Henry, 1995 Nov. World: 70 *Italics added*).

Along with the decline in growth, as Henry points out above, various negative symptoms have apparently emerged within the churches. Most conspicuously, the value system of materialism and quantitativism prevails within the churches. The success of the pastoral ministry is often estimated by the size of the church building, annual budget or by membership. The salary of pastors is usually in proportion to the size of the congregation. Pastors of big churches are, therefore, very rich and powerful, while the absolute majority of pastors' standard of living is below the social economic standard. It is now commonly accepted among pastors that in contrast to the situation of church growth during 1970s and 80s, it is nowadays almost impossible to plant a new church without money. It is said that nice buildings and good facilities are indispensable for planting a new church.

Often big congregations move to a new area when their membership is overfull. Once a big church building is newly built in a certain area, existing small churches in that area find it hard to survive. J. S. Rhee (1995:279) pointed out that in fact, a small number of big churches dominate and even terrorise the Korean Church by the quantitative power of man and money. The capitalistic and evolutionistic "jungle principle" is now coldly at work in the Korean Church.

Recently several well-known retiring pastors of mega-churches were publicly criticised for their intentional attempt to hand over their senior pastorship to their sons as in a monarchy. The problem lies in the consciousness of ownership of pastors who planted their congregation. For most pastors who planted their own congregation, that congregation is in fact recognised as their own religious enterprise. At times a congregation becomes an object of dealing between pastors. Nowadays it is not rare to see advertisements in the Christian newspapers of a congregation offered for sale.

The sense of value of materialism and quantitativism prevailing within the churches is also found in the changing attitude of members. In the situation of a market in which a number of churches stand competitively, Christians choose their own church as they please, just as customers would do. Following the fashion of the world that pursues the bigger and the greater, most Christians prefer big churches, this being a kind of symbol of their social status. Most churches also try to treat their members as customers, devoting their whole minds to securing members. In fact, a considerable number of members of the larger churches prefer to be anonymous and unattached to any congregation. They move their membership from one church to another at any time they please. Therefore, church discipline is practically impossible.

Besides, symptoms of secularisation within the churches are found in many other respects. Above all, the viewpoint of church office is much contaminated, being identified with a sort of honour in a secular sense for lay-Christians and ministers alike.

Lay-Christians' eldership is a case in point. In most big churches competition to be elected for an elder is intense. It goes without saying that social status and financial strength are indispensable conditions for the election. More often than not, the elected elders are officially requested to donate considerable amounts of money to the church as a visible token of commitment, which is naturally accepted as a usual practice in most churches.

For pastors senior pastorship is currently recognised as equivalent to a CEO (Chief Executive Officer). Instead of devoting themselves to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word, most senior pastors take part in every administration and matter of the church, exerting the power of decision. It often causes serious conflict or power struggles between pastors and elders. Even duties, such as a moderator, are also recognised as an honour in the same sense. It is publicly known that in order to be elected for a moderator at the General Assembly in most major denominations, candidates often spend enormous amounts of money for an invisible election campaign. With a view to preventing this irregularity one major denomination of the Presbyterian Church (PCKH) recently decided to elect a moderator by lot.

Another serious symptom of secularisation is evident in the matter of Sunday observance[82]. Traditionally Sunday observance has accounted for much of the religious life in the Korean Church. Together with the trend of the absolute decline of membership in 1993, this matter too came to the fore. A representative monthly magazine for Korean pastors, "Pastoral Ministry and Theology" carried the matter of Sunday observance as feature articles under the title of "Sunday Observance is Joggling — What's the Matter?" in September, 1994. In his article, W. K. Lee (1994:43) pointed out the weakening of people's religious motivation because of socio-economic stability as one of the main reasons for the decline. Recently, as the five-day-work week was legalised, Sunday observance came to the front as a key issue within the Korean Church.

The rapid increase of divorce between Christians within the churches also serves as a typical example of moral secularisation. As of 2002, the divorce rate per 1,000 of the population per annum in Korea is more than 3.0 pairs, which ranks the third among OECD countries. It was 1.2 pairs in 1992. And the rate of divorce cases to total married couples in 2002 reached 47.4%. Almost half of married families are broken. No official data of divorce rate within the churches is yet reported, but according to the "Gallop" investigation in 1998, 36.5% of Christians (42.5% of non-Christians) responded that divorce should be allowed in some cases. Traditionally divorce was not allowed within the Church in any event. Yet, the statistic shows that Christians'

---

[82] By Sunday observance is literally meant to keep Sunday holy, but hereby, in a narrow sense, we mean

thought about divorce has drastically shifted, bearing no significant difference from that of non-Christians.

Symptoms of secularisation are also perceived in the pulpit. Entertaining or 'psychological' sermons are becoming popular (Rhee 1995:281). In comparison with the sermons until 1960s, the message of the narrow way of the Cross or of suffering for Christ is today rarely heard (ibid). Today's sermons thus focus mostly on what people want, rather than what God wants. As an inevitable result of the poverty of God's Word, there is a growing interest among Christians in spirituality. Many books about spirituality are flooding the market and various seminars and programmes for the development of spirituality have been introduced. They spread from power healing, evangelism, spiritual counselling, worship renewal, worship dance and song, to church renewal. Some church leaders try to spread the spirituality movement, being convinced that it is the way to revive the churches (cf. Kim M Y 2001:55). Yet, repentance and revival rarely occur.

The most apparent symptom of secularisation within the churches is that the credibility of Christianity in society is increasingly deteriorating. As mentioned before, rapid economic growth, which aggravated the materialistic values and tide of individualism, has produced innumerable social problems, such as a widening gap between the rich and the poor, juvenile crimes, broken families, unwed mothers, neglect of the aged and so on. Swept along with the current, the vast majority of the churches are concerned merely with their own expansion with little regard to their social responsibility.

The larger the churches, the more privatised they become. Regarding the churches' negligence of social responsibility and services, C. J. Noh (1998:191) presents statistical data from his analysis of church financial expenditure in 1992. According to his analysis, 201 churches (81.7 %) of 246 sampled churches spent less than 5 % of their gross receipts on social service expenses including almsgiving expenses. Only 4 churches (1.6 %) expended more than 10 % of their gross receipts on social services.

According to the "Gallop" investigation in 1997, 79.6 % of people answered "yes" to the question whether the church was more interested in the expansion of her ministry than in the pursuit of authentic truth. Besides, 39.6 % of the respondents stated that they were not hopeful that the religious impact would grow (this percentage had doubled in comparison to 19.2% of 1984). Moreover, 87.9 % said that there were many troubles and divisions in religion, while 79.6 % responded that there were many unqualified or inadequate ministers (Korean Gallop Institute, 1997:116-118, 125-127, 138-139). The Korean Church is thus apparently losing its credibility and influence in

---

to attend worship service on Sunday.

society.

Meanwhile, the relationship between the North and South has also drastically changed. By the mid-1990s, the South-North dialogue resumed and it has been accelerated by "the sunshine policy" of Dae-Joong Kim's government since 1999. Since then, as "the iron curtain" of the North partly opens, economic corporation, sports and cultural exchanges continue. Mutual exchanges between the South and North Korean Christian leaders[83] are also in process. And the concern of the South Korean Church for the reconstruction of the North Korean Church is growing[84]. Yet, in the North religious activities are limited and under control of the Communist government. Religious freedom is, in fact, not legally allowed in the North. It is reported that small numbers of real Christians exist in the form of what is called the underground Church and that the detected Christians are sent to a concentration camp or killed.

Despite the drastically developed relationship between North and South, recent developments, such as persistent reports of starvation in the North because of a critical food shortage, steadily increasing numbers of defectors to the South and the threat of nuclear-weapons development from the North that caused American President Bush's recent speech of "an axis of evil" against North Korea (Jan. 2002), again threaten the security of the Korean peninsula, throwing a gloomy shadow on the prospect of peaceful unification.

Thus, the Korean Church is currently in crisis within and without. On the one hand, in view of the nuclear threat of North Korea, the international situation around the Korean peninsula is threatening. As a matter of fact, since the ceasefire agreement of the Korean War in 1953, the security of the Korean peninsula is presently in a most perilous situation. On the other hand, the moral secularisation of Korean society because of material affluence is becoming serious. As seen before, the Korean Church has fundamentally lost her own identity, having fallen into the moral secularisation of society. Now the necessity of church renewal and "the second reformation" is loudly voiced for the Korean Church. Bong-Rin Ro warns of the current situation of the Korean Church as follows:

> There is no guarantee by God that he will continue to use the Korean Church in the
> future. Unless the Korean Church once again comes to God in repentance and seeks

---

[83] In the North there are two Christian churches in Pyongyang established by the government, which are of course under control of the Communist government.
[84] The North Korean Church Rebuilding Council which represents 95 % of South Korean churches is currently encouraging the adoption of each listed North Korean church by a South Korean church, by a mission agency or by individuals who will undertake the responsibility to replant and rebuild the church in the same area.

God's help in humility, the Korean Church will face similar problems, which the churches in the West have been facing. (Ro, interviewed by Guthrie 1996. April: 199).

As Ro already warned, the Korean Church now faces similar problems that Western churches have been confronting, resulting in her identity crisis in society.

2.9.2 Summary

The shifted situation of the Korean Church *en bloc* since 1993 could be characterised by democratisation and moral secularisation. While political democratisation has brought forth a social stability, together with guarantee of individual freedom, rapid economic growth has led the society to material affluence. Furthermore, the development of the industry of information and technology has drastically changed the cultural circumstance of the Korean society together with globalisation, resulting in the collapse of the traditional value system and producing cultural pluralism. In this radically changing situation, the KPC are recklessly accommodating themselves to the value system of materialism and quantitativism. As a result, the KPC currently suffer serious moral secularisation, losing their own identity in society.

2.10 Summary of this Chapter and Conclusion

The KPC's faith and spirituality has been shaped against the background of a particular geopolitical situation and a historical context in which the Korean nation has been placed. From the time of the advent of Protestantism until the 1945 Liberation, the nation had to confront political invasion and socio-economic oppression by neighbouring powers and the KPC had to face severe persecution at the hands of Japanese *Shinto* militarists. Moreover, after the Liberation from Japanese colonial rule, the nation was forcefully divided and suffered the horrors of war instigated by world powers, based on the power structures of the Cold War. In such a marginalized situation and together with the experience of the Great Revival, the KPC's faith and spirituality was shaped with its distinctive features and ecclesial identity.

Since the 1960s, in the situation of the national division, South Korea faced political dictatorship and rapid economic growth, which resulted in industrialisation and the resultant social upheaval. In such a socio-politically unstable situation, during the 1960s-1980s the KPC achieved some remarkable church growth on the one hand, whilst a minority group within the KPC promoted *Minjung* Theology among the marginalized section in society on the other hand. But, the KPC during this period revealed a conspicuous degradation in their spirituality despite rapid growth in collusion with various secular ideologies.

By the 1990s, Korean society faced a drastic socio-cultural change by means of political stability and economic affluence, as well as in the aftermath of globalisation. Entering this period, the KPC disclosed various symptoms of moral secularisation, namely materialistic value systems, moral corruption, and critical degeneration of spirituality.

In conclusion, our overview in this chapter of the historical context and its contextual realities in which the KPC were situated – and the KPC's reaction thereto – shows that the shape of the KPC's faith and spirituality has been deeply influenced by their particular geopolitical and socio-historical situations.

CHPTER III. The Dynamics of Ecclesial Spirituality

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we identified various contextual realities that have affected the formation of the KPC's spirituality, investigating the shape of the KPC's spirituality manifested in each historical context. What we observed here was remarkable phenomenological differences existing between the formative and growing phases, and the current position in the shape of the spirituality of the KPC.

Now the question is posed: how is this phenomenon to be account for? That is, how can we explain such distinctive differences and disparities shown in each historical context in such a relatively short period.

In order to give an account for the question, a definition of a phenomenon such as ecclesial spirituality is needed specifically in terms of practical theology.
This chapter aims, as preliminary to the next interpretive phase or the phase of critical analysis, to propose a definition of ecclesial spirituality from a practical theological point of view, which could serve as a base theory for the following chapters.

Up to the present, there have been various approaches to the study of Christian spirituality in terms of methodology, both at individual and corporate level[85]. What matters, as W. Principe (2000:49ff) rightly points out, is that most of the approaches show a tendency to a narrow view of spirituality. Mostly, they concentrate either on an examination of a person's or group's practice and teaching about religious experience, focusing on the study of various doctrines or traditions[86]. Besides, most of the interests tend to be confined to the mere description of a phenomenon and its various expression. That is to say, they care little for the inherent dynamic dimension of spirituality.

Because spirituality is concerned with experience in life as such, the study of spirituality needs a far wider perspective and approach based on it. That is, it should take account of the intrinsic dynamics between the objects of faith and the reactions aroused by these objects in the religious consciousness on the one hand, and also the dynamics caused by the relationship to the surrounding contexts on the other hand.

---

[85] For methods of studying Christian spirituality today, see: Downey, Michael 1997. *Understanding Christian Spirituality*. New York/ Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press. pp.123-144.
[86] According to Principe (2000:49), this tendency is in part a legacy of the separation, first of moral theology or Christian ethics from systematic or dogmatic theology, and then of spiritual, ascetical, and mystical theology from moral theology or Christian ethics; this separation was already evident in the fourteenth century.

In this respect, for the study of spirituality a practical theological approach is essential. Differing from the foundational and more static approaches towards spirituality exercised in theological disciplines such as church history and dogmatics, practical theology is primarily interested in the dynamics of spirituality, that is, spirituality as communicative and interpretive processes. Although practical theology involves an essentially phenomenological approach, the real concern is to understand a phenomenon in the context of its dynamic and systematic environment. In actual fact, any person's or group's spirituality cannot be grasped without understanding that person or group in their total context (Principe 2000:49).

In addition, the task of practical theology focuses on social as well as individual transformation by means of reflecting critically on the functions of the Church in the world (Browning 1983:9f). This directs the ultimate orientation of our study to ecclesial spirituality. Thus, a practical theological approach is of vital importance for understanding ecclesial spirituality.

In this dissertation that attempts, in particular, to trace and account for the phenomenological difference between past and present shape of the spirituality of the KPC as a group, a hermeneutical approach in practical theology is imperative. According to Daniël J. Louw (1998:97), the task of practical theology based on the hermeneutical model involves the process of the interpretation of the meaning of the interaction between God and humanity that operates contextually and systemically.

Therefore, in this chapter we will attempt to define ecclesial spirituality in terms of a hermeneutical approach in practical theology, broadening our perspective more widely to the total context of the KPC, i.e., socio-political, economic, cultural and religious environments that impact as contextual realities on the inner dynamics of spirituality. This attempt needs necessarily an interdisciplinary approach.

3.2 Toward Defining Ecclesial Spirituality

The definition of ecclesial[87] spirituality employed here is simply the following:

---

[87] The term 'ecclesial' is etymologically derived from the Geek, *ekklesia* that denotes Church. There are some reasons for using this term:

Firstly, of course, because there is no suitable English word equivalent to the adjective form of 'Church' ('churchly' is found on rare occasions, but seems not suitable for our usage),

Secondly, because the word 'congregational' has a narrow and somewhat different nuance (in which a determinate local church is associated),

Thirdly, 'ecclesial' signifies a bodily concept of the Church as a unity, the body of Christ (see: Ephesians 1:22; 4:15-16).

Fourthly, because by using the word ecclesial derived from *ekklesia*, we will focus more on the transforming function of the Church in the world, free from the narrow and limited scope of the Church

Ecclesial spirituality is ecclesial apprehension and response to the meaning and power of God's presence and redemptive activity in the power-dominated world.[88]

According to this definition, ecclesial spirituality involves, at least, three components: First, God as the first agent; second, the faith community as reactor; third, the world as context. God first calls His people and reveals himself to them. He is present and acts upon His people in or through His Word. And His people react by faith to what He does. This apprehension and response of people to what God does signifies as such the hermeneutical process of communication between God and His people.

Needless to say, this process takes place in the power-dominated world in a context where an encounter between God and His people occurs. That is, it is in the power-dominated world that God's presence and redemptive work, as well as His people's reaction thereto occur. This implies that the power-dominated world functions as another field of dynamics upon the dynamic hermeneutical process between God and His people. In short, ecclesial spirituality is governed by the interplay of these three components in reality. Now this definition will be explained in its different dimensions.

3.2.1 Ecclesial Apprehension and Response to…

3.2.1.1 The Communal Character of Christian Spirituality

Ecclesial spirituality concerns, in a word, the faith community's experience of the living God in the human world in its totality. That is to say, it is related to the social dimension of spirituality, often in contrast with its personal dimension, i.e., individual spirituality, though both dimensions are closely interwoven. This social or communal dimension of spirituality is, as a matter of fact, of vital importance in the Christian understanding of spirituality. This is because biblical spirituality is originally 'social spirituality' as the spirituality of a pilgrim people serving the Kingdom of God (Louw 1998:188; cf. Brueggemann 1997:110ff; Hanson 1986:3).

Yet, this aspect is often neglected because of the dominance of contemporary individualistic understanding of spirituality, particularly in accord with the unhealthy individualistic culture of modern society (cf. Russel 1994:36-37). As a matter of fact, there has been a growing interest in an individualised or 'privatised' type of spirituality that is based on a privatised conception of salvation.

---

as well as the dogmatic and confessional nuance that the word 'Church' connotes. Accordingly, this term will be used for denoting the community of faith.

[88] This definition is a variant of that of Dutch Reformed theologian W. H. Velema (1990:81), although dealing with it in terms of dogmatics: "…gereformeerde spiritualiteit in belangrijk mate bestaat in de reactie van mensen op (we kunnen ook zeggen in de verwerking door mensen van) wat God zegt omtrent Zichzelf en omtrent ons".

In dealing with our definition of ecclesial spirituality as the intrinsic social dimension of authentic Christian spirituality, we will first focus on the communal character of spirituality. For this purpose, we will demonstrate, in this section, that not the individual sphere, but the sphere of interpersonal relations, i.e., the community, is the primordial matrix in which authentic ecclesial spirituality occurs. Our point will be drawn first from Scripture and then from an ontological reflection on human reality.

The Old Testament reveals that God's relationship with humanity is, since the human corruption by sin, intensified and particularised through the introduction of a covenant. God's covenantal relationship is a personal one with Noah and the patriarchs, but it finally reaches its climax in the covenant with Israel, the community of faith created by God.

"Community" is an essential ingredient for understanding the faith and life of the Hebrew people in the Old Testament (cf. Elmer 1994; Hanson 1986; Vriezen 1966). Israel's knowledge and experience of God are shaped and developed, mostly by a focus on the covenant community of Israel. Although individuals are important, the fundamental unit in Semitic society is the group, and not as in the West, the individual (Elmer 1994:73). Because the group can be described as 'solidarity' between members this group can often be described as an individual or thought of as an individual (:72)[89]. This never implies that an individual is less important than the group. Instead, the importance of the responsibility and value of personal life in the community is also emphasised very strongly. (Vriezen 1966:212ff).

In this sense, God as *Yahweh* is, for Israel, 'God of the community' (cf. Hanson 1986:21ff; Vriezen 1966:216ff). God is revealed to his covenantal community and is experienced by the community. The Old Testament shows that Israel's knowledge or experience of God is formed and expressed mainly through their communal experience of God's word and activity in history, on the one hand, and of His presence in cultic worship, on the other hand (cf. Martens 1994:230-239; Hanson 1986:41ff).

In history God has revealed himself as the living God who is near, but who is holy, too. Israel derives its knowledge of God from his activity in history on behalf of His people, particularly in the Exodus event, in the desert and later, in the Exile event. On the other hand, God's glorious presence, His *shekina* among the people is another aspect of the knowledge of God which is characteristic to the Israel community. This glory fills the

---

[89] According to Elmer, a key word to describe Hebrew and ancient Near Eastern understanding of group is 'solidarity', a term which conveys the link that exists between members of a group. Accordingly, several individuals, or several thousand, can often be described as a group. Or the group itself could be thought of as an individual. The borderline between individual and group is fluid.

heavens and the earth in a general sense, but comes to reside specifically in the Holy of Most Holies in the tabernacle, and later in the temple. It is important to note that this presence is located in the centre of the worship of God conducted by Israel, the community of faith, where the Law is read and interpreted, and where the people offer their sacrifices and make their responses (Holmes 1980:14-15). Israel's knowledge of God is thus formed in this communal worship, and its response of obedience to the Law (Hanson 1986:24ff). In short, the knowledge of God in the history of Israel is fundamentally based on its communal experience of God's activity in history for the people, and of his presence in public worship.

In the New Testament, God's eschatological redemptive work for His people and the whole world reaches its summit at the Pentecost event where the New Covenant Community, i.e., the Church is newly recreated and formed by the pouring out of the Holy Spirit as the eschatological gift of God. It is a Spirit-filled *community* called to be a redemptive community for the world. It is also important here to note that it is not so much in an individualistic context, but in the context of the community that the experience of the Spirit occurs. The gift and gifts of the Spirit now become the corporate possession of the believing community which is the body of Christ, and the individual becomes the partaker of this blessing when incorporated into the body of Christ. It goes without saying that this implies that the Spirit-filled community precedes the individual believer's experience of the Spirit. In this respect, Herman Ridderbos' following remarks are worth noting:

> *Being-in-the-Spirit is therefore not in the first place a personal, but an ecclesiological category*: "You are in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwells in you", namely, as the temple of God, as the new fellowship, as the body of Christ. Consequently he who is incorporated into Christ by baptism and is baptized into his body, is also baptized into the Spirit as the one who fills the body of Christ (I Cor. 12:13). (1975:221. *Italics* added).

Thus, a Christian, by nature, cannot exist in isolation; he is to exist and to grow in the community of believers. Individuals mature as the community matures; they are drawn into the growth of the community, and the growth of individuals in turn contributes to the further growth of the community.

The emphasis on the communal aspect of the Christian life was clearly expressed by the reformer Calvin. In his section on the Church in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin states clearly that the individual is dependent on the Church for his salvation[90]. Calvin finds it impossible to grow spiritually apart from the Church. For

---

[90] However, it is pointed out as a basic weakness in Calvin's thought that he treated the individual and the Church separately. And this is partly to be blamed for the individualistic trend in later Protestantism.

him, the Church plays a maternal function in the spiritual life of the individual (Bouwsma 1989:321). In other words, in Calvin's thinking, the Church precedes the individual and not the other way round as has become so popular in contemporary spirituality (Hageman 2000:145-146).

This communal character of spirituality, intrinsic in authentic Christian spirituality, can also be supported by an ontological reflection on human reality. Edward Farley (1990) provides a rather philosophical interpretation of the human reality using a paradigm of human evil and good in his book *Good and Evil: Interpreting a Human Condition*. According to him, human reality is a form of life that exists in three interrelated and overlapping spheres: the interhuman (Farley's coined term), the social, and the personal. What relates directly to our discussion is his view of the faith community which he calls 'the community of the face'. Farley's 'community of the face', as Hodgson (1995:46) describes in his comment on Farley's work, corresponds anthropologically to what can be named theologically the "community of the Spirit".

The main point is that 'the face' appears in what Farley calls the 'interhuman' sphere, which has three dimensions: alterity, intersubjectivity, and the interpersonal (Farley 1990:34-40). 'Alterity' points to the solipsistic element in the interhuman in which the other remains other and elusive, not reducible to a sphere of my own. But every individual is, according to Farley (:36-37), always already intersubjectively formed by postures, languages, roles, agendas, etc., so that the gulf between the other is already bridged, and no one needs a proof that the other actually exists. Finally 'the interpersonal' refers to the actual encounter and dialogue among different but not isolated selves. Alterity and intersubjectivity are mere structural elements in a being-together, but the interhuman itself is an interpersonal relation (ibid). This is the locus of the face. It is in the face that the distinctive character and heart of the other are present and experienced by mutual emotional participation and dialogue (:43-44).

The face thus presents an ethical summons and criterion. "It is the face that shows the other as one who can be murdered, violated, and manipulated, and as one to whom we are responsible. The face is the agent's own face discovered in the alterity of the other and the other's face experienced in the agent's own sphere" (:288). Evil affects a disconnection from the face both in the personal and social spheres in various ways, e.g., by egocentrism and idolatrous self-securing, or by institutional anonymity and social stratification. Redemption thus requires a reconnection of the spheres with the

---

Daniel Y. D. Park (:147-149) argues in his dissertation that as a result of Protestantism's separate treatment of the individual and the Church due to Calvin's impact, sanctification was transferred to the individual's inner sphere, isolated from its context, community and accordingly, an otherworldly, self-centred spirituality and spiritual elitism were promoted. Community awareness has been seriously under-developed in the Protestant Churches compared to those of the New Testament.

face, mediating the power[91] and presence of the face.

The community of faith is not merely that of face-to-face relations. A community of faith is, according to Farley (:290), a community "whose raison d'être as a community is the mediation and attestation of the universal face". The universal face here is one that lures regional experiences of the face toward a compassionate obligation for all of life, human as well as non-human (ibid). The experience of the universal face is therefore connected with the experience of the sacred.

In short, the community of faith is one in which not regional experiences of the face, but the universal face, i.e., the sacred is experienced. The experience of the Spirit is therefore intrinsically related not to the isolated, personal or the social sphere as an environment of the other two, but specifically to the interpersonal sphere.

In this respect, Farley's critique on the dualistic hermeneutic of human reality in the Western world is also worth noting. Farley (1989:241-255) points out that the interpretation of the human reality in the Western world is historically based on a dualist hermeneutics, that is, 'individualism' and 'social-ism' (his term). He continues to comment that this problematic dualistic hermeneutics had a profound impact on Christian theology and religion, being often deeply rooted in Western culture.

As one pole of the dualist hermeneutics, according to Farley, individualism[92] is based on the conviction that the most decisive and powerful bearers of reality are individuals rather than groups, and that the responses of individuals are the primary determinants of important outcomes. Farley remarks that the decisive emphasis on individual piety and morality in religion is based on this individualistic hermeneutic. And further, although the social sphere (the Church, the society) is acknowledged as important, its importance lies in its function to facilitate these individual actions. According to this hermeneutic, the way society changes is clearly through the influence of individual lives and actions like prayer, right living, charity work, etc.

On the other hand, the other pole of this dualism that Farley points out is the "social-ist" hermeneutic. Farley also contends that according to "social-ism", the most

---

[91] According to Donal Dorr (1990:104-112), four different kinds of power can be exercised in the interpersonal sphere:
The first type of power is personal power or 'personality power that brings life and warmth to those who are open to receive it, the second type of power is that of 'domination' or 'coercion' that controls others. The third kind of power is 'enabling' or 'facilitating' power that helps and serves others. The fourth kind of power is 'the power of the cross', which is not a human power, but is an aspect of God's providential power.
[92] Robert Bella et al (1985:142-163) pointed out that North American Christianity at large is based on the individualism that lies at the very core of American culture. Korean Christianity and culture are lately profoundly influenced by this individualism.

decisive bearers of human reality are not individuals but groups and structures: classes, races, nations, corporations, bureaucracies. Power is here the very essence of these enduring social entities: hence, they are the primary determiners of important outcomes. For instance, Farley points out that what comes together in a specific oppression such as racism are not so much the elements of an individual's life but the sedimentations of past symbols, a set of typifications (Alfred Shutz) which carry the taken-for-granted realities of the group, stratifications, and distributions of power in societal functions. To address and change social problems is therefore to confront these sedimented structures of power, not the individual choices and efforts.

Another form of the dualist hermeneutics that Farley scrutinises is what he calls 'the new dualism', or 'a both-and hermeneutic', which combines the self-evident validity of both strands[93]. Here also the problem still exists, because this both-and hermeneutic simply combines the individual and the social without relating them.

What, then, is problematic about such a dualist way of understanding the human reality? Farley (1989:249 ff) asserts that each of the individualism and the social-ism is evil and theologically corrupt when regarded as autonomous. More often than not, Farley contends that individual piety based on religious individualism becomes a way of attending to the suffering, vices and experiences of the other person. This is because compassion is shown towards individual needs, while the powerful and complex social conditions of those needs are ignored. The resulting paradox is one of interpersonal compassion and corporate callousness and indifference.

The problem of social-ism is, according to Farley, that it focuses exclusively on social conditions of human well-being that places individuals in a stream of causality which represses and denies the whole realm of the individual. Virtue and vice are therefore reduced to descriptions of the individual's role in social change, thus obscuring the whole dynamics of individual sin and redemptive change.

Farley's point is this: in reality, human beings never experience themselves in an isolated individual or social sphere. The experienced reality of the human being occurs prior to such a separation, and accordingly the individual and the social are interpretive categories that are derived from something that is prior to them.

What, then, is the primordial sphere of the human being?
In conclusion, Farley asserts that the primordial sphere of the human should be that

---

[93] The contemporary Christian movement or ministry based on this new dualist hermeneutics is an example. Farley suggests that the neo-evangelical movement, clergy education, the activities of ministry (preaching, counselling), especially in North American Protestantism are manifestations of this new dualism.

from which the self-aware individual in its conscious acts and passions and the perduring social structures have their life. It cannot, then, merely be the self or society. It is, rather, the sphere of "being-together", of "being with", of the reciprocal, of the "between". It is thus in the sphere of actual interpersonal relations that human evil exists and the redemption occurs in a primordial way. In conjunction with being-together we experience 'the face of the other', and the being and identity of human agents becomes defined by these relations (Farley 1990:40-44).

To sum up so far, the primordial matrix in which authentic Christian spirituality occurs is not an isolated individual, but a communal sphere joined by interpersonal relations. Any spirituality based merely on individualism is therefore not the authentic Christian spirituality.

3.2.1.2 The Interpreting Community of Faith

As stated before, ecclesial spirituality concerns the experience of the God of the faith community. The experience of God is the result of ecclesial 'apprehension and response' to what God is initiative in history toward His people and to the world. This ecclesial apprehension and response is naturally not first and foremost the human action. It is, in a strict sense, a spirit-driven theo-dynamic reaction as an encounter with the living God issuing the glorification of God in all things.

Importantly, the community of faith responds to God's initiating presence and activity in faith. From this ecclesial reaction based on faith, believers' knowledge of God arises and in turn their praxis of faith occurs. Ecclesial apprehension and response, therefore, essentially involves a hermeneutical process in the dynamic encounter between God and human beings-in-community viewed from the perspective of faith (Louw 1998:97-98). With reference to this ecclesial 'apprehension and response' in faith as an intrinsic dimension of ecclesial spirituality, in this section, the hermeneutical dimension of the faith community will be explained.

The community of faith is, in a word, an interpreting community. Faith action itself is a hermeneutic-communicative praxis (Van der Ven 1993b:41), and living faith is an interpretation of God's presence and His salvific acts in the world. In faith the community of faith interprets all that is around it, including itself. In this regard, the Church as the community of faith is 'a community that is constantly interpreting its life within its ongoing relationship with God' (Poling and Miller 1985:9). The interpretive function of the faith community is thus inherent to ecclesial spirituality and is fundamentally based on faith action as hermeneutic-communicative praxis. What is important is, as noted before, that the hermeneutic process of faith does not occur in a distantiated intellectual process or in an isolated practice of piety, but in a living and

experiential involvement of the faith community in the human reality.

Our concern here is therefore not the dogmatic aspects of faith. Instead, it is the phenomenological reflection on faith-apprehension as an act of consciousness that actually constitutes the ecclesial 'apprehension and response' to what God does, at a deeper or subconscious level and in a concrete situation. That is to say, it is about the aspects of faith as a cognitive function which interrelates not only with the "faith-world", but also with the concrete "life-world".

Our question raised here is therefore the following: How does faith-apprehension occur ecclesially in a concrete situation? That is, how is the faith of the community correlated with human reality as phenomenon? Furthermore, what relation does the faith community with its own world have to the general life-world at the level of "reality-apprehension"?

The community of faith living in the human reality relates to two worlds in terms of its hermeneutical function and process: the faith-world as its own world, on the one hand, and the life-world as its existential matrix, on the other hand. As a community living in its own faith-world, it has its own language, its own imagery, its own object of loyalty, a memory of its own, and the like. On the other hand, as a human community existing in the life-world, it has, in common with other human communities, the temporal and spatial dimension, sharing social functions or processes (Gustafson 1961:3). The faith community has natural functions such as physical and social needs, self-preservation, a sense of belonging, the need for safety and protection. And besides, they have also political forms, language, interpretation, memory and understanding, belief and action, etc. as members of various human communities.[94]

Consequently, faith does not occur only in its own faith-world. In other words, faith does not occur simply in a psyche as a private experience or in an institution as a set of observable structures and behaviours occurring only within the relationship with God. As stated already, faith occurs in the "pre-given, socially structured consciousness" in human reality. In so far as faith involves human consciousness, it interrelates not only with the faith-world, but also with the life-world.

How specifically, then, does faith-apprehension occur in human reality?
For our purpose, we again need Farley's analysis of human reality, specifically what

---

[94] For the social interpretation of the Church, see, Gustafson, James M 1961. *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: The Church as a Human Community.* New York, Evanstone, and London: Harper & Row, publishers. A social interpretation of the Church exposes the element of humanity in the Church; i.e., its contingency, historical relativity, and dependence on universal social processes. According to Gustafson, this historical and social relativity of the Church is part of its essential character. In this sense, the Church is an "earthen vessel".

Farley calls the "interhuman" sphere, because the element of intersubjectivity is imperative in understanding the cognitive function of faith. In the previous section, we discussed briefly intersubjectivity as a dimension of the interhuman sphere in human reality. But, now we need more explication regarding the intersubjective structure as the matrix of the faith-apprehension in the social and religious world.

Intersubjectivity refers to an interpersonal structure which exists pre-consciously and which is already prior to any actual relationship or dialogue. It is in this pre-given, socially structured intersubjectivity that the act of human consciousness is constituted. To put it differently, intersubjectivity is 'always already there' when individuals become aware of themselves, or self-consciously reflect on their relation to others (Farley 1990:36-37). In this respect, intersubjectivity is distinct from 'personal relations' or 'reciprocity'. If the latter two terms designate the actual empirical relations between persons; the former means the pre-given, socially structured, consciousness which personal relations presuppose.

And besides, in determinate intersubjectivity (Farley 1975:93ff), there are "unconscious or pre-reflective co-intendings" between human beings, whereby each intends the other as 'other mind' and 'personal body'. Accordingly, the so-called internal acts or mental processes of the individual or of the corporate body are activities that presuppose and use "intersubjectively formed postures, deposited meanings of language, roles, and agendas" based on this co-intending between one another. Thus, determinate intersubjectivity as a specific structure of co-intentions is the matrix of faith-apprehension in the social and religious world.

On the structural basis of this determinate intersubjectivity, believers, on the one hand, associate themselves with the world of everyday life in a determinate social world. For instance, a Christian Korean immigrant living in the ghetto of a large American city will participate in a determinate intersubjectivity made up of many interwoven, mutually affecting, and ever-changing interpersonal situations. On the other hand, the believer participates in everyday activities of the faith such as attending meetings, worshipping, planning, organising, sacrificing, and the like, having relations with the faith community where he or she belongs.

What is important here is that determinate intersubjectivity, i.e., a specific structure of co-intention mediates, as the crucial middle ground, the natural need system and the social structure in depth strata in a determinate social world. As a result, determinate intersubjectivity structurally operates upon faith-apprehension as an act of consciousness in some way (:99-105). Consequently, the faith-apprehension of the faith community operates in the dynamic interplay with its reality-apprehension in a specific historical situation.

This leads us to examine how faith-apprehension occurs in a concrete situation. Three things, according to Farley's (:106-163) analysis on the basis of Husserlian phenomenology, are always present in the situation of "faith's apprehendings". First thing is religious language as the imagery that is related to faith as "faith's intended or meant content". Second thing is the "individually experienced redemptive alteration". Third thing is a determinate intersubjectivity as the matrix of this experience. The cognitive or reality-apprehending function of faith occurs in the interplay of these three components.

Within this section we obviously cannot exhaust this interplay. In short, according to Farley's account (1975:114-116), various "layers of co-intentions" beneath the everyday world of activities and reciprocities are linguistically carried with an image as a linguistic unit at the corporate dimension and they will shape the enduring consciousness of the members in a community. And this consciousness based on the "largely hidden corporate co-intentionality" interplays with the believers' redemptive experience that is related to their own religious imagery.

If, for instance, a small nation like Korea, surrounded by neighbouring powers, has often been invaded and oppressed in its history, certain intended contents will endure in the nation's memory and accordingly will shape the people's consciousness. And this content will persist beyond the specific times of war, forming the characteristic intersubjectivity of the nation beneath this level of conscious activities of everyday life. A specific mind-set *Han* shaped in the Korean people's mind can be a good example. As a wounded heart, *Han* has been shaped as the result of the frequently experienced oppression by the invasion of the neighbouring powers since the 15th century. Under this mind-set of *Han*, corporate co-intentions of security are hidden in the shape of determinate intersubjectivity in national consciousness. Consequently, for Korean people, the desire for independence, safety and material affluence is far stronger than that of any other countries. Accordingly, when the gospel is preached to the nation, the believers' experience of redemptive alteration that is related to the religious language is interplayed with their corporate determinate intersubjectivity constitutive of the reality-apprehension.

From this interplay certain power dynamics arise either along the lines of redemption or idolatry, at the personal or corporate level. We will discuss these dynamics later in more detail. Consequently, faith permeates and transforms the life-world with its redeeming power or inevitably undergoes vicissitudes, confronting the realities in a specific historical situation (:104f). Accordingly, deliberation on contextual realities is essential to understanding the dynamics of faith-apprehension in the community of faith.

To summarise, the dimension of ecclesial 'apprehension and response' as a hermeneutical process in ecclesial spirituality is concerned with faith-apprehension in reality. Faith thus interrelates not only with the faith-world, but also with the concrete life-world specifically on the basis of intersubjective structure. And the cognitive function of faith-apprehension occurs in the interplay of those interrelated components.

3.2.2 ...the Meaning and Power of God's Presence and Redemptive Activity...

If spirituality refers to human apprehension and response to divine revelation, the divine revelation essentially involves God's salvific plan for mankind and creation. With a view to carrying out the plan, God is present and acts in the world. 'God's presence and redemptive activity' expressed in the proposed definition of ecclesial spirituality derives from here. Human knowledge and experience of God thus is the result of the human response to God's initiating presence and activity for mankind and creation (cf. Hanson 1986:69), and as a result of the response, transformation and transcendence are experienced.

However, how is the presence and activity of God perceived by human beings who are ontologically differentiated?

It is possible only through the mediating work of the Spirit of God. In Scripture, from the beginning, the Spirit of God has been understood as God working amidst humanity, God present and active in the world, God in his closeness to us as a dynamic reality shaping human lives and histories (Macquarrie 2000:65). The Spirit, in this sense, God in that manner of the divine Being in which he comes closest, dwells with humanity, acts upon humanity. And as Welker (1994:2-3) remarks;

> The Spirit of God makes God's power knowable. The Spirit reveals the power of God in and on human beings and in and on their fellow creatures. The Spirit reveals this power through them and for them. The Spirit makes it possible to know the *creative power of God*, which brings the diversity of all that is creaturely into rich, fruitful, life-sustaining, fortifying, and protective relations. The Spirit of God reveals the *power of God's mercy*, which God extends particularly to the weak, the neglected, the excluded, and the infirm. The Spirit enables God's glory to be known through creatures and for creatures precisely inasmuch as what is weak becomes strengthened, what is excluded is reintergrated, and what is infirm is enabled to stand erect and healthy. The Spirit also makes it possible to know *God's conflict* with the mighty and autocratic among creatures of this world.

The Spirit thus concretises the presence of God and actualises salvation, conveying and imparting the meaning and power of the presence and activity of God to human lives. As a result, God can be experienced and grasped with the aid of human language and metaphoric forms of speech (cf. Louw 1998:104).

Then, human reaction to divine revelation, in a strict sense, is apprehension and response to the meaning and power of divine reality through the work of the Spirit. The idea of the believers' experience of God through his power is stressed by Calvin. For Calvin, believers experience God only indirectly, through his mighty acts and works in the world, the effects primarily, at least as they are apprehended, of God's *power* (Bouwsma 1989:323).

That is to say, human knowledge or experience of God is a knowledge and experience *coram Deo*. Israel's cult is also founded in this knowledge and experience of the God and His power (cf. Powell 1963:5) manifested in his mighty acts in her history. And the believers' faith is fundamentally based upon their apprehension of the meaning of salvation imparted by the Spirit, the *Paraclete*. It is by this reason that the phrase, "the meaning and power", is added to "God's presence and activity" in the proposed definition.

Here arises the necessity to examine in what sense then the Spirit of God has been perceived in Scripture by the community of faith. In other words, what are the implications of "God's presence and redemptive activity", specifically in relation to the community of faith?

In order to clarify this, we will briefly sketch the perception among God's people of the Spirit of God as God's active presence in this world and among his people in the Old and the New Testament.

3.2.2.1 Spirit as a Life-giving Power in the Old Testament

In regard to Israel's religious and ethical life as the community of faith, the Spirit of God in the Old Testament is perceived and/or understood mainly in four categories (cf. Wenk 2000:56-65):
Firstly, it is the Spirit as a creative and renewing power of God;
Secondly, it is the Spirit anointing the Servant of Yaweh for the eschatological restoration of God's people;
Thirdly, it is the Spirit of God anointing leaders for restoration of Israel;
Fourthly, it is the Spirit as the judging power of God.
On the basis of these four categories, how the Spirit is perceived for the Israelites will be briefly examined.

Firstly, in the belief in God as the creator of any form of life, the Spirit is first perceived as God's creative power (Gen. 1:2; Job 33:4; Ps 104:30; Isa. 40:13).

As the agent of creation, the Spirit of God was active not only at the original creation and at the re-creation after the Flood (Gen. 8:1), but also at the creation of the people of Israel (in the form of wind, Exod. 14:19-20; 15:10. cf. New International Dictionary of OT Theology & Exegesis vo.3. 1997:1075). Significantly, however, the Hebrew word *ruach* is often used in deep relationship with the human spirit, not merely indicating God' attributes or His action. On the one hand, *ruach* is qualified by Elohim, and on the other hand, Old Testament references to *ruach* do not always differentiate clearly between wind as a mysterious power used by God (Exod. 14:21; Num. 11:31), a human spirit as acted upon by God, or God's Spirit as acting upon people (Deut. 34:9; Judg. 9:23: 2Kgs. 19:7; Ps. 51:10; Isa. 61:3; Ezek. 11:19; 18;31; 36:26; Hos. 4:12) (Wenk 2000:57).

Furthermore, God's creative power is associated with God's re-creative or renewing power, which is related to the eschatological dimension of Old Testament pneumatology specifically in exilic and post-exilic salvation oracles (cf. TLOT 1997:1218-1219). Several passages sketch the expected Spirit-caused renewal of Israel and the fulfilment of Old Testament hopes also in terms of an ecological restoration and renewal of life, or at least apply such metaphors (cf. Isa. 32:15-18; 44:1-5; Ezek. 37:1-14). Significantly, the anticipated renewal through the Spirit includes converts (Gentiles) and thus "represents a break-through to a new understanding of the chosen people as the community which confess Yahweh" (Isa. 44:1-5; cf. Zech. 12:10) (Westermann in Wenk 2000:58).

Thus, the eschatological Spirit-prompted renewal is also described in terms of a social renewal of God's people. The same appears in the promise of the outpouring of the Spirit on all people in Joel 2:28-32. Joel describes the ethical renewal not in terms of an 'intra-personal' experience but in sociological terms of a renewed society where the people who have no status in the world are given the highest recognition by God: the Spirit of prophecy (Wenk :59). "To be a prophet" by the outpouring of the Spirit becomes a permanent condition characterising a particularly close relationship between God and His people, and eliminating all social distinctions (cf. TLOT 1997:1219). Likewise, this renewed community is characterised by a status reversal, not by a mere subversion. It includes Israel's leaders (people of honour) as well as the slaves and the young men and women. Joel 2:28-32 anticipates a renewed community with a renewed social order.

Ezekiel, too, associated Israel's hope for restoration with the eschatological and cosmological dimensions of the work of God's Spirit (Ezek. 36:24-27. cf. Montague

1994:46-47). The new heart as the work of the Spirit enables Israel truly to be God's people and follow His laws. Ezekiel 37:1-4 speaks of Israel's final restoration and the beginning of a new life by the work of the Spirit (:47-49). Significantly, the statement 'I will put my Spirit in you and you will live, and I will set you in your own land' (37:14) is preceded by the pronouncement 'Then, you my people will know the Lord...' (37:13). When God will put His Spirit in them, they will have a more intimate relationship with their God; they will follow His laws. What is also important is that the event of the restoration of the dry bones to life not only signifies the restoration of the nation Israel. It also signifies God's new creation for His people in the whole cosmos (Lee H 1999:217). Here, the re-creative work is closely related to *ruach*. *Ruach* will re-create not only God's people, but the whole cosmos.

What then is the content of Israel's new experience or knowledge of God? It is described in ethical rather than esoteric terms. It means to "cease" from idolatry and sin and "turn" to Yahweh, and to "seek" Him, to "adhere" to Him and to "fear" Him; it means to exercise love, justice and righteousness (Wenk :60).

Secondly, the understanding of the Spirit in the Old Testament passages refer to the Spirit-anointed Messiah. It is found in the passages that anticipate the Spirit-effected eschatological restoration and vindication of Israel as well as in the section regarding the Spirit of God in connection with Israel's leaders (:61). Reference to the Spirit-anointed Messiah is frequent in the book of Isaiah. In Isaiah 11:1-2 the metaphors of felled trees and of a shoot from the stump appear, suggesting that the two are juxtaposed. Isaiah 32:15-20 and 40:1-5 depict the restoration of Israel by an outpouring of the Spirit upon the people of God, whereas Isa. 11:1-4 (and 4:2-6) announce the hope for restoration by the Spirit-anointed Messiah (cf. Brueggemann 1998:98-100; 257-259; Watts 1985:170-172; Kaiser 1983:255-257; 1974:331-336; Westermann 1969:33-40).

In addition, the Spirit-anointed Messiah is also mentioned in the prophecies in deutero-Isaiah regarding the Servant of the Lord (cf. Isa. 42:1-5; 61:1-2). The eschatological figure, the Servant of Yahweh, will restore justice, mercy and the knowledge of God among God's people, the covenant community. Isaiah 61:1-2 states explicitly that the Spirit of the Lord is upon the messianic figure to realise the good news among the poor, the broken-hearted, the captives and the prisoners. It seems to show that the Servant of the Lord is the figure to be personally positively influenced by the Spirit towards the qualities he is to restore (cf. Motyer 1993:499-500; Pieper 1979:601-603).

Thirdly, the dimension of the Spirit is concerned with Israel's anointed leaders (cf. New International Dictionary of OT & Exegesis vo.3. 1997:1076). Israel experienced God's salvific interventions in a time of collective need and in a hopeless situation.

her land, God reveals Himself not only to Israel, but also to the nations because of his name. Block's statement (in Lee H 1999:210) also supports this idea: "when God acts in judgement against his people, it is not primarily in order to punish them, but in order that they and the world might know him".

In summary, the Spirit of God in the Old Testament is referred to in situations where Israel perceived God's active presence in this world, either in His creative, salvific or judging power. Put simply, the Spirit is perceived as the life-giving power of God's presence and redemptive activity in the world and among the people of God.

3.2.2.2 Spirit as a Community-forming Redemptive Power in the New Testament

In what follows we will briefly examine how the work the Spirit of God is perceived and/or experienced in the New Testament specifically by the New Israel, the New covenant community that was formed and shaped by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Pentecost as part of God's fulfilment of the eschatological promise of salvation was anticipated in the Old Testament prophecies. It is the event of the outpouring of the Spirit as God's eschatological gift to the community of God's "New" people. Significantly, Luke in Acts 2:16-21 associates it specifically with the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy (Joel 2:28-32).

The Pentecost narrative shows that the outpouring event of the Spirit upon God's people is part of God's redemptive work for His people. Wenk (2000:232-258) remarks that the Pentecost experience is, for Israel, a "New Exodus" experience of God's liberating intervention in terms of the soteriological dimension. In this light, the presence of the Spirit of God through signs and wonders signifies, on the one hand, God's salvific intervention and the magnitude of the experience similar to those in the Exodus-Sinai experience of Israel. Accompanying these charismatic manifestations as described in Joel's prophecy, the Spirit of prophecy is here poured out upon all flesh that calls on the name of the Lord. That is, God's people of the new covenant have been anointed as prophets (Acts 2:17-18).

The outpouring of the Spirit of prophecy is an expression of a renewed status with God, indicating that his favourable presence is among his people (:253). And this also implies a new dimension of experience of God's salvation as well as the knowledge of the God of the renewed community. As already stated, "to be a prophet" means to become a permanent condition characterising a particularly close relationship between God and his people, and eliminating all social distinctions. In this regard, the renewed

eschatological community is the 'community of the prophets' (TDNT vol. IV. 1973: 408) where the people who have no status in the world are given the highest recognition by God.

On the other hand, the outpouring of the Spirit involves a socio-ethical transformation of the renewed community. The Spirit has a major ethical influence on the community's life (:236). The passage about the renewal of the community is thus followed by a summary of the community's life (2:42-47), which was effectuated as the result of the liberating and restoring ministry of the anointed Messiah. As was prophesied in Isa. 61:12, the ministry of the anointed Servant of the Lord is to proclaim the good news to the poor, freedom and release.

In regard to the characteristics of the renewed community by the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, Tillich (1963:150-161) enumerates five elements: the ecstatic character of creation of the spiritual community; the creation of a faith; love; unity; universality.

The community's *agapic* love expressed in mutual service is marked especially toward those who are in need, including strangers who have joined the renewed community (:151). And the unity of the community in the Spirit is a central theme in Acts (Wenk 2000:307). Further, God's salvific presence is no longer exclusively bound to Jerusalem but becomes universal. This represents God's eschatological inbreaking and the manifestation of God's rule. Thus, the covenant people as the renewed community is redefined, representing the this-worldly dimension of salvation (:274-283). The renewed community of the Spirit is, to put it in Macqarrie's (2000:73) expression, '*a corporate spiritual entity*', 'a society with the capacity to go out from itself'. In other words, it is a self-transcending community by the power of the Spirit.

To sum up, the work of the Spirit in the New Testament is perceived and experienced in terms of not only charismatic manifestation, but the socio-ethical renewal or transformation of the community specifically at the Pentecost event. In short, the Spirit is perceived in a community-forming redemptive power that shapes the life of the eschatological people of God.

3.2.3 ...in the Power-dominated World

According to the explication so far, ecclesial spirituality is the Spirit-driven human apprehension and response to divine revelation. Divine revelation is specifically concerned with God's redemptive plan for mankind and creation, which is embodied in humanity by God's incarnation in Christ and manifested in His redemptive community by God's presence and activity through the Spirit.

94

However, the dynamics of ecclesial spirituality are not confined merely within the two components, apart from the context in which both interact and communicate. God is present and acts in concrete historical situations. The community of faith also, existing in concrete socio-historical contexts, responds to the presence and activity of God. Thus, the concrete situations are the contexts in which the human reaction to divine reality arises and therefore essential components constituting the dynamics of ecclesial spirituality. Ecclesial spirituality comes about, as stated above, in the interplay of those three components in reality: God's redemptive work; human reaction; socio-historical situation.

The expression "...in the power-dominated world" in the proposed definition of ecclesial spirituality derives from here. By 'the power-dominated world' is here not meant the world of humanity and creation as a whole (cf. Smit 1995:53-56). Rather, it means the specific social world constituting human reality. The reason why the word "power" is added is because the social world is a sphere of the workings of power, whether understood spiritually or materially (cf. Farley 1990:50). That is to say, the social world as an arena in which human action makes sense, is a power-dominated world (Mudge 1987:107). It goes without saying that God's redemptive power operates in or through these powers and very often against them[95]. The believers' faith-apprehension also occurs within the dynamics of these powers, with the result that individual or communal spirituality is formed and shaped. Thus, 'the power-dominated world' as social context concerns both divine reality and the community of faith.

Therefore, what follows will investigate the power-dominated world with reference to both components, paying due attention to its power dynamics.

3.2.3.1 Power-dominated World as Social Context

3.2.3.1.1 Phenomenon of Power

As elucidated above, the Spirit of God as the mediator of God's presence and activity is perceived and experienced as a life-giving and community-forming redemptive power in the community of faith, specifically the Church, which is the place where the liberating, creative and constructive power of God's redemption operates.

In contrast to this redemptive power, however, destructive or distorted forms of powers are also represented in Scripture. These kinds of powers, often assuming the form of evil structures, exercise their negative influences upon individual believers and on the

---

[95] See, the New Testament, especially Ephesians, Colossians and Apocalypse.

community of faith in various forms and ways. With regard to the powers exercised in the Christian community, Scripture, according to Ellul (1986:174-190), refers in its own terms to the following six: Mammon, the prince of this world, the prince of lies, Satan, the devil, and death. They are all characterised by their functions: money, power, deception, accusation, division and destruction.

Wink (1984:99) also points out that the language and reality of power pervades the New Testament; on nearly every page of the New Testament one finds the terminology of power i.e., those incumbents, offices, structures, roles, institutions, ideologies, rituals, agents, and spiritual influences by which power is established and exercised.[96] In Eph. 2:1, in particular, the reality of the power of evil confronts humanity as a total environment or structure of evil. With regard to the meaning of power (*exousia*) as the singular, Wink (1984:83) observes as follows:

> In parallelism with "world" and "spirit" it [power] seems to mean the quality of alienated existence, the general spiritual climate that influences humanity, in which we live, and move, and lose our beings. We breathe it, absorb it, and drink it in as the normative definition of our possibilities…It represents the subjectivity of a world epoch (*aion*), the spirituality of the age, the permissions, licence, restrictions, advices, and restraints imposed by the times we live in… We "were dead," because the total world-system is a conspiracy against God, a lie perpetuated by people and presided over by Satan. We "were dead," because we were born into such a world and never had any other option. "Dead", because having taken in its deadly vapors, we breathe them out on others; we become its carriers, passing it into our institutions, structures, and systems even as these have reciprocally passed on the same deadly fumes to us.[97]

We thus feel incapable of defending ourselves against that power which can shape us against our will, often without our awareness.

In what way, then, is power exercised and experienced in the early Christian community? Throughout the New Testament, it is acknowledged that power, in its

---

[96] For exhaustive discussion about the relationship between institutions and spiritual powers, namely, the "principalities and powers", see Walter Wink's trilogy: 1984. *Naming the powers.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press; 1986. *Unmasking the powers* Philadelphia: Fortress Press; and 1992. *Engaging the powers.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

[97] Despite their wickedness, the world-systems in the fallen world such as the state, politics, class, social struggle, national interest, public opinion, accepted morality, the ideas of decency, humanity, and democracy, and the like, give unity and direction to human beings' lives. In other words, the worldly powers retain one side of their divinely established function. They are still the framework of creation, preserving it from disintegration like the dike that prevents the chaotic deluge from submerging the world. See: Berkhof, Hendrik (tr) Yoder, John H 1977. *CHRIST and the Powers.* Scodale: Mennonite Publishing House. pp. 32-33.

destructive and deceptive form, is exercised, both from outside and from within the community.

Above all, the destructive exercise of power is represented by conflict, temptation, persecution and martyrdom in the Christian community's relationship to other religious institutions and with the political order. The best example is shown in the Johannine Apocalypse. The vivid symbolism of Revelation refers to the Roman Empire, the imperial religion, and the city of Rome at several crucial points (cf. Osborne 2002:11f; Aune 1998:775-780, 891-894; Bauckham 1996[1993]:89ff). Reaction to the pressure from and temptation for compromise and accommodation to the imperial power was one of the most significant factors in creating a strong sense of identity within the Church during its formative years (cf. deSilva 1992:301f).

And besides, in the cosmic symbolism of the same text, all kinds of human and natural catastrophes are viewed as distortions of power, symbolised by the three or four horses: the white, the red, the black, and the pale in Rev. 6. Although there exists a difference of view on what the white horse and horseman indicate, it is no doubt that at least the three horses here symbolise destructive powers with respect to conquering, killing, and starving God's people to death (cf. Osborn 2002:277; Kistemaker 2001:221f; Beasley-Murray 1992[1974]:131f; Morris 1997[1969]:101f). Later, John suggests that the Lamb and his followers will eventually triumph over the powers (Rev 19:11-21).

On the other hand, it is acknowledged that power can be exercised within the Christian community in a way that threatens to destroy it (Acts 5:1-10; 20:29-30; I Tim. 1:19-20; II Tim. 2:18; I John 4:1; Rev. 2:6, 15, 20). Its destructive tendency is first concerned with the perversion of the individual believer's will. One of the key images of man as trapped in the structure of evil that Paul, with other New Testament writers, takes up is that of "bondage" or "slavery" or "death" (Rom 6:6; Gal 4:8; Eph 2:1). This image is identical with what Luther and later Paul Ricoeur (1969:151-157) called "the servile will." The experience of evil as a radical power in the world, being recognised as sin, eventually develops into the experience of the servile will within ourselves. Consequently, by means of this perversion of will, we ourselves, by means of our strategies and our programs participate in and perpetuate the institutionalisation of evil.

In addition, the destructive exercise of the power of evil proceeds to the subversion of the truth in Christ within the Christian community. In other words, it is concerned with the interpretation of the truth[98]. This implies that although ecclesial reaction to divine

---

[98] The Church's history, according to Ellul (1986), is a history of subversion, and Christian practice has constantly been a subversion of the truth in Christ. The power of God's salvation through the revelation and work of God accomplished in Jesus Christ, the being of the Church as the body of Christ, and the

reality is formed in faith, a kind of perversion in its apprehension could arise under the influence of the destructive power operating in reality (cf. Farley 1987:9-11). As described in the Galatian Church, it is no wonder that having become Christians, they were turning back to the *stoicheia* together with the subversion of the 'Gospel of grace' (Gal. 4:1-11).

Furthermore, the power of evil also involves threats to the unity of the Christian community. As seen in the Corinthian Church, it led the community into disunity and conflict between members, both among themselves and with their leader (cf. also Act 5:1-5; 6:1). This early Christian community was aware of evil power of within as well as from outside, and it identified these threats, directly or indirectly, with the destructive power of Satan or evil (cf. TDNT vol.II 1968:79-81).

Broadening our discussion again to an ontological reflection on human reality, the phenomenon of power occurs in the sphere of the social (Farley 1990:50-60). The social sphere as a sphere of power is evident both to the suffering victims of subjugating power and to those who wield or embody social power. The intrinsic conflicts and tensions in a society is, according to Farley (:57ff), engendered by social incompatibility. That is to say, the structural incompatibility between the social itself and its participating agents as well as the competition inevitable in the workings of social systems (e.g., various communities, political, economic subsystems) invariably evoke suffering and social evil.

Farley remarks that subjugation or oppression as a distorted form of power is the distinctive form of social evil and the suffering it promotes are forms of victimisation. Social evil is, according to Farley's account (:258-259), generated as a result of power dynamics, when specific social entities (e.g., races, genders, ethnic groups and even nations) are dominated by self-absolutising imageries, seized with their idolatries, their absolutised self-interests, their ethnocentrisms. Those self-absolutised imageries that are formed in social entities result in the powerful victimising power.

Briefly summed up so far, God's redemptive power and the community of faith's apprehension and response thereto operate in the power-dominated world. God's salvific power is the liberating, creative and constructive power, whereas the power of evil is exercised in a destructive, deceptive and distorted way.

3.2.3.1.2 Situations as Concentrations of Powers

---

faith and life of Christians in truth and love is fundamentally subversive in every respect and to every kind of power. It has been, however, perverted together with the subversion of the revelation and truth within Christianity.

As stated before, the community of faith exists in a concrete situation. In other words, it exists in a specific time and place. This implies that the community of faith has a temporal and spatial existence. This, however, does not mean that it exists simply in the surrounding physical environment. Rather it means it exists in a specific social world that is constructed by the interaction between human agents in the network of relationships and deposits and institutions of the social world in the deepest stratum of society. The social world is constituted by the deposit of shared meanings and images taken for granted by members in corporate memory.

Importantly, however, the social world is not a mere structure, but a fluid and open-ended reality in which adaptations and creative responses to new situations generate new shared meanings (Farley 1990:53). Because of this flexibility of changeable meanings, a society can develop an unfathomable complexity of structures, roles and functions, experiencing a continuous change in history. Accordingly, the community of faith as a historical phenomenon experiences a continuous change, involving the specific social world.

It is in these concrete historical situations that God is present and acts. Therefore, faith itself exists in situations, and accordingly, spirituality is also shaped in specific situations (cf. Mudge 1987:107; Russel 1986:33-38).

What, then, is specifically meant by a situation? And how is it related to power?
A situation is not merely a surrounding physical environment. It is a complex of various components in reality that are not simply there on the surface. It is constituted by various powers, events and causalities (Farley 1987:12). That is to say, it is "a gathering together of powers and occurrences in the environment" (:14). As a situation is linked to a social world, its components are always intertwined with different kinds of things and things of very different genre: human beings as individuals; world views; groups of various sort; the pressure of the past; futurity; various strata of language (writing, imagery, metaphors, myths, etc.); events; sedimented social power (:12).

Moreover, in its scope in terms of both time and region, a situation is very comprehensive. A specific local situation is connected with more comprehensive situations (e.g., national, global situations). And the contemporary situation is linked to more enduring situations from the past (:13). Accordingly, a single situation, in a strict sense, does not exist, isolated from larger and longer situations. Instead, local and brief situations occur within larger and longer situations.

As concentrations of powers, situations impinge upon us as individual agents or as communities. In other words, situations place certain demands on us. One kind of demand occurs when the situation is imperilling, dangerous. Another kind occurs when

promises and possibilites are offered; another when obligation is required (:14).

Individual believers or the community of faith respond to these demands, interpreting the given situations in either corruptive or redemptive ways. As Farley points out, human beings, because of their corruption, tend to shape the demands of the situation according to their idolatries, their absolutised self-interests, their ethnocentrisms, their participations in the structures of power. Here the necessity of the theological interpretation of situations arises[99]. When faith's interpretive response to situations is ignored, individual believers or the community of faith fall into uncritical and even idolatrous paradigms of the interpretation of situations, as well as the use of Scriptural texts (:10), with the result that their faith and spirituality will be unconsciously shaped according to their perverted apprehension of realities.

In this respect, the interpretation of situations is of vital importance in the study of ecclesial spirituality. More specifically, for understanding the spirituality of the faith community in a specific time and place, it is imperative to examine contextual realities that constitute the contemporary situations. This is because contextual realities operate as a crucial element on the formation of ecclesial spirituality either in a positive or a negative way. Without examining the powerful role exercised by various contextual realities, therefore, the dynamics of ecclesial spirituality cannot be grasped (cf. Principe 2000:51-52).

3.2.3.1.3 Contextual Powers in the KPC

As seen in chapter II, in the history of the KPC, various contextual realities have influenced the formation of faith and spirituality in unique ways. Specifically without taking into consideration the harsh realities of suffering, the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church as a whole cannot be grasped. Notably, most of the suffering that the Korean people as a small nation suffered was basically caused by the neighbouring and worldly powers, related to the geo-political location of the country.

---

[99] For a theological hermeneutic of situations proposed by Edward Farley, see: Farley (1987:11-14). According to Farley (1987:12-14), at least four tasks constitute this hermeneutic of situation:
The first task is simply to identify the situation and describe its distinctive and constituent features;
A second task in the interpretation of situations has to do with the situations of the past comprising and structuring present situations. By revealing the situations' past an invisibility and disguise operating now in present situations are unmasked;
A third task is to correct the abstraction as a result of the focus on a single situation. The identification of discrete and local situations will be distortive if it isolates the situation from more comprehensive and more enduring situations;
A fourth aspect of a hermeneutics of situations is concerned with theological perspectives and criticism on situation. This is because human beings always tend to shape the demand of the situation according to their idolatries, their absolutised self-interests, their ethnocentrisms, their participations in structures of power.

From the beginning of the Christian missions, Korean Christianity was situated in an extremely marginalized position, namely, that of the oppressed victim. The continuous wars between Japan and China as well as between Japan and Russia in the Korean peninsular motivated by own interests, and Japanese militarists' 36 years of colonial rule constituted the marginal situations which the Korean Church faced.

More particularly, the Japanese militarists' Shintoism, forcing the Korean Christians to worship the Japanese Emperor at the Shinto shrine, appears as a particular contextual factor in the history of Korean Christianity.

Most remarkably, due to the severe persecution by Japanese militarists as well as North Korean communists, the Korean Church, specifically the Korean Presbyterian Church shed the blood of martyrdom. The blood of the martyrs reveals itself as a vital contextual reality that underlies the growth of the Korean Church as a whole.

In short, the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church in the formative period was shaped in the situations of political oppression, economic exploitation, and religious persecution by the neighbouring power.

Another significant contextual reality that played a crucial role in shaping the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church is the situation of the national division into North and South caused by the intervention of worldly powers. As already seen in chapter II, the abnormal and contradictory situation of the separation becomes a hotbed of various secular ideologies (e.g., anti-communist, security, growth and prosperity ideologies and the like), which have a profound impact upon the formation of the spirituality of the Korean Church, specifically during the period of rapid numerical growth: from the 1960s till the 1980s. The specific influences of those secular ideologies on the formation of the spirituality of the KPC will be discussed in the next chapter.

Furthermore, as contextual factors, we must consider the rich religious-cultural traditions. As K. J. Kim (1994) shows in his dissertation, Korea is a 'reservoir' of Asian religions: Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism etc. The faith and spirituality of Korean Christianity has been formed and shaped within the encounter with those traditional religious-cultures, in either counter-cultural or accommodating ways.

And besides, the Western culture that flowed together with the rapid economic growth, democratisation and globalisation should be also necessarily considered as contextual realities. Especially, the phenomenon of rapid secularisation of the Korean Church as a whole since 1990s is inconceivable without taking consideration into the powerful influence of the Western (American) culture.

In summary, in order to understand the formation of the KPC's spirituality, it is imperative to grasp various contextual realities constituted by their concrete historical situations at each stage.

3.2.3.2. Self-formation through Power and Imagination

3.2.3.2.1 Faith Community and Power Interpretation

In the previous section we observed that the community of faith in the power-dominated world should concern itself with the reality of this power. As already noted, ecclesial faith-apprehension is concerned with the power of God and his activity in the midst of contextual powers.

In what way, then, does the hermeneutical process specifically function in the community of faith in relation to the reality of power? And what is the resulting significance of it?

In an effort to answer these questions Mudge (1987:103-119) developed a very helpful methodology which he calls an ecclesial hermeneutic. This hermeneutic is based on the semiotic method that presupposes at least three things: firstly, the human life-world or culture as a vast communication network, constituted by an interconnected array of signs; secondly, these sign networks arise in human mental images of the world preoccupied with the reality of power; thirdly, the community of faith interprets the signs of the world, deconstructing and reconstructing them as carriers of a subversive set of signs based on the faith community's own biblical metaphors in the power-dominated world.

It is important here to note that the reality of power in human affairs is always to some degree a matter of metaphorical and interpretive imagination. For instance, political power rests on a collective sense that confers it and defines it in certain terms. And the collective sense rests on a shared social interpretive imagination. Accordingly, to resist power may not only be to invite retaliation, but also to encounter the shared social meaning and the world image that underlies the symbolic and conceptual ordering of one's universe (cf. Farley 1990:48, 51-54; 1975:117-120). This is the reason why the Christian gospel and its recipients become marginalized in society especially at the beginning of the mission.

In this respect, the meaning and power of God's presence and redemptive activity in the world come, likewise, to the faith community's signworld in the form of interpretation and imagination (cf. Brueggemann 1993:12ff; 1986:1-2), introducing a

102

radical deconstruction and reconstruction of the signs of the world that sustain the world of power and meaning (Mudge 1987:108).

As a reaction thereto, the community of faith construes imaginatively the ultimate power of God in relation to penultimate powers of this world, which engenders "the experience of an upheaval" in its symbolic world (:112). As a result, the community itself becomes a signifying medium for the message of the Kingdom of God.

What then in the Scripture offered a vehicle for the expression of both shared and personal faith? What also made possible a "readable" public statement concerning the rule of God in history? And what shaped specifically the vision of power at the heart of the primitive Christian consciousness?

Most characteristically, it is the signs and signifiers surrounding the vision of the Suffering Servant in Scripture (:112-113. cf. Farley 1975:118). Although the signs and signifiers have been taken up from the complex of signs in the surrounding culture, they, as a subversive set of significations, trans-signify and challenge the common power-dominated world's fundamental meanings. In this respect, the community of faith exists as carrier of such a subversive set of signs in the power-dominated world. Thus, it acts as 'a sign' in the wider world (:115; cf. Ellul 1989:3-5). In other words, it operates as 'an exegesis' of the world.

Mudge (:116-118) concludes that this has significance in two ways:
Firstly, to be a sign in the world means that the community of faith is itself an answer to the question of who God is in the power-dominated world. Jesus is defeated in terms of the power signs of this world, and yet Christ defeats the principalities and powers of the cosmos (Col 2:14-15). Existing as a sign of the Suffering Servant in the power-dominated world, the faith community represents the "final Power" as an alternative form of life.
Secondly, the fact that the faith community is present as a sign may possibly give rise to forms of thought that the world desperately need. That is to say, the community of faith may offer the world a language for grasping its own present truths and future possibilities. By showing the world how its own signs can be taken up and re-deployed around a new imaginative understanding of the final Power with which humankind has to do, the community of faith may say that the possibility of salvation continues to exist.

Mudge's proposed ecclesial hermeneutic helps, to some extent, to understand the self-formation process of the faith community in the power-dominated world through its hermeneutical interpretation of God's presence and activity in the power/imagination nexus. However, his hermeneutic does not sufficiently consider the particular life

situations of the early Christian communities themselves functioning as an important factor in making such a hermeneutic possible. It needs to be seriously considered that the primitive Christian communities were historically situated in an extremely marginalized context under the rule of Roman Empire. In that marginalized situation, the primitive Christian communities existed in a marginalized position in which it was virtually not possible for them to participate in power dynamics as social entities in the society. It was historically in such a marginalized situation and also in a marginal position in society that the early Christian communities exist and represent themselves as a sign of the Suffering Servant toward the world around, participating in God's redemptive work upon them.

Importantly, however, the community of faith does not necessarily exist in socially a marginal position. It essentially grows and exists as a social entity in society. In a normal situation, the faith community exists as "a power" in society, participating in the shared meanings of the social world in particular socio-historical situations as a social entity capable of effecting changes in its surrounding environment (Farley 1990:259).

The faith community, therefore, does not form itself necessarily in such an ideal way as Mudge suggests in his ecclesial hermeneutic, specifically in normal situations. As a social entity, Church-formation takes place in a process often involving itself in the power dynamics in the power-dominated world. What follows is an attempt to explain these dynamics.

3.2.2.2.2 Power Dynamics

The faith community is a social entity with temporal and spatial dimensions. As a human community and institution, it is subjected to the same social and historical processes as other social entities. Gustafson (1961) attempted to understand the theological nature of the Church in terms of its social function by focusing on the Church as an historical, human community. As Gustafson descibed, the Church shares, in common with other communities or institutions, a natural and political character. Like other natural communities such as the family, the nation, and social class, it shares the basic needs for security, for social integration, and for institutional self-preservation.

As a political community, 'social power' is exercised to keep alive the spirit of the community. The Church also shares, as already discussed, the same social and historical processes as other communities. With its own language, signs and symbols, the Church takes part in an interpretive process. Through the interpretation of those signs and symbols, it becomes a community of memory and hope (cf. Brueggemann

1993& 1986).

All these human elements are, following Gustafson's conclusion (1961:108-109), the necessary instruments for the expression of God's will and work in a given historical context. At the same time, the realm of the natural and the social is an agency or a mask for God's presence and will towards men.

Gustafson's social interpretation of the Church offers us a significant insight into the understanding of the nature of the faith community. The affirmation of the human, social, and historical character of the Church lets us reject the idea of its divinisation or spiritual purity in any sectarian or Roman Catholic fashion. Although the Church witnesses to divine reality as the object to whom it is loyal and faithful, it does so as a natural, historical human community, expressed by Gustafson, as an "earthen vessel" that retains God's Spirit and power.

Yet, importantly the human elements of the faith community do not necessarily function in an ideal or even positive way. As a social entity in society, the community of faith relates to the power dynamics in reality in whichever way. As has been shown in history, such dynamics often work as the instrument of human sin and evil.

In what way then, does the community of faith involve itself in the power dynamics of social entities or institutions, specifically in the dynamics of evil? And beyond this, how and when do the dynamics of transformation occur in it?

According to Farley's account (1990:257-258) based on ontological reflection, every institution has two kinds of aims, namely, primary and secondary aims. The former is the institution's distinctive reason for being that gives rise to the institution's specific agendas, organisational pattern, and tasks. The latter is related to the embodiment and promotion of aims from the larger ethos of their social environment. Significantly, the secondary aims of institutions tend to be the places of entry for influences from the broader culture, that is, agents' shared meanings and images.

Farley (:258) argues that when self-absolutising imageries infect a social entity's secondary aims, they drive it to the dynamics of evil, resulting in its isolation from the larger society as well as subjugation of the powerless group. Racism, sexism, superpatriotism, and ethnocentrism are typical examples. These are, in a sense, a self-absolutising way of being particular. It is thus from the natural social egocentrism of institutions that the dynamics of institutional evil begins. When human agents absolutise the ethnic, social, and other functions they serve, institutions are turned towards an idolatrous aim, and thus operate in the dynamics of evil, demanding loyalty to it.

It goes without saying that in history the faith communities, like other natural centrist communities, served racial, ethnic, and gender loyalties, often involving themselves actively in the evil dynamics of larger political or economic systems.

In this respect, as Farley (:291) correctly points out, however ideal their self-understanding and however noble their calling, all actual communities of faith will be mixtures of continued subjugation and redemptive attestations.

Given this reality, then, how is it possible to transcend this particularistic and self-regarding orientation of social entities that direct their functions to specific times, places, and members? In other words, how and when do the transformative or redemptive dynamics occur in the faith community?

Redemptive dynamics have to do with the faith community transcending its own natural particularity or self-absolutising centrism (:269-272). In other words, transformative dynamics are manifested where the autonomous powers intrinsic to institutions become instruments of service on behalf of the well-being of the total environment through self-relativisation.

When then can the faith community transcend its natural centrism?
Theologically speaking, it can basically and ultimately only transcend it eschatologically. But, from the perspective of "social redemption" based on the phenomenological reflection, it is only when its secondary aim reflects criteria and serves goods that are irreducible to any particularity (:271). Significantly, this does not happen merely in the individual believer's alteration. It needs social redemption. And social redemption is not simply a matter of political, institutional change. If it does not reach the social world of shared meanings, social redemption is superficial and even destructive.

Social redemption thus involves the change of interpersonal relations as well as the transformation of the social world of shared meaning, both being oriented to the well-being of broader environments. This implies that the community of faith is redeemed, when the redeemed relations and shared meanings of the ecclesial social world or Kingdom permeate the secondary aim of the community (cf. Farley 1990:273).

Most importantly, according to Farley, only "the sacred" can lure social entities away from their self-absolutising centrisms because the sacred is the one reality not identifiable with the good of any particular place and time (:272). However, Farley does not explain clearly the reality of the sacred and its presence. First and foremost it is only God through the power of Spirit that can empower the faith community to transcend the centrisms, referred to above. The deep core of a Christian socio-dynamic

106

is the *theo*-dynamic experienced in the faith community. Consequently, self-transcending and self-relativisation of the faith community are possible only when God's redemptive power is present and acts upon the community. When the faith community experiences the presence of the Spirit of God, its functions and aims are turned towards the good of all life-forms beyond its natural particularity.

In this regard, although these arguments of Farley are valuable, they are valuable only in the second degree. Ecclesial spirituality, therefore, works with Farley's distinction only on the second level of power dynamics.

Theologically, the self-transcendencing character of the faith community is manifested in the four attributes (*una sancta catholica et apostolica*) of the Church which is confessed in the apostolic creed. And this should be shown in terms of its functional identity: trans-regional, trans-ethnic, trans-cultural etc. (cf. Müller 1992:34-39; Louw 1992:129-130).

Furthermore, transformative and redemptive dynamics by the presence and activity of God are comprehensive, concerning themselves with all spheres of human reality: individual agents, interpersonal relations and the social. The three spheres are interconnected, interdependent or interrelated, but authentic transformative redemption occurs as a total harmonisation of the three spheres, which is symbolised as the Kingdom of God in Scripture (Farley 1990:282-287).

The community of faith is the locus where this redemptive transformation is expected to occur and to be experienced in a comprehensive way. Not only individual believers, but the interpersonal relations and the social world of shared meanings are transformed in the faith community by the presence and redemptive activity of God. Redemptive transformation is not restricted to the community of faith. It extends its region to a broader environment, namely, the whole world—perspective of the Kingdom in Reformed theology.

To summarise the above discussion: the community of faith as a social entity relates to the power dynamics, and is subjected to the social, historical process just as other human communities are. The dynamics occur in either a corruptive or a redemptive way: When any faith community absolutises its particularity and is turned toward an idolatrous aim in a broader environment, it is driven into the dynamics of evil. And when it experiences self-transcendence by the presence and redemptive activity of God, redemptive dynamics occur in a comprehensive way, involving the transformation of all spheres of human reality: individual agents, interpersonal relations and the social sphere.

3.3 Summary

So far in this chapter, we attempted a definition of the phenomenon of ecclesial spirituality as a base theory for the following chapters in terms of a hermeneutical practical theology. According to the proposed definition, ecclesial spirituality is understood as 'ecclesial apprehension and response to the meaning and power of God's presence and redemptive activity in the power-dominated world'.

Firstly, in the proposed definition, the communal character of authentic Christian spirituality was examined in Scripture and in an ontological reflection on human reality. The primordial sphere in which the believers' experience of God arises is not an isolated individual sphere, but the sphere of interpersonal relations, and accordingly, the community of faith is the matrix where authentic Christian spirituality occurs in a communal way.

Secondly, as a foundation of the formation of ecclesial spirituality, the hermeneutical function of the faith community was investigated. The hermeneutical process arises in the encounter between God's people and divine reality, which occurs in the believers' faith-apprehension interrelating with not only the faith-world, but also the concrete life-world.

Thirdly, God-effecting redemptive work as an essential component of ecclesial spirituality was examined. Its actual content is God's presence and redemptive activity for mankind and creation, and what is actually perceived to God's people is its meaning and power by the mediating work of the Spirit. In Scripture, the Spirit of God is perceived in either His creative, salvific, judging or a community-forming power.

Fourthly, the power-dominated world as the social context in which ecclesial reaction to divine reality occurs was scrutinised. Eccleisal spirituality is shaped in specific historical situations as concentrations of powers, which operate on the self-formation of the faith community and its spirituality in a positive or a negative way, concerning itself with the power dynamics, in either corruptive or redemptive ways.

In conclusion, ecclesial spirituality is formed and shaped in the dynamic interplay of the three components in human reality: the faith community's hermeneutical process, God's presence and redemptive power by the mediating work of the Spirit, and the power-dominated world as context.

CHAPTER IV. Analysing the Features of the Spirituality of the KPC

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a definition of ecclesial spirituality was offered as a theory in order to give an account of the phenomenological differences of the spirituality formed in each historical phase.

In this chapter, which constitutes the interpretive or critical analysis of practical methodology, we will attempt to analyse particular situations in the KPC's history, and also the features of spirituality manifested therein. Attention will be paid to the dynamic interplay in the KPC of various contextual realities in particular shaping the spirituality. By means of this analysis the fundamental cause of the phenomenal disparity between the past and present KPC spirituality will be examined. And finally, we will make a brief evaluation of the features of the KPC's spirituality in each historical phase.

According to the process and shift of the KPC's spirituality, its history may roughly be divided into three periods: the receptive and formative period (1884-1960), the period of growth (1960-1993) and the declining period (1993-present).

As already seen, the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church were particularly formed in extremely marginalised situations, particularly in the formative and growing periods. That is, they were shaped historically in the focus of being oppressed and victimised by world powers.

Our special attention will, therefore, be paid to the impact of the extremely marginal situations on the formation of the spirituality of the KPC during the receptive and formative period. And further, we will also take note of how the spirituality of the KPC came to suffer perversion and degeneration by means of various secular ideas gained in the growing and declining period from the 1960s until present.

4.2 The Features of the Spirituality of the KPC Manifested in each Historical Phase

4.2.1 The Receptive and Formative Period (1884-1960)

The utterly marginal situation of the Korean Church spans the period from the beginning of early Protestant mission until the 1950s, when the Korean War broke out

CHPTER IV. Analysing the Features of the Spirituality of the KPC

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a definition of ecclesial spirituality was attempted as a base theory in order to give an account of the phenomenological differences of the KPC spirituality formed in each historical phase.

In this chapter, which constitutes the interpretive or critical analysis in our research methodology, we will attempt to analyse particular situations in each historical phase and also the features of spirituality manifested therein. Attention will be paid to the dynamic interplay in the KPC of various contextual realities that play a decisive role in shaping the spirituality. By means of this analysis the fundamental cause for the phenomenal disparity between the past and present KPC spirituality will be clarified. And finally, we will make a brief evaluation of the features of the KPC's spirituality in each historical phase.

According to the process and shift of the KPC's spirituality, the historical phases will be divided into three periods: the receptive and formative period (1885-1960), the period of growth (1960-1993) and the declining period (1993-present).

As already seen, the faith and spirituality of the Korean Church were historically formed in extremely marginalized situations, particularly in the formative and growing periods. That is, they were shaped historically in the locus of being oppressed and victimised by world powers.

Our special attention will, therefore, be paid to the impact of the extremely marginal situations on the formation of the spirituality of the KPC during the receptive and formative period. And further, we will also take note of how the spirituality of the KPC came to suffer perversion and degeneration by means of various secular ideologies in the growing and declining period from the 1960s until present.

4.2 The Features of the Spirituality of the KPC Manifested in each Historical Phase

4.2.1 The Receptive and Formative Period (1884-1960)

The utterly marginal situation of the Korean Church spans the period from the beginning of early Protestant mission until the 1950s, when the Korean War broke out.

After the war, the direct socio-political oppression by world powers ceased, and as the military dictator Park took the power in 1960, the modernisation process began in the reality of the national Division. So, we will here demarcate the receptive and formative period of the KPC from 1884 till 1960.

4.2.1.1 Historical Context of National Suffering and Marginal Situations

As already seen in chapter II, the receptive and formative period of the Korean Church coincides with a time of intense national suffering caused by the imperial powers. As the nation fell victim to the world powers and, at the same time was plunged into socio-political disorder due to political corruption, all the existing social systems and traditional values disintegrated. Protestantism was introduced in that utterly marginal situation which Victor Turner called liminality. Liminality, according to Turner (1969:95-96), is often found in rituals of social and cultural transitions and its attributes are necessarily ambiguous. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon.

In what follows, we will determine the role played by the liminal situations in the formation of the consciousness of the believers in their encounter with the Christian Gospel during the receptive and formative period.

4.2.1.1.1 Marginal Context in Socio-Political Situations

a) Oppression by Powers

By the end of the 19th century, Korea experienced tremendous turmoil and social upheaval caused by internal and external factors. Internally, due to the corrupt system of feudalism, the labouring classes (peasants and slaves) were totally deprived of their basic rights. The *Dong-hak* peasant revolt of 1894 shook the feudal system of Korean society, and the socio-political and economic order all but collapsed. Externally, the whole country became the arena of competition between foreign powers: China, Japan and Russia. In such tragic circumstances, the society hungered for change with a new yearning for a more egalitarian society (cf. Kim B S 1995:18).

In this situation, the Korean people encountered the Christian Gospel. As a result, in this receptive period Christianity was recognised as a religion of emancipation for the oppressed and the powerless. Regarding the socio-psychological motive for conversion to Christianity at that time, M. Y. Yi (1998:465) asserts that the grass-root people were

motivated by the need for emancipation from feudal oppression, whereas the progressive literati-bureaucrats were motivated by their desire to save the nation from disaster. Significantly, for both the grass-roots people and the progressive leaders, Christianity came up as a religion of liberation. The Protestant mission, from the beginning, turned towards the marginalized class in society and Christianity became the religion of the oppressed.

In short, socio-political oppression in the receptive period opened the marginalized people to the Christian Gospel, which was consequently perceived as a religion of liberation for the oppressed; the anti-feudalistic as well as the nationalist consciousness were simultaneously accommodated..

Furthermore, during the 36 years of Japanese militarist colonial rule, the identity of the KPC was constituted through the severe persecution and oppression by the imperial power: They identified their suffering with the Gospel of the Cross.
In the 1930s, when the persecution was at its zenith, Rev. Y. D. Lee (in Pyon 1958:19) described the Korean Christians as "the people who bear the Cross":

> We, a powerless nation, became the slaves of a world power and are carrying our cross. Speechlessly, we look up to Thee, beaten for our sake. Pagan rulers put a crown of thorns on our head and force us to lie down on the bed of nails that is social discrimination. (in Pyon 1953:73-74 my translation)

It must be noted here that Christianity during this period was recognised by the Korean people, not as the religion of invaders, but as that of the oppressed. This is distinctive and unique in comparison with many other Asian countries that were also colonised by Western powers during the same period and eventually evangelised. As Charles W. Forman (1964:72-73) rightly observed, the political situation of Korea in this period was unique due to the following three factors:

Firstly, Japan, the imperial power against which the national movement was directed, was not nominally Christian. Hence nationalist sympathies in the church were not so clouded over by the public association of Christianity with imperialism as they were elsewhere.

Secondly, the imperial power of Japan, unlike the European imperialists, repeatedly demanded a semi-religious expression of loyalty from the Korean people and hence ran afoul of the teachings of Christianity and forced the church to be a centre of disaffection.
Thirdly, the Church impressed people as a force edifying national strength because it emphasised education, character development, and democratic values.

In sum, in the receptive and formative period, Christianity was introduced to the oppressed nation as a religion of liberation, identifying itself with national suffering and forming anti-imperialist consciousness in the church. Significantly, the utterly marginal situation decisively influenced the formation of the identity of the Korean Church. Moreover, the Christian Gospel operated as a vital force by which the Korean Church overcame the national suffering.

b) Division of the Nation

Another marginal context surrounding the Korean Church is that of the Division of the nation into North and South since the 1945 national Liberation. Korea is now the only divided nation in the world caused by the Cold War. And this Division as the legacy of the Cold War between East and West is a sure sign that Korea was and still is a victim of the struggle of world powers.

It needs to be noted that South Korea's socio-political and economic achievement as well as the phenomenal church growth since the 1960s occurred in this tragic context of the national Division.

As already stated, there are ten million separated families in the South, the majority of whom came from the North, as refugees from the Communist regime. The reality of the Division is for the Korean people, therefore, not merely geographical. It is social and psychological. To a homogeneous national community—one language, one race, one culture, and one nation—, the 38th parallel divides the body of the Korean people. To borrow Ham's expression, it means the 'split of the heart of the Korean people' (Ham [1983] 1995:299).

Thus, the national Division enhanced the already existing marginality of the Korean people. In actual fact, it constitutes the national sentiment *Han* (한;恨) in the mind of the Korean people. As already stated in chapter II (2.3), *Han* is the wounded heart of the oppressed that has been formed in the marginalized Korean people through the long history of suffering – political oppression, economic exploitation and social alienation by the ruling class and foreign powers.

More specifically, the reality of the national Division caused, according to Andrew Sung Park's account (1993:37-38), the *corporate despair* that is the distinctive mark of passive conscious *Han*. It is a feeling that resides within the victims who have been oppressed without any hope for so long.

Importantly, for the Korean people, *Han* constitutes the soil of the mind on which the

113

Christian Gospel was sown, grows and bears fruit. Expressed as yet another metaphor, for the Korean people, *Han* is a hermeneutical window through which the Gospel is interpreted, felt and experienced. In the modern context of Korea, *Han* is deeply involved in the reality of the national Division.

c) Civil *and* Global War

The war that broke out on June 25th, 1950 and lasted for three years, is inscribed as another mark of marginality on the heart of the Korean people. The war was, by nature, a civil and a global one between the Eastern and Western Camps of world powers. As stated already in chapter II (2.2), the Korean peninsula was historically the battlefield of the neighbouring powers. Significantly, in the Korean War, it became the battlefield of the world powers. As a consequence of the war, the extent and meaning of the suffering of the Korean nation extended to include the world.

With regard to the theological meaning of the Korean War, Y. G. Min (1977:20-27) summarizes the following three interpretations of the effects of the war:

The first view is to interpret the war in terms of God's judgement upon the Korean nation. In-Seo Kim saw Jesus, the Judge, standing on the ruins. However, Kim's interpretation does not give a sufficient account of the reason for such a lengthy period of tragic national suffering at the hands of foreign powers: over five hundred years!

The second interpretation is to view the event as an encounter with Jesus who weeps together with the people at the place of the suffering. Jeong-Joon Kim saw Jesus as a blast furnace of love who called on the marginalized nation and smelt national tragedy. This interpretation is viewed from the perspective of the religious experience of God, but does not include a positive interpretation of the meaning of the suffering.

The third view is to interpret the war as a burnt-offering for the New Age, that is, for the future of the world. Seok-Heon Ham sought the theological meaning of the national suffering of the Korean people from a redemptive perspective for all the nations of the world.

Ham's viewpoint supports the marginal perspective on the tragic national suffering that the Korean people had to suffer inevitably as a small and weak nation at the hand of world powers. As Turner (1969:97) pointed out in his account of liminality, the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low. Likewise, the powerful could not be powerful unless the powerless or the weak existed, and any individual or group that wants to be really powerful must then experience what it is like to be weak.

The role of the Korean people as a small and politically insignificant nation in the world and, specifically, the meaning of the tragic suffering can thus be inferred from the marginal perspective. In the War, Korea was evidently identified as one of the most marginalized nations in the world. She had to bear not only the burden of her own class struggle, but also to bear the burden of a mega power struggle between world powers.

However, regardless of liminality's positive side, the terrible experience of the war has left an indelible, negative imprint on the heart of the Korean Christians. The experience is linked thoroughly to that of the horrible genocide by and the enmity against the Communists. As a result, a serious 'red complex' has been shaped in the Korean Church against Communism (Suh 1994:378). That is to say, the Church has become a victim of anti-Communist ideology, which was a decisive factor in perverting the apprehension of the Christian Gospel.

Moreover, the experience of the disastrous war, according to H. S. Kim's analysis (1999:133-194), shaped a material blessing-seeking faith as the motive for basic need. In other words, the terrible experience of the war changed the character of the Korean Church which was shaped authentically during the Japanese colonial rule, and which we will critically analyse later.

4.2.1.1.2 Marginal Context in Economic Situations

a) Exploitation

The situation of critical marginalisation in the receptive and formative period was paralleled by a terrible economic exploitation. The exploitation of the people by corrupt political rulers that had been severe since the end of the 19th century, reached its zenith during the Japanese colonial rule. Their policy of economic imperialism was especially vicious. Different from most other imperialistic rules that attempt in general an economic expansion of their own country, Japanese militarists were motivated by the need to supply the deficiency of their own national capital as well as the cost of invasion of other Asian countries.

The confiscation of almost half the land of Korea by force of arms as soon as Japanese imperialists colonised Korea attests to the viciousness of their economic exploitation. Before and after 1930, 77.2 % of farmers lost the land that was inherited from their ancestors, and were reduced to the status of tenants (Cho 1988:182-183). Moreover, the rental rate of a tenant reached 50 %. As a result, a large number of tenants had to leave for the city to find a livelihood, and became day labourers. Almost half of the tenants were starving (:191). The majority of the ordinary people were harassed by

poverty and disease, and many had to migrate to Manchuria in order to survive. The resulting Korean *diaspora* thus had its origin in the vicious economic exploitation as well as in the forcible conscription for the imperialists' war of aggression during Japanese colonial rule.

The miserable situation is well recorded in an editorial in 1928:

> One of the Christian ministers in the countryside said: "Despite trouble for a year, for tenants, nothing except debt was achieved. Debts are increasing, but there is no way to pay. What shall we do? Harassed with debts, three families escaped and one family committed suicide, even before the harvest. The rest of the families are all weeping, having their property attached" (quoted by Noh [1993] 1995:167 my translation).

The prayer of an anonymous Christian (1935:1) describes the contemporary miserable situation as follows:

> O, Lord Jesus
> How is it so severely cold this night?
> By the cold snow and wind one feels chilled to the bone.
> ……..
> O, Lord Jesus
> There are countless people who were down with the unbearable freezing cold on the streets and in the fields,
> And there are numerous people who freeze to death even in the hot summer
> What will you do for them?
> Will you spare their lives? Or will you kill them at all?
> If you want to bring them to life,
> Send us a burning fire as soon as possible!
> The fire that melts death and spares the life.
> Send us the fire! (my translation)

It was the utterly marginalized situation in which the basic right to live was denied on national scale.

b) Extreme Poverty

The situation of extreme poverty due to exploitation by imperialists in those days was, for Christians, comparable to that of the Jews when Jesus was born in Judea. In his sermon Rev. Young-Taek Jun (1935:2-3) compared the Korean people at that time to 'sheep without a shepherd' that were harassed and helpless in the wilderness'. And he preached that Jesus came to the marginalized Koreans with the same compassion:

116

Such a miserable condition is that of the Jews in the olden days. If Jesus now saw the destitute people in the cities and villages, and the groaning people under the bridges and in the park, and the people weeping and wandering over the vast empty plain of Manchuria and Gando, how will he not weep for them? (my translation)

And further, the miserable situation was compared to a wilderness where the heavenly food, *manna,* was fed to the poor stricken people. Moreover, the wilderness was more positively viewed in that it provided great hope for the future. An anonymous preacher remarked:

Manna is the heavenly food that was given to the people of Israel wondering about the wilderness by the grace of God. Neither is it one that is given to the pleasure-seeking people who eat and drink satisfied in tall and spacious buildings. Nor is it one that is given to the people who rest in comfort on the ivory bed. But, it is the miracle of God manifested in the people of hope. It is the miracle that was shown to the people of God who bore the suffering with the great hope for the future in the wilderness of trial...(omitted)...The wilderness is the place where hardships, nakedness and hunger are experienced. It is the place where loneliness, tears and sigh abide. And it is the place where grief and pain abide. But, the pain is for the righteousness, and tears are for the great hope for the future. Where there is bitterness, there is sweetness, and we can find the lily in a thorn bush (in *Jesus* 1938:23-24 my translation).

The interpretation of the utterly marginalized situation goes one step further. The tragic situation is more positively understood as a spiritual blessing. Rev. Young-Taek Jun (1938:16) remarked:

When we become really weak, badly insulted, extremely destitute, and suffer severe persecution and distress, let us rejoice! When I am weak, Christ in me will be strong and thus I will become really strong. So, let us rejoice! (my translation)

Rev. Yong-Do Lee (1938:7)[100] also viewed the extremely marginal situations as something that believers should welcome, for they led them to participate in the glory of the Cross:

Do you love me? Do you really love me like these? My abasement, my obscurity,

---

[100] He was actually a Methodist revivalist assuming mysticism. But, in the 1930s when revivalism was strong within the Korean Church regardless of denomination, he was invited to revival meetings by the Presbyterian Church and had a profound impact on their spiritual formation. Later, however, he was condemned to be a heretic by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church due to his unbiblical doctrine. cf. Hur, Soon-Gil 2002. *History of the Presbyterian Church in Korea: for the 50 Years Anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (Kosin)(1952-2002).* Seoul: The Committee of Church History of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (Kosin). 197-199.

my humiliation, my loneliness, my short-life, and my suffering...do you really love these? If so, you would welcome these instead of grieving over them. Why? In those, you could find the image of your loving Lord...(omitted)...You poor people, do you love me? Drink from my cup. Do you love me? Drink from my cup and cry out your perfection and praise. To taste the suffering of my cross will be the supreme glory to you. (my translation).

The above sources show that the national suffering of deep poverty due to Japanese imperialists' ruthless exploitation impacted positively on the interpretation of the Christian Gospel and consequently, upon the formation of the believers' faith and spirituality in the formative period. That is to say, the marginal situation of the deep material poverty and exploitation led the people to the humility and poverty of spirit and eventually to spiritual fullness and participation in the reality of the Gospel. In brief, the experience of extreme poverty played an important role in interpreting Christianity as the Gospel for the poor. Thus, the poverty was sublimated to spiritual richness by faith, being identified with the humility of Jesus Christ.

4.2.1.1.3 Marginal Context in the Religious-Cultural Situation

a) Collapse of Traditional Religions

During the *Chosen* dynasty (14th-19th century), Confucianism had been the major religion. As a philosophical religious Way of life, Confucianism had exercised its influence over the whole spectrum of social life as political ideology, moral norms, socio-cultural customs and religious ritual. In a word, Confucianism was the main prop of the dynasty.

By the nineteenth century, however, the social and political world of Confucianism had become decadent due to the gross political corruption of Confucian literati-bureaucrats. As the feudalistic system that had been supported by Confucianism collapsed, the existing social structures disintegrated (Choo 1995:22). In this situation Confucianism completely lost its governing power.

Buddhism and Taoism were also powerless in the society of that time, being 'syncretised' religions which had taken root in what was then a 'shamanistic' religious environment, especially among the people of lower class. Shamanism was thus the only popular religion among the common people in such a social anomie.

In a word, the prevailing religious conditions of the late nineteenth century in Korea could be described as a 'vacuum' (Yoo 1988:72), which indicated a hunger of soul, a basic need and desire for a more meaningful life. The situation desperately required

something new to fill the vacuum. As seen in chapter II (2.5.2), this need accounts for the strong sense of receptivity towards the Gospel in this period.

Protestantism was introduced into this vacuum in the hearts and minds of the Korean people. Specifically for the progressive leaders, Protestantism was recognised as the religion best able to regenerate the people morally and to modernise the country. The religious hunger for Protestantism is well manifested in the progressive magistrate called 'a Korean Macedonian', Soo-Jeong Lee's letter that was sent to the American Church in 1883:

> Your country is well known to us [Koreans] as a Christian nation. However, if you do not send us the Gospel, I think that another country may soon send their teachers, and I am worried that their doctrines do not accord with the will of the Lord. Although I am not an influential man, I will do my best to help the missionaries you are going to send (quoted by Yi 1998:108 my translation)[101].

According to Lee's judgement, Protestantism was the only way to fill the religious vacuum of the Korean people at that time. As a result of Lee's earnest appeal for the missionaries, the Presbyterian Mission Board in U.S.A. appointed Rev. H. G. Underwood as a missionary, and sent him to Korea in 1884.

It is worth noting that although the major religions, i.e., Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism had become powerless in society by the nineteenth century, their influence was still felt. As part of the religio-cultural heritage, they had a far-reaching impact on the Christianity whether counter-cultural or accommodating. According to Jin-Hwan Han's (1997:21-22, 46) analysis of the influence of these traditional religions upon the consciousness and worshipping life of the Korean Church, Buddhism influenced the meditation and prayer life as well as the conception of an other-worldly-oriented faith, while Confucianism had an impact on Bible-oriented worship[102].

b) Japanese Shintoism

As is generally known, Japanese Shintoism is a political as well as religious ideology

---

[101] Other doctrines here imply Roman Catholicism. According to Yi M. Y., Lee Soo-Jeong had a negative standpoint on the Roman Catholic doctrines, but he praised the passion of its mission and martyrdom. See: 1998. Yi's *A Study on the History of the Korean Reception of Protestantism.* p.107; footnote 36.
[102] There are in fact two main streams in the ritual life of Buddhism: a meditative tradition, and a petitionary one. The meditative tradition, called *Zen,* is characterised by asceticism: fasting and special prayer that continues for a hundred days, even a thousand days are also part of this approach. The other stream emphasises petitionary prayer. To request a favour of Amitabha Buddha, Buddhists practice a variety of rituals: chanting Amitabha Buddha's names, bowing down hundreds of times before the statue of Buddha, or offerings of money or rice. Meanwhile, the Korean Christians' great affection for the text is based on Korea's scholarly tradition that originated in Confucianism.

that was formed in the process of Japanese militarist pursuit of the Western modernisation and nationalism (cf. Kim S T 1994:9). That is to say, it was devised as a means of control. By deifying and absolutising the authority of the Japanese emperor, the rulers attempted to unify the national philosophy and to induce absolute loyalty and submission to state power.

As Shintoism was, in essence, incompatible with Christianity, the Japanese colonial government and the Korean Church were structurally opposed to one another. At first, the ideology was taught at school as a subject, and then, the colonial government forced the pupils to pay obeisance to the emperor's photo. Later, they were forced to worship the emperor before the established shrine. The confrontation of Christianity with Shintoism began at the Christian mission schools. By the 1930s, as the campaign to enforce shrine worship was intensified and extended to the churches, serious confrontation began between the Church and the Japanese colonial government.

First of all, Shintoism ideology threatened the identity of the Christian faith. For Christians, shrine worship was regarded as idol worship. Specifically, in contrast to the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church did not accept the government's insistence that shrine worship was not a religious, but merely a national ceremony. The Presbyterian mission school took a stand against the colonial government by closing the schools, whereas other denominations either compromised or complied with the government's policy.

Secondly, Shintoist ideology functioned as a testing of the faith of the Korean Church. At the time, the shrine worship was seen as 'a practical test for the loyalty and fidelity to Christ' (Moffett 1920:26). Markedly different from the Korean Presbyterian Church, the Japanese Church, from the beginning, avoided confrontation with Shintoism and compromised itself (Kim S T 1994:30, 43). Moreover, the Japanese Church, in effect, perverted the essence of Christianity in supporting the imperial war of the militarist government. And finally, she accepted the ideology and made use of it for the purpose of denominational unification and its extension (ibid).

Although the Presbyterian Church passed a resolution in favour of shrine worship at the 1938 General Assembly as a result of police coercion, a minority of faithful pastors and laypersons continued the resistance, risking their lives to do so. They were mostly Presbyterian conservatives who believed that shrine worship would destroy the historical Christian faith (Park Y K [1992] 1993:273). In effect, their faith represented that of the Korean Presbyterian Church. Two hundred local churches were closed and more than two thousand people were imprisoned and tortured, and about fifty lay-Christians and ministers were martyred (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies [1990] 1994:337-338; Yi [1985] 1996:189).

Eventually, their faith gained the victory over Shintoist ideology. The Japanese imperial power was defeated eventually by the Japanese defeat in the Second World War on August 15th, 1945. Thus, the blood of martyrdom underlies the faith and spirituality of the KPC, specifically in the *Kosin* denomination (The Presbyterian Church in Korea; PCKK).

Thirdly, the reaction against Shintoist ideology was instrumental in the formation of an eschatological emphasis. The 1930s and early 1940s were, in a word, 'a dark age' for the Korean Church (cf. Yoo 1988:109). Religious persecution and apostasy reached extreme levels, and there seemed not a glimmer of hope in those extremely dark days. During this period, the sermons of the arrested ministers were centred mainly on the Advent of Christ, the millennium and the preparation of saints (Kim S T 1994:101-103). Thus, the futuristic eschatological expectation and the conviction of Christ's everlasting Kingship formed important motives for the resistance movement against shrine worship (Park Y K [1992] 1993:276). They were also crucial in forming the identity of the Church. The same idea is well manifested in Rev. Yang-Won Son's sermon in 1941:

> Now the Korean Church is in crisis and suffering. Why is that so? Wars have broken out between nations, and everywhere in the world, famines, floods and the sick are increasing. In Korea, we Christians are harassed by the enforcement of shrine worship. These are the very eschatological phenomena, and this implies that Christ's advent which we desire is at hand. Christ will come again soon in this world, destroy the Japanese militarists' reign that is controlled by the force of the devil, and establish the New Kingdom of God whose head is Christ Himself. So, we should prepare and live according to the biblical teaching (in Ahn 1960:140 my translation).

However, concerning the issue of shrine worship, it must be said that a group of Presbyterian liberals followed and actively supported the policy of the Japanese colonial government; they later formed the *Kijang* denomination (The Presbyterian Church of the Republic of Korea; PCROK. cf. chapter II-2.7.3).

c) Shamanism

Shamanism is a religious phenomenon that has the longest history of any religion in Korea. Being introduced into Korea from Siberia at least six thousand years ago, it forms the archetype of the Korean religious mind (Kim K J 1994:69), together with *Pungryudo*. According to Tong-Shik Ryu (1975:16), Shamanism is 'the centrosphere of Korean religio-culture'.

During the Yi dynasty which lasted 500 years (14th- 19th centuries) a foreign culture, affiliated to Confucianism, formed the upper stratum of Korean Culture, and thus Shamanism was severely oppressed and marginalized in society. However, Korean Shamanism is not extinct and still survives as a living religious phenomenon revivified in the form of folklore even in modern Korean society, and profoundly impacting upon the formation of Christian as well as other faiths at the grass-root level in a positive and negative sense. In other words, Shamanism constitutes the Korean people's innate religiosity at an unconscious level. In this sense, Shamanism is merely a primitive religion, superstition, or a 'lower' type of religion, but it has its own salvation paradigm with its own structure and function (Kim K J 1994:69).

A shaman is a mediator between the spiritual world and the human world. K. J. Kim (:68-69) analyses the religious function of a shaman as follows:
Firstly, a shaman can function as a priest. As a priest she/he can conduct religious rites, oversee the shrine, run the place, serve the spirits, and counsel the people.

Secondly, a shaman can have a healing function. She/he heals sick people through the means of religious rituals. A Shaman holds that the evil spirit takes possession of a person to cause disharmony in a body. So with the help of a higher spirit, the shaman expels the evil spirits in order to restore harmony and peace in the body and mind.

Thirdly, a shaman can tell or predict weal or woe.
Fourthly, a shaman has a function in perpetuating dance, song, costumes, art and so on through religious rites. Thus, shamanism maintains the national art culture.
Fifthly, a shaman can function as a judge in a dispute in a small village. This function is now obsolete.

In regard to Shamanism's impact upon the formation of Christian faith, K. J. Kim (:69-73) explains on the basis of his grafting process theory. The polytheistic Shamanism and the monotheistic *Pungryudo* were, according to him, fused in the *Tankun* myth, namely, the myth of Korea's foundation, which forms the archetype of the Korean religious mind.

Put simply, while the *Hananim* (a monotheistic God in Korean language) of *Pungryudo* came down from the heaven to the higher mountain, the polytheistic spirits of Shamanism alighted not just on the top of the high mountain, but under the sacred tree where the ritual was taking place. The former stresses the greatness, transcendency, and majesty of the *Hananim* worship of the Korean people, whereas the latter lays its emphasis on the immanence, concreteness, and dynamism of their spiritual experience.

The latter characteristic accounts for the reason why Shamanism in Korea became present-bound and blessing-seeking, though in essence it was dualistic. As has been commonly pointed out, it is true that Shamanism played a negative role during the period of remarkable numerical growth for three decades after the 1960s. But, the positive function of Shamanism in Korean society should not be overlooked. Shamanism survived among the Korean *minjung*, the grass-roots people in the throes of tragic national suffering. It has taken the role of comforter, mediator, prophet, and reconciler for the Korean *minjung*, the oppressed people, while the major religions were historically limited to those of the corruptive ruling class, turning their faces away from the marginalized *minjung* majority in society.

In the nineteenth century, when the socio-political situation in Korea was at its worst, Shamanism as a folk religion became extremely superstitious and fatalistic. The Christian Gospel came, thus, to an oppressed people whose religious minds had been formed by Shamanism. Evidently, in the receptive and formative period, Korean Shamanism functioned in a positive way. For example, it played a significant role in the formation of the lay-Christians' attitude towards their pastors. The Christian believers, granting an absolute authority to pastors similar to shamans in Shamanism, were taught by them and obeyed them. Reversely, pastors or ministers approached their congregations with an absolute spiritual authority, healing their bodies and minds by prayer and the word.

However, in the period of growth after the 1960s, shamanism functioned in a negative way, as most Christians were biased to ward seeking material or earthly blessings. Later, we will critically analyse how Shamanism came to have a negative impact upon the formation of Christian faith and spirituality.

4.2.1.2 The Governing Image of God

As already discussed in the previous chapter, ecclesial spirituality is shaped through the imagination formed in the community of faith by its interpretation of power. In the receptive and formative period, the life situation of the Korean people was, in a word, the extremely marginal situation of an oppressed people burdened with tragic suffering.

How, then, was the Gospel interpreted during these periods? What specific images were produced or identified in/with the KPC?

The most common images found in sermons, prayers, hymns and poems were the wilderness, the Cross, death, martyrdom and the suffering Jesus, all of which symbolise the marginality of the Christian Gospel. The characteristic images of the Cross and suffering are well manifested in Rev. Choo Ki-Chul's sermon in 1937:

The Acts 14:22 says: we must go through many hardships to enter the Kingdom of God. And in Romans 8:17, it is written: Indeed we share in his sufferings in order that we may also share in his glory. Who is the one that shares the glory of heaven with Jesus? It is he who shares in his sufferings. 2 Timothy also says: if we endure, we will also reign with him. He who walks the way of Jesus' cross will really reign with the Lord in the after-life. But, in this world of Satan he will not be free from sufferings. This world is now rushing to its end. The love of most will grow cold. Now it is the time when we cannot serve God as we expect, and there are lots of obstacles against our faith. Let us walk the way of the Cross with courage and confidence. The way of the Cross! The way of the Cross! It is the way we should walk (The sermons of Choo Ki-Chul 1988:179 my translation).

A poem written in 1935 represents even more realistically the image of the wilderness:

Brother!
Let's go out to the wilderness over there.
To the wilderness where the flock of sheep are wondering about,
Let's go out.
Let's go out.
There, let's call the wailing sheep.
Who will rescue them?
Brother! Let's go.
This is the way that our Lord walked.
Brother! Let's go (Jun Y T & Lee H B 1935:2 my translation).

The image of death in relation to faith in Jesus is vividly described in another poem written in 1934:

Do you believe Jesus? You believe Death.
Have you got Jesus? You have got Death.
Do you love Jesus? You love Death.

Are you seeking God? You are seeking Death.
Have you met Love? You have met Death.
Have you got Life? You have got Death.

....

Do you wish to live? May you wish to Die!
Do you want to live well? May you want to Die!
Do you expect to live long? May you expect to Die!

124

Do you long for Grace? May you long for Dying!

Do you yearn for Salvation? May you yearn for Dying!

Do you thirst for Truth? May you thirst for Dying!

In the Death like failure, there is Success.

In the Death like defeat, there is Victory.

In the Death like ruin, there is Completion.

....

What I have Died is not death.

What I Die is not death.

What I would Die is not death.

Only Jesus who embraces all of God is Death.

Only Jesus who drinks all of Love is Death.

Only Jesus who swallows all of Life is Death (Paik 1934:30 my translation).

The image of martyrdom is reflected in Rev. Yang-Won Son's last sermon in 1950 when the Christians were severely persecuted by the communists.

> Thirdly, the risky faith that faces death is fidelity. Fidelity is the faith that is willing to bleed for Jesus Christ, God, His Kingdom and righteousness without fearing to die. To be sacrificed as a result of loving the Lord wholeheartedly, this is a martyrdom...Fourthly, to endure unto death is also fidelity. In everyday lives, bearing with everything and taking a step forward is fidelity. And at the same time it is the life of martyrdom...We should be faithful unto death with joy (Son D H [1994] 2000:284-285 my translation).

The above images of the wilderness, the Cross, death and martyrdom characterise the images that were formed in the KPC in extremes, namely, in marginal context. The tragic suffering of the Christians was connected with Jesus' suffering on the Cross. But it was also identified with national suffering. Importantly, those images are suggested and/or operate paradoxically as a vital power of salvation in the believers. In sum, the images correspond exactly with the authentic images of the Christian faith and spirituality that were formed in the early Christian community of the New Testament.

4.2.1.3 The Great Revival and Its Impact

The revival movement in Korea during 1901-1910 was the manifestation of God's

powerful presence and redemptive activity in the Korean Church in the tragic situation of national suffering. The 1907 Great Revival in Pyongyang that had occurred in *Changdaehyun* Presbyterian Church was, in particular, the 'Korean Pentecost' (Blair & Hunt 1977:71-74). The Revival became the motivating power to overcome the nation-wide critical situation, and played a major role in shaping the constitution of the faith and spirituality of the KPC as well as the Korean Church as a whole (Min 1981:31).

In this section, we will analyse the features of revivalism and the reaction of the KPC thereto. As a hermeneutical frame for analysis, three aspects of redemptive transformation will be applied: the transformation of the individual, the interpersonal and the social, taking into consideration the balance of the vertical and horizontal as well as the interior and practical dimensions of Christian spirituality.

4.2.1.3.1 The Basic Characteristics

a) Repentance

According to William Blair's testimony, the Korean Pentecost began 'with the sound of weeping' (Blair & Hunt 1977;71-72). This implies that the Revival was, from the beginning, characterised by its ethical transformation of the individual and the community.

First of all, the presence of the Holy Spirit evoked the deep conviction of personal sins before the holy God where each believer confessed their sins. The sins were before God, personally as well as before others interpersonally. Thus, the broken relationship between believers, and the missionaries and the Korean co-workers was restored and reconciled (:72-73).

Secondly, the expression of repentance was deep and intense. Some threw themselves full length upon the floor, and hundreds stood with arms outstretched toward heaven. Each was face to face with God. Most strikingly, every sin was publicly confessed, which was an unforgettable sight. Blair witnesses:

> Then began a meeting the like of which I had never seen before, nor wish to see again unless in God's sight it is absolutely necessary. Every sin a human can commit was publicly confessed that night. Pale and trembling with emotion, in agony of mind and body, guilty souls, standing in the white light of that judgement, saw themselves as God saw them…Looking up to heaven, to Jesus whom they had betrayed, they smote themselves and cried out with bitter wailing: 'Lord, Lord, cast us not away forever!' The scorn of man, the penalty of the law, even death itself seemed of small consequence if only God forgave. We may have

our theories of the desirability or undesirability of public confession of sin. I have had mine; but I know now that when the Spirit of God falls upon guilty souls, there will be confession, and no power on earth can stop it (:74).

Thirdly, repentance was not confined to confession and tears, but was accompanied by transformed lives. When the Revival meeting ended, as Blair described it in chapter II (2.5.2.2.), men restituted stolen property and money, confessing to individuals they had injured. They did it not only to Christians, but also to heathens, going around all through the city.

Thus, the powerful presence of the Holy Spirit in the Great Revival operated as a community-forming power with the result that the Korean Church came to shape its identity as a redemptive community of transformation.

b) Fervent Prayer

The characteristic prayer habits of the Korean Church are also derived from and constituted by the revivals in the 1900s and still flourish to date. Above all, prayer was conceived in times of extreme difficulty and despair. That is to say, it stemmed from an utterly outcast situation, i.e., the tragic national suffering and hopelessness that the Korean people had to confront. The revivals were ignited by prayer meetings of the missionaries at Wonsan in 1903 when they also were in despair due to their powerlessness regarding the mission work.

Thus, the prayer that had been poured out in despair was strengthened during the Great Revival. The most important characteristic of the prayer was its communality. When the Holy Spirit was present at the Great Revival meeting, the whole audience began to pray out loud, all together, audibly and in unison. Yet, the effect was, according to Blair's testimony (:72), 'not confusion, but a vast harmony of soul and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse of prayer'. The souls of the utterly marginalized people became one in the spirit of prayer.

Another notable feature of the prayer was its intensity. The audible, loud prayer in unison is called *tongsung-gido* (통성기도) in Korean, and still flourishes in the Korean churches. The prayer used to be offered with painful cries particularly of distress. That is to say, in the *tongsung-gido*, the *Han* (恨) and pain of the oppressed *minjung* was expressed and condensed in brokenness of spirit (Kim M Y 1998:43-44).

Since the revivals in 1900s, the prayer habits were embedded in the Korean Church. The daybreak and over-night prayer on the mountain hills were two other phenomena as a result of the Great Revival of 1907. The daybreak prayer stems from the elder

(later, Rev.) Kil Sun-Ju, a man of prayer who was the leading figure of the Great Revival. As a teacher of *Zen* Buddhism before he became a Christian, he used to perform *Zen* practices regularly, at a certain time, namely at daybreak, at noon and at night. After becoming a Christian, he prayed regularly to God, keeping the same habits. As mentioned before, the life of prayer of the Korean Christians was influenced partly by *Zen* Buddhist meditation.

The habit of daybreak prayer in the Korean Church is thus regarded as having stemmed from the practices of Kil Sun-Ju (Kim M H 1990:235). When he was working as an assistant at the *Chandaehyun* Church in 1906, he began to pray with an elder (Mr. Park), at daybreak and the Church soon decided to have daybreak prayer meetings every morning. At 4.00 a.m. the bell rang and the believers gathered to join the 4.30 a.m. daybreak meeting at the church to confess sins and to pray for revival. This was the beginning of the daybreak prayer of the Korean Church.

Night-long prayer on the mountain hills began in the Great Revival and continued to grow in the 1930s when Japanese persecution of the church grew severe. In the beginning a number of individual Christian leaders went to the mountains to find a secluded place for prayer. This habit of prayer on the mountain hills is not unrelated to the influence of Taoism that seeks union with the numinous being in nature. The Christian leaders prayed earnestly over-night for the church and the nation.

Thus, the prayer habits of the Korean Church were formed in the process of earnestly seeking God in the utterly marginalized situation of the nation in the 1900s. It is generally recognised that the earnest prayer habits played an important role in church growth numerically as well as qualitatively. After the 1960s, the prayer habits continued, but they began to change in quality, which will be critically examined later.

c) Bible-Class

The prayer in the revivals was, from the beginning, tied in with Bible study. Since the 1903 Wonsan revival among the missionaries, a week of Bible study and prayer meetings often took place in the churches in conjunction with revivals. It was also customary for leaders of the local churches to come together from distant areas on the day of the New Year for Bible study and prayer. In the New Year of 1907, fifteen hundred men gathered at *Changdaehyun* Church in Pyongyang and during the ten days of Bible study and prayer the participants experienced the essence of the Great Revival. The meeting was called *Sakyung-hoae* (사경회) in Korean, which means the meeting for examining the Bible.

C. A. Clark (in Kim T Y 1966:80) reports on a Bible study and prayer meetings at the

Madras Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1938 as follows:

> The heart of the Korean work is the Bible Class system. Every [congregation] has a 'Bible Class' at least once, sometimes twice a year...usually it lasts a week...Each day begins with a daylight devotional prayer meeting around 5 a.m. or earlier. During the day...the people together study the Bible. In the evening they have the old-fashioned Moody type of revival service.

A remarkable feature of the 1907 Great Revival was the entire absence of fanaticism. Instead, the Revival was completely Bible-centred. Later, as the *Sakyung-hoae* expanded to incorporate the whole Korean church, it operated as a main factor that ignited the spiritual awakening (Park Y K 2000:19). However, after the 1960s it began to deteriorate, being increasingly used to strengthen an affluent theology, seeking material blessing as by-product of Christian faith.

d) Evangelistic Zeal

The experience of the Great Revival awakened a passion for evangelism in both the missionaries and the Korean believers, inspiring them with hope for the utterly abject nation. In regard to the character of the passion, Yong-Kyu Park (2000:350-352) analyses that it was based on their conviction that the very way to save the nation was through evangelisation. Thus, evangelism was coupled with the idea of saving the nation. The One Million Soul-Saving Movement that had occurred in 1909 and 1910 was significant. This was historically the most hopeless period when the national sovereignty was trampled down by Japan. The spiritual energy that had filled the Korean Church through the revivals soon flowed into the people oppressed by tragic suffering and was expressed in a nationalistic evangelistic appeal.

A remarkable characteristic of the evangelism generally pointed out was the spirit of self-propagation and self-support (:366-389). Once a person was converted and became a member of the church, he/she was taught to dedicate himself/herself to evangelism. Often the converts in a city would return to their hometown and evangelise their family members as well as the villagers and in this way establish the church. They did it without appealing for any support from others. For the Korean Christians and their leaders at that time, to believe in the Lord Jesus had nothing to do with receiving any material benefit from the missionaries. Instead, despite economic poverty, they took it for granted that any price should be willingly paid for evangelism.

To sum up, the passion for evangelism was one of the important characteristics of the revivalism and it was expressed in solidarity with the suffering nation.

4.2.1.3.2 Evangelical Ecumenicity

Another remarkable feature of the revival was the growth of an evangelical ecumenicity. The revival played a role as intermediary not only to bind the Church with the nation, but also to unite denominational churches into one. L. G. Paik ([1973] 1993:396) stresses this evangelical ecumenicity as a remarkable feature of revival.

Evangelical ecumenicity proceeded in three steps. As a first step, co-operation within the same denomination was intensified. There were four Presbyterian mission groups: the Northern Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.; the Southern Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.; the Australian Presbyterian Church; the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Regardless of the difference in their theological views, they pushed forward for Korea's evangelisation. The same co-operation was also promoted within the Southern and Northern Methodist Churches.

In a second step, the ecumenicity was extended to co-operation between the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches. In 1907, the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea was constituted (Paik [1973] 1993:399) – an epoch-making event in mission history. One of the great achievements of the General Council was the division of territorial operation bases for the missions. The division of territory placed on each mission the responsibility for evangelising a definite area; thus speedy evangelisation and intense training of Christians were made possible. Two Churches often opened together the Bible Class and prayer meeting as well as the Bible Institute.

Most remarkably, as a third step, the ecumenicity achieved finally the agreement of a future goal, namely the establishment of a single Christian Church for all Korea (Park Y K 2000:510-517). However, the goal was frustrated by the opposition in the mission board as well as by the rapid growth of each mission. Thus, the General Council itself was changed in 1912 changed into a federal council (Paik [1973] 1993:400). Although the institutional unity was not accomplished, the spirit of ecumenicity that the revivals brought forth was of great significance. The real significance of the ecumenical spirit is to be found in this comment on the first Presbyterian missionary H. G. Underwood:

> He has never had any prejudice to denomination, class or race... All streams of
> his existence turned toward unity...As far as his compassion, care and love were
> concerned, whether high or low in status, broad or narrow in mind and white or
> black in colour mattered little to him (quoted by Park Y. K. 2000:528-529).

4.2.1.3.3 Formation of the National Church

One of the most characteristic results of the Great Revival was the emphasis on the Church as in essence a redemptive community. The Revival did not confine itself to personal and religious awakening. It led the churches to solidarity with the suffering nation in history. That is to say, the nation was recognised as a community with common destiny and thus, the national Church was shaped to support this destiny.

In the critical situation of the loss of national sovereignty during the receptive and formative period, the 'nation' was an important issue that could not be separated from the faith of the early Korean Christians[103](cf. Yi 1992:31-40).
Such a nationalist propensity of the Korean people often appeared to the missionaries as an overly political involvement, which gave rise to serious concern. Thus, when Japan attempted to colonise Korea, the missionaries held to a 'non-committal and neutral policy' regarding the issue of nationalism (Paik [1973] 1993:435-436).

The revivalism was often linked to the attempt of the missionaries' non-politicisation and non-nationalisation (Yi 1992:55-62) with the result that the faith of the Korean Christians assumed an internalised and ahistorical form.

In regard to the nationalistic character of the Christian faith shaped by the Great Revival, however, Jeong-Min Suh (1992:260-261, 276-267) analyses from a balanced perspective. In a word, during the Great Revival a communal and 'sacramental' type of faith was shaped. In contrast to revivalism often characterised by fanatical mysticism, the Revival was based on the ethical repentance that led the Church to become the community of mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. Furthermore, the experience of their identification with Jesus' suffering and glory was linked to identification or solidarity with the suffering nation in history.

The experience of transcendence thus constituted a 'sacramental communion' in which faith and politics were neither dualistic nor compatible, but inseparable (:276). By the pattern of faith the Church showed a sturdy hope to the nation through the acceptance of God's providential history. As Blair (1946:6) witnessed, "all eyes were turned and many Christians saw in the church the only hope of the country" facing the critical

---

[103] In connection with the nationalist tendency in Korean Christianity, a special explanation is required for the Western people. The concept of the Korean nationalism derived from the particular historical context of Korea, is distinct from that of the Western countries. In a word, the Korean nationalism has been shaped as an answer to the socio-political marginalisation specifically under the colonial rule of Japan. The strong nationalist tendency in Korean people needs to be therefore understood in terms of anxious pursuit of self-identity as a basic human need.

A 'nation' in Korea means the subject of identity based on communal destiny in relation to the 'national suffering.' The belief in God's election of the Korean people also needs to be understood in similar vein. That is, the Korean nationalism has nothing to do with the expression of self-absolutisation of the powerful (cf. Suh J M 1994:295-317). The recent nationalist tendency in Korean Christianity and its missionary thought, which has strongly been combined with a kind of "triumphalism" as the result of

situation.

According to Sung-Koo Chung's analysis (1983:120-133) of the sermons of the Korean preachers during the period from 1900 till 1920, the themes of the national salvation were salient. The preacher awakened a national consciousness of the people and showed them the way to go as a nation.

A typical sermon is expressed under the title "Morning will come!" as follows:

> What is left of the night in Korea? What time is it now?...Until when does this night continue?...Watchman replied, "Morning is coming". How did the Christianity in the world reply to the world, "Morning is coming?" Can the Korean Christianity reply to the Korean people, "Morning is coming"? If not so, the existence of Christianity will disappear. (Park H D 1921:94-96 my translation).

The preachers in the early Christian Church in Korea thus played a prophetic role as watchmen of the nation. In sum, through the Revival, the Korean Church was shaped into the national Church. The Church as the redemptive community soon focused on becoming a movement for social transformation, amongst other.

4.2.1.3.4 Social Transformation

The reaction of the KPC to the revivalism is apparently manifested in various movements towards social transformation in the receptive and formative period. The social transformation covered the whole spectrum of social life: political independence, improvement of economic and social conditions, and promotion of education etc.

a) A Nationalistic Movement

As C. J. Noh ([1993] 1995:12-13) points out, the nationalist perspective of the Korean Church are characterised by two features:

The first feature shows that the nationalistic focus extended over the whole social realm. Specifically after the March First Independence Movement in 1919 the movement focused on the economic, social and cultural rather than on the political struggle.

The second characteristic is its peaceful and non-violent character. As was shown in the March First Movement, even the political resistance movement was peaceful, and the Christians did not participate in radical movements such as violent labour disputes and/or tenant disputes.

C. J. Noh (:150-190) surmises that the basic ideas that underlaid the nationalist

---

the achievement of remarkable church growth, is obviously psychologically perverted, however.

movement of the Korean Church were those of national salvation, democracy and the people's rights, an economy for the people, and the preservation of national culture.

The idea of national focus of salvation implies that all people of the nation should be saved and liberated mentally, morally and socially. The Korean Christians during the Japanese colonial rule had a strong consciousness that it was the mission of the Church and the duty of the Christians to save the Korean people. And the Bible—especially Exodus, Ester, Daniel, the battle between David and Goliath, and Revelation—produced the most important motifs toward national liberation and salvation.

Politically, the movement was expressed as resistance against Japanese militarist invasion through the prayer meeting for the nation, action and refusal to pay taxes (Yi M Y 2000:512-517). Economically, too, resistance was carried out, and the new ethic of labour and virtue—diligence, frugality, abstinence etc.— was practiced. Alcohol-drinking, smoking, and the use of opium were prohibited (:411-420). Furthermore, as the movement for the preservation of the national culture, 'Koreanistic Christianity', or the contextualisation of the Christianity, was embodied in the use of the Korean letters, *Hangul* that had been marginalized by the preferred use of Chinese characters, and in the promotion of the Koreacentered Church and faith.

b) Liberation from Superstition and Idolatries

When Christianity was introduced to Korea, various kinds of idol worship were prevalent: animism, ancestor worship, devil worship and the like. Christianity, from the beginning, kept away from idolatry of every kind and actively took the initiative in breaking it down. It often happened that where the Gospel was preached, shamans repented and fortune-tellers closed their business (Yi 2000:420-425).

Often traditional religions like in Acts 17 provided a starting point of the preaching the Gospel. But, the missionaries never tried to make a compromise with them. To be a Christian meant to be cut off from the traditional religion and not to worship idols or ancestors any longer (Park Y K 2000:482-490). Thus, for Koreans, to accept the Gospel implied a leap of faith over multiple obstacles, and consequently, a willingness to suffer serious damage or loss. Further, the quasi-religious elements in traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies were removed and greatly reconstructed (Yi M Y 2000:425-428).

c) Feministic Liberation

One of the most important ethical values taught by Christianity in Korean society was the acknowledgement of women's rights, which resulted in a rise in their social status

and liberation from ignorance and disdainful treatment. It was a sort of 'revolution' (cf. Park Y K 2000:478). Until Christianity was introduced, the women were regarded as property of men like many other Asian countries. And the Confucian teaching justified it.

But, Christianity, stressing the equality of men and women, awakened the necessity of educating the women and the importance of the marital relationship. Concubinage, early marriage and expedient marriage of children by parents were prohibited (Min [1987] 1990:81-85). In particular, the spiritual awakening during the Revival aroused men to the need for proper marital relationships. After the Revival, the opportunities for women's education increased. As already seen in chapter II (2.5.2.1), the role of the marginalized women in the early missions was remarkable.

4.2.1.4 A Spirituality Grafted onto Missionary Theology

Spirituality deals with Christian life and experience, which inevitably pertains to the question about attitudes towards God, towards the world, culture, and history. Because theology concerns a reflection on the doctrine or belief regarding God, human and world based on the Bible within the Christian tradition, spirituality is inseparably related with theology (cf. McGrath 1999:8ff). In this regard, the theology of the missionaries as deliverers of the Gospel cannot but be an important factor in shaping the spirituality of the KPC.

The theological background of the early Presbyterian missionaries is characterised by conservative Calvinism that believed the inspiration, infallibility and absolute authority of the Scripture.[104] The early Presbyterian missionaries were often called "extreme conservatives or fundamentalists" (Park Y K [1992] 1993:71).

Their type of faith, according to Duk-Joo Lee's analysis (1997:50-58), can be summarised as Puritanism, pietism and evangelicalism. In a nutshell, it was a mixture of 'Puritanic zeal and Wesleyan fervor' (cf. Paik L G [1973] 1993:383). These characteristics were manifested in their passion for soul-saving, which operated as a primary factor in the rapid growth of the early KPC according to Latourette (in Park Y K 2000:349). Moreover, the pietistic propensity, being grafted on revivalism, constituted the frame of the faith and spirituality of the KPC. And the theological gap between Calvinism and Arminianism was bridged in the name of evangelicalism, as was shown in the ecumenical bond between the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches in 1905. Furthermore, the Bible and Christ-centred evangelism of the early

---

[104] For example, H. G. Underwood, the first Presbyterian missionary graduated from the New Brunswick Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in U.S.A. The majority of the other American missionaries graduated from the (Old) Princeton Theological Seminary or the McCormic Theological Seminary in Chicago. Each seminary was strongly influenced by the Great Awakening and D. L. Moody's revivalism (cf. Park Y K 2000:347-348; [1992] 1993:62-82)

missionaries built the KPC and their spirituality on the tradition of the 'biblical and Christ-centred' Christianity (Lee D J 1997:57).

On the other side, however, the above type of spirituality of the missionaries also played partly a negative role in the formation of the faith and spirituality of the KPC. First of all, pietistic propensity of faith fostered individualistic, internalised and subjective experience-oriented type of faith and spirituality, although it contributed towards inner experience of faith and ethical renewal (cf. Lee D J 1997:53).

As a consequence, secondly, the conservative theology of the missionaries had a negative influence regarding their attitude towards the imperial power. When Japanese militarists attempted to colonise Korea, the missionaries assumed a passive attitude. As already seen in chapter II (2.5.2.1), they chose a neutral or non-committal stance as their official policy against Japanese militarists' colonisation. Thus, they supported the oppressor's government, co-operating with the Japanese as well as making an effort to quieten the oppressed Christians. The theological view within the KPC agreed with the pro-government attitude even under the reign of the military dictatorial government from 1960-1980 with the exception of the PCROK denomination (*Kijang*) that developed *Minjung* Theology, an offshoot from Liberation Theology.

Thirdly, the evangelical type of faith rendered the Church to be more concerned with ecclesiastical affairs than with social transformation. Although the social transformation movement was actively developed under the influence of the Great Revival, the social concern gradually weakened within the KPC after 1940. By 1970 the indifference towards social concerns was revealed in the church growth movement. Since then, prayer and evangelism became a means of church growth. This propensity was more severe in PCKH (*Hapdong*) and PCKK (*Kosin*) denominations. Compared to PCKH and PCKK, the PCKT (*Tonghap*) denomination showed a greater involvement in welfare work.

Fourthly, the Puritanic type of faith promoted zeal for faith and purity of religious life, which flourished in the anti-shrine worship movement. Holy observance of the Lord's Day was emphasised, and pursuit of any secular pleasure was not allowed. The Church often imposed discipline on transgressors. Later, however, this type of faith became too rigid, legalistic and defensive. This characteristic was continued specifically in the PCCK (*Kosin*) denomination.

4.2.1.5 Summary

The faith and spirituality of the KPC in the receptive and formative period were shaped in an extremely marginal context. The maginal situation of tragic national suffering led

the KPC to identification with the suffering nation and played a decisive role in her understanding and experience of God, linking her experience of suffering to Jesus' suffering on the Cross. Significantly, the Great Revival that had been experienced in the utterly marginal situation shaped the authentic spirituality within the KPC, engendering an earnest eager for God's Word, fervent communal prayer and zeal for evangelism. Thus, the Church manifested the distinctive features as a redemptive community in society, transforming itself as well as the national community. In a word, the Korean Church in the receptive and formative period was *ecclesia crucis,* manifesting a theology and spirituality of the Cross.

4.2.2 The Period of Growth (1960-1993)

In terms of the situation which developed, two conflicting contexts converged in this period: the national independence *and* the division into South and North; devastation caused by the war *and* rapid economic growth; military dictatorship *and* modernisation. Within these conflicting contexts, the KPC experienced an explosive growth in numbers. Compared to the Church in the receptive and formative period, however, a wide gap became evident in the formation of the KPC's faith and spirituality.

In this section we will therefore critically analyse how the faith and spirituality of the KPC degenerated in spite of remarkable numerical growth, paying attention to emerging secular ideologies and ecclesial power dynamics within them.

4.2.2.1 Socio-Political and Economic Context

The newly developed historical situation after the 1945 Liberation brought the Korean people in two contradictory contexts: oppression *and* freedom as well as crisis *and* opportunity. Two conflicting images are thus mixed in the socio-political and economic context since 1960s in the period of the Church growth.

4.2.2.1.1 Subservience to Political Powers

The establishment of a dictatorial government by the military coup in 1960 was a new situation for the Korean people who were in a state of social anomie caused by the war. The new political situation was an opportunity and at the same time, a danger. For the people, the dictatorial power can be seen as an agent of social stability; on the other hand as a possible instrument of political injustice.

However, the majority of the KPC supported the possibility of social stability and security rather than seeing the danger of political injustice i.e. the encroachments on human rights, freedom and democracy. Thus, as already seen in chapter II (2.8.1), the

136

military coup was welcomed by both KNCC and non-KNCC in the KPC. And further, throughout the military regime for nearly three decades, the majority of the KPC—specifically, conservative churches that belonged to non-KNCC groups—continued to support uncritically the military government (Rhee 1995:271; Yang N H 1993:205-206). Consequently, the majority of the KPC took sides with the military dictatorship under the pretext of national security. Only a few KNCC leaders and churches—mainly the PCROK denomination—protested against the dictatorial power.

4.2.2.1.2 Social Injustice Tolerated in the midst of Rapid Economic and Church Growth

The military regime stressed national security against Communists in the North and economic growth. Especially, surmounting the extreme poverty caused by the war was the essence of the economic propaganda advocated by President Park.

As already discussed in chapter II (2.8.2), however, the Economic Development plans of the Government were, from the beginning, unbalanced and unstable. As J. C. Lim (1981) analysed, the economic plans of the government were grounded in the government-led, excessively growth-oriented and manpower-dependent economic policy. The issue of income redistribution was completely ignored. Thus, the economic growth sparked by Park's military regime was associated with political and economic injustices. The Low Grain Price Policy exploited the manpower of numerous poor youngsters from the agricultural areas and made the poor peasants victims of economic growth.

The majority of the KPC, having little interest in such injustice, devoted themselves to their own growth as well as the pursuit of material privileges. The discovery of the oppressed *minjung* by the *Minjung* Theology was the only exception. Despite its theological and methodological radicality, the *Minjung* Theology shaped by the liberal theologians of PCROK denomination played a significant role in the historical context of the 1970s and 1980s by resisting the political and socio-economic injustice (cf. chapter II-2.8.2).

4.2.2.1.3 Modernity and Social Cataclysm

The three decades after the 1960s signify the period during which modernity was an active force in Korean society. In the process of modernity, Korean society came to experience together with rapid economic growth a social cataclysm: social disorganisation caused by industrialisation and urbanisation, collapse of traditional values, individualisation and stratification etc.

The explosive numerical growth of the Korean Church concurred with the process of modernity. W. K. Lee (1992:223) and C. J. Noh (1998:18-25) interpret the rapid numerical growth by means of the socio-psychological deprivation theory. That is to say, people in an anomic situation, experiencing insecurity and alienation, were driven to the church, and accordingly, the church experienced rapid growth concurrently in combination with social and economic modernity.

B. S. Kim (1995:61-67, 80-82) summarizes the modernity that has been constituted in the Korean Church from a religio-psychological perspective as follows:
First of all, the work of the Holy Spirit was understood by Christians in combination with the spirit of modernity. Thus, the so-called charismatic power of the Spirit brought forth a strong desire and thrust for achievement.

Secondly, traditional Christian values were mixed with capitalistic quantitativism. As a result, mega-churches were preferred. The size of church buildings and the financial status became a measure of success of the pastoral ministry.

Thirdly, the spirit of modernity was also manifested in an excessive individualistic tendency in the church, which was linked to corporate egoism (cf. Noh 1996:39-69). By means of the spirit of corporate egoism the church became institutionalised and owned by the middle or upper classes, averting her eyes from the marginalized classes in society.
In short, in the process of modernisation, the Korean Church underwent to a severe change in quality, not coping properly with modernity, but accommodating herself to it.

4.2.2.2 A Secularised and Ideological Spirituality

The phenomenon of the perversion and degeneration of faith and spirituality of the KPC in the period of growth requires us to analyse it on a deeper level. As already discussed in the previous chapter (3.2.3.1.2), the dynamics of ecclesial spirituality cannot be grasped without examining the powerful role of various contextual realities (cf. Principe 2000:51-52) and the reaction of Christianity to it. Specifically, without analysing the powerful impact of various ideologies that were engraved in the Korean people's mind under structurally unstable situations, the phenomenon cannot be properly explicated.
According to B. Goudzwaard (1984:17-27), ideology has, in its original sense, everything to do with religion being a substitute for religion. Goudzwaard identifies four major goals or ends which motivate people around world today: revolution for a better society, the survival of the nation, material prosperity and guaranteed security. An ideology arises, according to him (:23), in the midst of the pursuit of a legitimate goal the moment that the *end* indiscriminately justifies every *means*. The blanket

ofjustification gives the means *power,* and they then become idols. Ideology is therefore related to idolatry when the end is dominating the means (ibid).

Furthermore, all the dominant ideologies have their origin in immediate and personal circumstances. They arise almost always in situations where something basic is lacking. And they continue to grow until they are fully-fledged. In regard to the characteristics of full-grown ideologies, Goudzwaard (:24-25) suggests the following five features: Firstly, the end set up has extraordinary significance. The goal affects people so deeply that they will fight for it to the end, if necessary.

Secondly, the means work without restriction. Biblical norms do not hold the means in check. Instead, the ideology judges the means, by the test of maximum effectiveness for reaching the end.

Thirdly, the end distorts genuine norms and values. These are filled with a new content until they become useful instruments in motivating people to pursue the end. This distortion especially affects Christ's commands to walk in his truth, to do justice, and to love our neighbour as ourselves. With the distortion of *these* norms an ideology touches the human heart and reveals itself as false revelation.

Fourthly, the end demands that men, women and the circumstances continually adjust themselves to the new laws of the ever continually developing means. If some aspect of the environment or humankind is ruined, this is justified as an unfortunate but necessary sacrifice for the good cause: the happiness of all.

Fifthly, the end creates its own enemies. The ideology declares anyone a traitor whose position or past forms an obstacle to the goal. The ideology displays an artificial image of the enemy. It often creates scapegoats who bear the blame for all the evils which still exist in society.

If an ideology bears these trademarks, it is full-fledged and then the range of the ideology, according to Goudzwaard, becomes total or absolute. Eventually, as uncontrollable powers, these secular gods incite fear, a feeling of massive dependence or even slavery, asking for a steady stream of sacrifices.

In what follows we will analyse several of these full-grown ideologies that exerted absolute power on the formation of the faith and spirituality of the KPC in the period of growth, even distorting and deforming the content of the Gospel.

4.2.2.2.1 A Militant Anti-Communist Spirituality

Anti-Communist ideology is one that had an enormous impact upon the formation of the thinking of Christians as well as the worldview of the Korean people as a whole. For the Church that had experienced horrible persecution by Communists since the 1920s, anti-Communist ideology was particularly strong and even 'militant' during and after the Korean War (Kang 1996:271).

Above all, the ideology, forming the so-called 'red complex' in the minds of the Korean people, promoted a strong enmity against Communists (Suh 1994:378). As seen in chapter II (2.7.3), for Christians, Communists were regarded as 'devils' or the 'Satan' and they were identified with anti-Christ or the rider on 'red horse' in Revelation (Kim H S 1999:73). They were accordingly regarded as objects that should be annihilated by all means. Such a militant attitude against Communism is well represented in the Templeton Prize winner, Rev. Kyong-Jik Han's sermon:

> The first enemy of the liberal democratic country is the Communist party...In order to secure our liberty, we should annihilate this first enemy...For the glory of God as well as for human dignity, we must root out Communism (in Lee S J 2001:34 my translation).

Communism or the Communist party was, needless to say, identified with people who adhered to their own ideology, and they were recognised as enemies of Christian faith. The commandment to love even one's enemy in the Bible was perverted, as Goudzwaard pointed out in his third characteristic of full-grown ideologies.

Thus, the Gospel of peace and reconciliation degenerated into that of conflict and disunion. The strong anti-Communist ideology, threatening the national homogeneity, justified even the Division. A Church that was possessed with anti-Communist ideology could no longer be the national Church bearing the tragic suffering of the nation. Accordingly, the Church failed in her mission to preach the Gospel of peace and reconciliation.

Moreover, anti-Communist ideology based upon a dichotomic way of thinking of 'black and white' logic, played a decisive role in promoting schism within the Church, together with various other factors (Noh 1995:17-20). The result was that a negative and antagonistic attitude became part of the KPC's spirituality.

4.2.2.2.2 A Spirituality of Subordination to the Ideology of Security

Another ideology that appeared in association with anti-Communist ideology was security ideology. As the Korean people were in fear of the ever-existing threat of intimidation from the North, security became an ideology that was an excellent means

for the dictatorial government to prolong military rule.

The security ideology had a powerful impact upon the Church. Power dynamics caused by the security ideology has several negative features:

Above all, the ideology of national security dominated the Korean Church *en bloc* absolutely. As seen in chapter II (2.8.1), the idea was prevalent during the military dictatorial rule that without national security it would be impossible to serve Jesus. Thus national security became idolatrised for the KPC as a precondition for the gospel.

And further, most significantly, the ideology resulted in a distorted interpretation of the biblical text. The commandment of Romans 13 for everyone to submit to the governing authority was interpreted as an 'unconditional' submission regardless of the possible unjust dictatorial character of the state. Although the interpretation was partly based upon a conservative theological view, it was undeniably influenced by the ideology of security.

As a result, the majority of the KPC blindly supported the military government, justifying dictatorial power. One of the representative leaders of the Presbyterian Church blessed the disgraced General Doo-Hwan Jun at the Presidential breakfast prayer, asking that he might be strong and courageous like Joshua (Choi 2000:37).

When a few KNCC leaders were imprisoned and tortured, the majority of the KPC kept silent and even criticised them as pro-Communists. In recognition of their support, the KPC received various favours from the dictatorial government (Noh 1995:17). For example, even under a state of emergency issued by President Park in his attempt to establish the so-called *Yushin* system by force whereby freedom of speech as well as attending meetings was prohibited under the emergency martial law, the dictatorial government permitted and assisted the Billy Graham Crusade of 1973 in many ways. Such an attitude prevented the Church from fulfilling her prophetic role.

Furthermore, security ideology fostered a strong pro-American bias in the Korean Church (Kang 1995:25-26). And the pro-American attitude intensified dependence of the Korean Church as a whole upon the American power in terms of economic support, theology, and culture. Kang (:26) infers that it was the pro-American attitude of the Korean Church that resulted in accepting the contemporary world power structure of the Cold War where the U.S.A played a leading role.

In short, the KPC possessed with security ideology departed from a firm *theologia crucis* of the receptive and formative period. Instead, the Church became completely subordinated to existing political powers.

4.2.2.2.3 Materialistic Spirituality

Material prosperity began to kindle another ideology in Korean society after the 1960s. The rapid economic growth policy of the military dictatorial government in the midst of an experience of extreme poverty, and the focus on material blessing after the 1960s surfaced as key motives in the sermons in the Korean Church as a whole.

The ideology of material prosperity was already evident in the idea of the 'triple beat-blessings' of Paul Yong-Ki Cho in the early 1960s who later established the world's biggest church, and which had a most powerful impact upon the Korean Church as a whole. Yong-Ki Cho emphasised the triple blessings which would come to the believers in the form of material wealth, good health and salvation on the basis of 3 John 1:2. These are implied in his sermon:

> Does a mountain of poverty press you? Do you moan with terrible disease? Are you seized with nothingness and meaninglessness? ...Now by faith of Abraham leave the land of anxiety, suffering and nothingness! Go into the land of blessings, where you may enjoy good health, all may go well with you, even as your soul is getting along well. There is the faith in you that can move even a mountain...Welcome and receive the Holy Spirit! You are not poor. You are not weak. You are never useless men. You are rich, healthy and precious beings that are bought with the price of Jesus' blood (in Choi 1978:359 my translation).

Since the 1960s, the concept of spiritual blessing was thus replaced by that of physical and material well-being (cf. Song G S 1980:728). By the 1970s, this kind of message was common in the so-called revival meetings. The message of material prosperity came to Christians, as Eui-Hwan Kim (1998:13) remarked, like "a timely rain for the poor-stricken people who had left their home lands for urban areas with empty hands since the Korean War".

By the 1970s, however, together with rapid economic growth and the impact of capitalism, the ideology of material prosperity began to sweep the whole Church away. Heung-Soo Kim states (1999:142-143) that the desire for material blessings since the 1970s gradually developed, growing out of the simple motive of escaping poverty in 1960s, into the positive stage of acquiring a greater fortune. As a result, social justice was neglected and the commandment of love ignored. A newly exploited and marginalized class emerged in society, but the majority of the KPC were not mindful of them.

4.2.2.3 Degeneration of Spirituality

Under the powerful influence of the above ideologies, the biblical faith and spirituality of the KPC degenerated rapidly. The external expressions of the faith that had been shaped in the receptive and formative period, for instance, the zeal for prayer and evangelism remained, but the motives and ways of thinking that governed the inner mind were seriously undermined. In a word, terminal value was displaced by instrumental value (cf. Kim W S 1988:179).

4.2.2.3.1 The Governing Image of God

The most common image of God that prevailed in this period of growth after the 1960s was a 'so-good God'. In this image, God was understood mainly as a 'functional' one who satisfied human existential needs (Kim W J 1999:55; cf. Cho Y K 1965:63; 1977:17-29). The other aspect of God as one who judges and condemns human sins was excluded in this image. Consequently, the message based on a basically good God image treated the ethical life of the believers lightly. And besides, it was not possible for such a message to criticise structural discrepancy and evil in the socio-political and economic situation that had developed rapidly since the 1960s. As a result of this onesided message, people sought only their own prosperity, putting aside the suffering of Jesus' Cross for his glory (cf. Gwak S H 1982:11).

As mentioned before, only in the *Minjung* Theology initiated by a few liberal KNCC leaders, was the image of Jesus as Liberator brought to the fore (Kim H S 1999:155). The *Minjung* Theology found Christ in the suffering *minjung* and focused on structural evil and the marginalized people's *Han*. N. D. Suh ([1984] 1988:545-546) remarked:

> In the Gospel of Mark, wherever Jesus went, the crowd *minjung* followed and almost crushed him...So, it is not the real Jesus who becomes separated from the *minjung* who surrounds him. The real Jesus is the one based on the *minjung*. Jesus without the *minjung* is only an abstract and non-actual figure. (my translation).

But, the image of Jesus as Liberator was projected only by a few *minjung* theologians and mission workers for the liberation of poor peasants and factory labourers. It did not permeate into the mainstream of the Church because of its extremely radical character.

By the 1970s, as the positive thinking of Norman Vincent Peale and Robert Schuller became popular in the Church, the image of a good God developed into that of God of success and mastery. As a result, the 'can do spirit' prevailed throughout the Church (cf. Jun B W [1999] 2000:201). As was shown in chapter II (2.8.3), such a 'can do spirit' prevailed specifically in the National Evangelisation and Church Growth

movement during the 1970s and 1980s.

In regard to the effect of such positive thinking, Sang-Bok Kim (1992:59) argues that messages based upon positive thinking were indispensable for Koreans who have been familiar with a vicious circle of war, poverty and social irregularities for such a long time.

On the other side, however, the majority of contemporary Presbyterian leaders (cf. Kim Eui-Hwan 1988:12-14; Ha Hae-Ryong 1981:173) are critical of a faith based on positive thinking developing into an earthly blessing-oriented faith. It has thus promoted quantitativism and excessively growth-oriented ecclesiology.

In short, the faith of contemporary Christians based on a so-good God and 'can do spirit' brought forth two conflicting images of the KPC in the period of growth: zeal *and* degeneration, growth *and* corruption. As Jong-Yoon Lee (1983:113), one of the representative Presbyterian pastors pointed out, the contemporary God has been demoted from being the object of believers' worship, being reduced to a means towards selfcentered happiness.

4.2.2.3.2 Instrumentalised Spirituality

a) Degeneration of Revivalism into Prosperity-driven Spirituality

As already discussed, after the 1907 Great Revival, revivalism became a strong tradition of the Korean Church as a whole. The contemporary Korean Presbyterian Church still maintains the revival meeting as a unique tradition of its churchly life. Many churches customarily have revival meetings that continue for three or four days[105].

In terms of characteristics, however, there is a big difference between the revival meetings before and after the 1970s. While revivalism in the 1900s focused on Bible study and repentance and by the 1920s and 1930s it emphasised the hope for the world to come, the revival meetings after the 1950s stressed the experience of Holy Spirit and evangelistic zeal (Kim H S 1999:164-165). Importantly, the common desire of the believers till the 1950s was the personal experience of the Holy Spirit or of God's grace, which resulted in deep conviction of personal sins, fellowship with God and solidarity with the suffering nation (ibid).

---

[105] According to research, more than half (51.1%) of pastors surveyed said they have revival meetings in their churches at least once per year and 27.4% said the meeting occurred once every other year (cf. Park S W 1992: 65-66).

But, from 1960 onward, the revival meetings began to focus on faith which gives earthly blessings (:167-170). The typical message of the contemporary revival meetings is represented in the following sermon of one of the leading preachers at revival meetings:

> Brothers and sisters, try to invest more boldly in God. The graceful God is bound to compensate for the investment...See Peter! When he let down the net at Jesus' word, they caught such a large amount of fish that the net began to break...You must invest in God's business, and then material blessings will follow. Without sowing, there will be no harvest (Shin H G 1981:168-169 my translation).

As is shown in the above sermon, the main focus of the revival meetings had now shifted. The act of faith is here proclaimed as a means for acquiring physical and material blessings and God is visualised as an agent of cause and effect who reacts mechanically to human demand. Thus, the so-called revival meetings had degenerated noticeably by the 1970s, compared to the revivalism before 1950. In short, the later revivalism displays a strong shamanistic tendency in various aspects. This can be exemplified as follows. C. B. Chung (1993:70ff) analyses five characteristics of the worldview of shamanism:

Firstly, in shamanism there is no 'Heaven' but a mere order of existence of departed spirits. When a departed spirit does not go to the world beyond and wanders around this world, it causes unhappiness and misfortune.

Secondly, a shaman actualises this-worldly fortune by ritual, playing as a mediator between the world beyond and this world.

Thirdly, the world of the shaman is confined to family and village. It does not go beyond blood ties and regional relations.

Fourthly, values lie not in ethical norms, but in existence or non-existence of possessions.

Fifthly, the climax of the worldview of shamanism is the experience of union between the spiritual and human, namely, the experience of ecstasy.

According to H. S. Kim (1999:185-193), this kind of shamanistic worldview grounded in Korean people's religiosity took roots easily in the unstable mind of the people after the Korean War. And further, it functioned as an important factor in the formation of a so-called a 'shamanistic Christianity' or 'shamanised Korean Christianity' (Suh K S 1985:214-216) after the 1960s. Consequently, revivalism since the 1970s typically

shows the above characteristics of shamanism:

First of all, emphasis is laid chiefly on this-worldly well-being. This corresponds with the this-worldly, earthly and physical worldview of shamanism. Although it has a positive aspect to some extent in terms of its attitude of reality acceptance, its self-regarding and utilitarian character is pointed out as decisively negative (cf. Kim K J 1983).

Secondly, the revivalism since the 1970s is characterised by individualisation and internalisation (Choi H B 1987:154). Different from the earlier revivalism, it focuses merely on individual interests: healing, ecstasy, emotional catharsis, speaking in tongues, secular blessings and the like. Moreover, in terms of its scope, it does not go beyond the familial and regional boundary, similar to shamanism. Faith and grace are thoroughly privatised, and even the churches have lost their communal characteristic (Park K W 1994:125). Here, there is no room for social justice or national interests as well as any historical consciousness.

A third characteristic is found in the promotion of an emotion-oriented, fanatical and subjective pattern of faith. The preaching in the contemporary revival meetings often instigates the congregation to emotional excitement and unhealthy mystical experience. Without any concern for continuous sanctification, the preaching relies chiefly on the instant psychological response of the congregation. H. K. Park (1995:16-21) points out that an anti-intellectual propensity to be the first problem of the Korean Church as a whole. Such tendency necessarily results in the wrong interpretation of the Bible and various related ethical problems in the personal and ecclesial life of the congregation.

b) Prayer as a Means towards Acquiring Earthly Well-being

The traditional zeal for prayer of the Korean Church as a whole continued in the period of growth. Besides fasting and day-break prayer meetings every morning, Friday night-long prayer remained a popular custom in most of the churches after 1970[106]. During the night, after a short message or testimony, the participants engage in audible prayers together, focusing on individual as well as congregational needs. Korean Christians generally have a strong conviction of God's faithfulness in answering prayer. According to the research by the Christian Institute of Social Problems in 1980 (cf. Kim B S 1995:36-37), about 82 % of contemporary Christians believe that God grants whatever they ask. However, in terms of the motives and goals of prayer, things have changed greatly.

---

[106] In some churches from 10.00 p.m. to 2.00 a.m, and in other churches from 12.00 a.m. to 4.00 a.m. Ten to twenty % of the congregation participate in the over-night prayer meetings. In most cases the pastor (in very few cases some other leader) leads the prayer meeting.

Compared to prayer in the receptive and formative period, features of ethical awakening or national interest were rarely found in the prayers during the period of growth. Instead, the contemporary prayer was mostly concerned with this-worldly and individual interests. A research done in 1982 reports that 50 % of congregations expect the sermons to deal with healing, blessing and peaceful home life (Kim J K et al 1982:134), which shows what governs the inner motive of believers for their life of faith. As Yohan Lee (1985:157) concludes in his analysis of the characteristics of contemporary prayer, people were greatly motivated by individual interest and "they never prayed for others".

Whereas the earlier prayer movement was nation oriented and displayed considerable concern for political matters, since the 1970s prayer has gradually lost its national focus, owing to the privatisation of religion. Prayer has thus been reduced from a means of submission to and fellowship with God to a means of acquiring material prosperity and of receiving charismatic gifts.

c) Evangelism as a Means toward Congregational Self-Extension

As already seen in the receptive and formative period, evangelism, together with prayer, had a primary position in the tradition of the Korean Church. In historically tragic times during the receptive and formative period it was manifested as a passion for saving the oppressed nation. In other words, evangelism was an intense manifestation of the redemptive community of faith loving the suffering nation.

However, since the 1970s evangelism began to degenerate in terms of its motives and goals, accommodating some of the basic ideologies of material prosperity and progress as well as shamanism. The degeneration of evangelism is, above all, deeply connected with 'individualistic congregationalism', which implies an ecclesial attitude that gives priority especially to maintenance and self-extension of the individual congregation by means of ecclesial goal setting and other activities.

C. J. Noh (1986:86-88) finds four main factors that played a significant role in the formation of individualistic congregationalism within the Korean Church as a whole. The first factor relates to the church-oriented theological tradition in which church is mostly understood not so much as universal church, but as individual local church. Noh points out that such propensity was, from the beginning of early missions, stronger in the Presbyterian Church than in the Methodist Church.

The second factor is concerned with the conservative and pietistic type of faith of the Korean Church as a whole. In this type of faith, the church is often regarded as a

Noah's ark, severing it from the world. As a result, the realm of religious activity is reduced to the interior aspects of the church life in which case it becomes highly possible to regress to individualistic congregationalism.

Thirdly, Confucian familism plays a part in forming individualistic congregationalism. Although familism has an affirmative aspect to the extent that it provides a primary relationship, Confucian familism has a negative impact in the sense that it is based on authoritarian relationship and has a self-closing characteristic. The traditional familism thus could develop easily into indifference and/or even an exclusive attitude to others.

Fourthly, the desire to be important church leaders and laypersons also motivates individualistic congregationalism. As the Korean Church achieved rapid numerical growth since the 1970s, it has received a higher status in society. This implies that the bigger the congregation, the higher the social status and honour of the pastors and of the congregation itself. Consequently, every congregation concentrates on its efforts of self-extension in excessive competition.

Thus, the motive of church growth movement since the 1970s is mostly based on congregational extensionalism. The Donald MacGavran's Church Growth theology of Fuller Theological Seminary in the USA since around mid the 1970s had a profound impact on the church growth movement (cf. Gwak C D 2000:59ff).

By the 1980s, management and marketing theory of church growth was introduced to the Korean Church, feeding the success syndrome among pastors (Hwang 2000:18-19). As a result, the Gospel became a cheap commodity for religious consumers and evangelism was reduced to an act of sale (cf. Webster 1992:12-14).

Examples of evangelism as part of social service are rarely found. According to research done (Choi H K 1983:66, 77), 76. 77 % (119 of 155 congregations) responded that they were not engaged in social service. Even among the 23.23 %, only 3 % engaged more than 200 volunteers per year and the rest engaged less than 100 volunteers per year in social service. In regard to use of church offering, another research (Park C M 1993:18ff) reveals that most churches spend more than 95 % of their annual budget for their own management and only 4.5-7 % for social service.

In sum, many evangelism as ecclesial praxis has seriously degenerated into a means for congregational extension since the 1970s accommodative secular ideologies of progress and material prosperity.

4.2.2.3.3 Depoliticisation of Spirituality

As stated previously, the characteristic of the faith and spirituality in the period of growth can be described as individualistic and internalistic focusing mainly on the pursuit of this-worldly material well-being.

In contrast to the features in the receptive and formative period, the majority of the KPC lost their characteristic as the national church. In the continuing tragic situation of national division, it colluded with the dictatorial power, subordinating itself to anti-Communist and security ideologies.

Moreover, becoming subservient to ideologies of material prosperity and progress, the majority of the KPC became a status group, namely, a section of the 'haves' in society. Thereby they have turned their face away from the marginalized class in society, concentrating their effort on self-extension. Since they did not play a prophetic role in reacting against the dictatorial power on the one hand, and were also not concerned about the marginalized class in society, the faith and spirituality of the majority of the KPC in the period of growth became depoliticised or even apoliticised.

4.2.2.4 Summary

In the dynamic interplay with secular ideologies, i.e., those of anti-Communism, security, material prosperity and progress under the dictatorial reign of the military regime, the KPC in the period of growth suffered a serious deterioration in their faith and spirituality. These ideological factors thus had a decisively negative impact on the formation of the faith and spirituality of the KPC. The external patterns of the faith and spirituality and religious zeal shaped in the receptive and formative period still remained, but the spirituality was severely degraded inwardly and qualitatively. Losing their characteristic feature as the redemptive communities of faith in the formative period, the KPC in the period of growth emerged as harbingers of popular religion in society that represents the middle class and supports the established powers and the *status quo*.

4.2.3 The Declining Period (1993-present)

4.2.3.1 Socio-Cultural Context and Contextual Realities

By the 1990s the socio-cultural context had drastically changed with increased globalisation and national socio-political and economic stability. From 1993 onwards, the phenomenon of numerical decline in church membership began and serious symptoms of secularisation emerged within the KPC.

In this section we will critically analyse the contextual factors in this period and their

profound impact on the formation of the faith and spirituality of the KPC.

4.2.3.1.1 Affluence

By the 1990s Korean society had entered a period of high income per capita, owing to the rapid economic growth policy of the government since the 1960s. As already mentioned in chapter II (2.9), by 1995 GNI reached U$ 10,000 per capita and Korea ranked among the advanced countries in terms of economic growth. According to government statistics of 1995, the number of telephone subscribers was 18.6 million and the number of cars 8.47 million, while leisure expenditure per capita of each household was circa U$ 1,000 (Korea National Statistical Office 1995:297, 312, 385).

Such economic affluence brought forth a drastic change in the socio-cultural context, steering the society in a consumption-oriented direction, which in turn produced a culture of lust for leisure and entertainment. Significantly, the numerical and spiritual decline of the Korean Church as a whole was concurrent with the changing socio-cultural situation.

A main factor in the numerical decline of the church growth was according to W. K. Lee (1993:225ff) the socio-psychological change caused by material affluence and democratisation. As the socio-political factor of instability disappeared and an affluent society emerged, the religious motives of the people for the pursuit of material well being had conspicuously weakened by the 1990s.

As a consequence, the numerical church growth rate began to show a decline from 1993 onwards, and the attendance of the believers at Sunday worship services began to fall (cf. Lee W K 1994:40ff). Remarkably also, youth membership decreased (Gwak C D 2000:42).

And besides, material affluence injected the spirit of capitalism and commercialism into the churches. The ideology of capitalism based on the principles of private property, free enterprise, competition and accumulation of wealth started to prevail in the Korean Church as a whole. The majority of the KPC have accommodated themselves to the spirit of capitalism manifested in economic inequality, unbalanced distribution of wealth, a materialistic value system and excessive avarice. Therefore the church became more and more associated with the middle class in society.

Meanwhile, since the late 1980s the churches have taken a growing interest in the upcoming spirituality or 'spiritual theology'. Nam-Joon Kim (1997:14ff) criticises this phenomenon, arguing that such an interest is motivated not by the righteous quest for recovery of the Gospel itself, but by the desire for external self-renewal or church

150

growth. And further, he pointed out that this distorted motive is based on a sort of defeatist thinking that God's Word can no longer give vitality to congregational life (ibid). Spirituality or revivalism is thus viewed as an alternative for the efficiency of God's Word and/or as a sort of methodology for achieving success in the ministry or in congregational self-extension (:49).

In summary, together with material affluence, the phenomenon of spiritual deterioration within the churches is manifested in various ways: decline in numbers, collapse of traditional values, commercialism and success-orientated spiritualism, etc.

4.2.3.1.2 Postmodernism

Postmodernism as a contemporary spirit or cultural phenomenon on the rise in the aftermath of globalisation is another important factor which exerts its influence on the Korean culture as well as on Christianity at large. It has a profound impact upon people's attitude towards tradition, authority and truth as well as upon epistemenology in general (Kim W Y 2001;353-356). This postmodern thinking or life-style is conspicuous particularly in the new generation who were born since the 1970s (cf. Lee K M 2000:54-66). Accordingly, the need for a new paradigmatic approach to preaching, worship, evangelism and pastoral strategy etc. is strongly voiced within the churches.

For example, in the field of worship service new methods and forms have been introduced in the name of 'contemporary worship'. Here, preaching is replaced by drama, talk show or screen image through multi-media. B. S. Kim (1999:210-214), illustrating the case of the Willow-Creek Community and the Saddleback Valley Community Church in U.S.A., argues that such contemporary worship is imperative for recovering the dynamics of worship as well as for church growth. In addition, W. Y. Kim (2001:339-361) contends that contemporary preaching in Korea should seriously consider the postmodern context and therefore needs a pradigmatic change in its approach.

To the extent that such an attempt takes contemporary audiences into consideration, such a new paradigmatic approach could provide a point of contact with the Gospel, specifically for contemporary seekers (Shim 2001:209). But, the problem lies in that the postmodern spirit seriously defames the authority of God's Word. In most cases the Gospel is reduced to a religious commodity in collusion with commercialism. The focus of the worship and preaching is no longer on God's Word itself, but on the audiences' needs or taste. Accordingly, the God-fearing attitude disappears and the worship service or preaching is reduced to human entertainment on a level with any other cultural performance. An encounter with God's Word on the part of the believers

thus rarely occurs. The absence of the experience of God's Word results inevitably in spiritual barrenness and various ethical problems within the churches.

4.2.3.1.3 Technology and the Destruction of Prayer Life

Together with postmodernism, technology has emerged as another significant factor impacting on the Korean society. Technology which Goudzwaard (1984:21) calls 'an idol' dominates the contemporary world as one of the most powerful realities. Jacques Ellul ([1981] 1995:99-108) contends that technology which he calls the new ideology (1990:178ff) has a powerful impact on modern society in general because of its two characteristics:

Firstly, technology is a system, namely, a structure that follows its own principles and logic. So, it takes human lives into the system and forces them to follow its principles. Accordingly, human lives that exist in the system cannot but be influenced and dominated by the technological system (cf. 1990:35-76).

Secondly, technology continues to strive for self-augmentation. That is, it always contrives to grow more efficient. Human beings entrusting their lives to the ever-developing technology get accustomed to it and become dominated by its efficiency.

And regarding its specific impact on Christianity, Ellul ([1981] 1995:150-152) points out the following three aspects of it:

Firstly, technology confines Christianity to the area of inner life or salvation of soul. It does not care about the broader essence of Christianity. It is concerned only with knowledge of Christianity and of its means and methods. In other words, it is not concerned about the physical dimension of Christianity, namely, the dimension of Christ's incarnation. This results inevitably in perversion of Christian spirituality.

Secondly, technology devalues Christianity, being concerned only with matters of skill or technique. Contemporary churches is often more mindful of the wrapping of the message than of the content of the Gospel. As a result, evangelism, preaching and church administration etc. have become largely matters of technique or skill.

Thirdly, ever-developing techniques evoke in people a religious belief in technology. Amazing at the wondrous development of technology, people grant a meaning to it and have hope for the future that it will bring.

One of the most serious effects on contemporary Christian life of technology is, according to Ellul (1970), that on prayer. Modern Christians possessed with the

efficiency of technology are no longer motivated to pray. Prayer is more and more viewed as an inefficient means for fulfilling religious needs. So, Ellul contends that prayer is perverted or rejected in our society (:65ff). The prayer life of the KPC has weakened conspicuously.

According to recent research done in 50 growing churches in Seoul (Yoo H R 1998:383-390), 65 % of responders say that they pray regularly. And with regard to the motive of prayer, 81 % say that they pray in order to experience spiritual fellowship and inner peace, and only 11.5 % respond that they pray for well-being. But regarding the rewards of prayer life, 52 % say that they are not satisfied. As the reasons of dissatisfaction, 47.8 % respond that their lives of prayer are habitually repeated; 32.1 % reply that they do not experience close fellowship with God,; 17.4 % say that they do not experience the answer of prayer. Special attention needs to be paid to the fact that the above churches are currently growing ones.

This analysis of Ellul clearly underlines the impact of technology in the declining Korean Church:
Above all, effectiveness-oriented or marketing-oriented ecclesiology is prevalent (cf. Gwak C D 2000:161). For instance, one of the representative Presbyterian pastors S. H. Lee (1998:16-17) stresses that new management and business administration theories should be positively utilised with a view to restructuring the new pastoral paradigm pertinent to the new age. In actual fact, a business administration strategy for church growth based on marketing theories was introduced from the U.S.A. According to the marketing theories, growth of a church should be measured numerically. Thus, pastoral ministry is reduced to a sort of religious business.

Regarding the degeneration of prayer life, N. J. Kim (1997:195ff) remarks that the traditional day-break prayer meeting has lost its zeal and vitality except in the case of a few churches, and the spirit of prayer has dried up in the Korean Church.

The above statistics and remarks show that compared to the traditional prayer life in the period of growth, some change has occurred in the motive of prayer, but zeal for prayer has conspicuously weakened. Moreover, the statistic also shows that a large number of congregations do not experience real fellowship with God.

4.2.3.2 Secularisation of Spirituality

4.2.3.2.1 Change in the Governing Concept of God

Compared with the features in the period of growth, the KPC in the declining period

show a lop-sidedness in terms of their spirituality. Against the background of the image of a 'so-good' God two conflicting spiritual tendencies—zeal *and* degeneration, growth *and* corruption—existed in the period of growth, whereas a lop-sided image is dominant in the declining period. That is to say, while the positive aspects of zeal and growth diminishes, the negative aspects of degeneration and corruption started to prevail.

Above all, in the new situation of socio-political stability and material affluence people's interest shifted from material well-being to psychological or inner harmony. Excessive competition and a material-oriented value system caused by the spirit of capitalism have given rise to various psychological problems and inner hurts in people's life experience. Thus, by the 1990s, 'healing' and 'counselling' have become popular words within the churches, increasing the need for a new type of spirituality.

H. S. Kim (1999:151) argues that for Christians in this period a maternal concept of God becomes dominant. For these contemporary Christians who suffer a variety of psychological traumas and diseases in a materialist, excessively competitive society, the concept of God as mother who comforts and heals is preferred to a paternal image of God who rebukes and judges. The problem is that this concept is completely lop-sided. In most cases, God is reduced to a God who exists only to serve the human need of inner stability.

Furthermore, the lop-sided concept of God which focused mainly on human needs gave birth to a concept of a non-personal and functional God, which has to be accommodated to various contemporary ideologies, i.e., a postmodern spirit, the ideology of technology and the spirit of capitalism. The rejection of the absolute authority of God in favour of an effectiveness-driven pattern of faith have reduced the contemporary concept of God to that of a functional God in service of people's psychological need. J. H. Ryu (2000:61), criticising the secularisation in the contemporary Korean Church, describes the concept of such a functional God as a 'God of the vending machine'. Here, the relationship between God and man is reduced to basic business relations. Faith degenerates into an act of manipulating God and the grace of God being replaced by recompense. God is no longer one who speaks to man, but merely a slave controlled by man's interest.

4.2.3.2.2 Phenomena of Secularisation

a) Abdication of God

One of the most salient phenomena of secularisation in the declining period is degeneration or loss of Gospel content in ministry. As already mentioned, current

154

messages are mostly focused on audiences' need or taste. They are no longer the intent on the content of the gospel that should be heard, but one that is intent on a format that audiences want to hear. Thus, the preacher becomes not a spokesman of God's Word, but a supplier to human need (cf. Hwang 2000:19). Recently, a prominent Korean pastor staying in U.S.A visited the fifty fastest growing Korean churches for six months. Having participated in worship services in those churches, he concluded that in only two churches he heared the Gospel preached (in Kim N J 1997:146).

As a result of the spiritual degeneration caused by the loss of the Gospel content, N. J. Kim (:125ff) remarks that currently believers' hardly ever experience an encounter with God and that therefore, the challenge of repentance and conversion are rarely found. Consequently, artificial spiritualities and revivalism are commonly pursued to fill the spiritual emptiness of believers (cf. Kim M H 1994:136).

b) *Mammonism*

Money currently dominates the Korean society as well as the Korean Church. W. K. Lee (1997) refers to this as *Mammonism*. By *Mammonism* he means an ideology in which wealth, money, property or material possesions are absolutised, an absolute value or meaning being granted to them (:29).

This *Mammonism* has an enormous impact on the formation of materialistic values within the Church (Son 1995:30). Evaluation of congregations and pastors are mostly made in terms of their material value: the number of congregations, the size of the church building and the annual budget etc. Individual believers often tend to be evaluated by the size of their offering or their socio-economic status. The congregational level is often measured by the parishioners' participation in worship, their offering, number of prayer meetings and Bible reading. All of this is placed on the credit side of the congregational sheet!!

Under the influence of *Mammonism* the concept of church offering has critically degenerated. In many cases offering is viewed not as an 'expression of faith', but as a 'measure of faith'. It is often stressed in the pulpit that the more they donate, the more God will compensate them (Sun H Y 1996:57). Thus, the offer of faith is reduced to the business of 'give and take'.

Another aspect of *Mammonism* prevalent in the churches is the tendency towards over-consumption and extravagance. Churches spend enormous sums of money on decorative buildings and the equipment of various facilities. Now the majority of the Korean Churches have become middle-class or aristocratic so that the poor are distanced from it (Lee W K 1997:38).

c) Libertinism

In the declining period, the degradation of moral standards among Christians has become conspicuous. Various ethical problems relating to litigation caused by relational conflicts, money matters and sexual immorality frequently occur within the churches. In fact, Christians are involved in almost every big social scandal and case of corruption which brings the church constantly into disrepute. (cf. The Christian Times 1993:162ff). Yet, it is all but impossible for the Church to discipline such offenders, because the Church has, for the most part, lost her moral authority.

According to research done in the mid-90s (Lee P S 1995:193-200), 64 % of responders replied that the number of committed Christians within the Korean Church was less than one million, a figure that represents less than 10 % of the nominal Christians. Regarding the question whether the faith of most Christians was faithfully expressed in their lives, 91 % responded that they felt ashamed of the discord, while 77 % responded that transformation was imperative.

d) Privatisation

We observed in the previous section that individualistic congregationalism prevailed in the period of growth. This individualistic congregationalism was then linked to congregational extensionalism caused by excessive competition with other congregations, manifesting the influence of a theology of church growth. In the declining period, the social responsibility and participation of the church become prey to individualistic congregationalism, directly associated with privatisation. The majority of the KPC have become ecclesial self-interest groups in the declining period.

C. J. Noh (1998:26-31) criticises the fact that the Korean Church has not only accommodated itself to modern ideologies in Korean society, i.e., capitalism, pro-Americanism and anti-Communism, but has also played a leading role in transmitting them to Korean society. That is, the Korean Church has made a compromise with and even advocated contemporary ideologies, instead of confronting them. In this way, it has actually fallen victim to them.

Moreover, as seen in chapter II (2.8.1), the KPC evidently showed their lack of consistent concern for socio-political responsibilities. In his investigation of the Reformed socio-political theories and practices of the KPC, N. H. Yang (1993) shows that the majority of the KPC have failed to fulfil their socio-political responsibility. The KPC have become privatised and have thus lost their social credibility.

4.2.3.3. Summary

Drastic socio-economic, political and cultural changes since the 1990s due to affluence, democratisation, the influx of postmodernism and technological development have brought about radical shifts in patterns and ways of social and religious life. The spirituality of the KPC have been degraded by the profound impact of these contextual realities on the understanding and experience of God. The extent of degradation has become far worse than that in the period of growth, collapsing the traditional patterns and quality of faith and spirituality shaped in the receptive and formative period. Instead, ecclesial pathologies such as absence of God's Word, degeneration of prayer life and various forms of moral corruption and secularisation are currently evident within the KPC. As a result, the churches have been reduced to privatistic religious groups in society, nearly completely losing their credibility.

4.3 An Evaluation of the Formation of the KPC's Spirituality

So far, we have attempted to analyse the features of the spirituality of the KPC manifested in each historical phase. Our analysis showed phenomenal differences and disparities in the kind of spirituality according to changing situations in each phase. In this section we will evaluate the process by which the KPC's spirituality was formed in each historical situation. For our purpose, we will examine the hermeneutical process that shaped their spirituality in each historical phase. Our focus will be on the power dynamics that arise in the interplay of faith-apprehension in the community of faith with reality-apprehension in a specific historical situation in either redemptive or idolatrous ways.

For our evaluation, Walter Brueggemann's (1997:99-109) three church models in the Old Testament will be partly applied to each historical phase of the KPC. Geoffrey Wainwright's (1986:592-605; cf. McGrath 1999:19-24) five types of spirituality will also be partly utilised.

Brueggemann suggests three church models according to Israel's developing historical circumstances: 1) Premonarchical model as *"new church start"* 2) Monarchical model as *temple community* 3) Postexilic model as a *textual community*. And he identifies certain characteristics for each model, which have implications for the characteristics of the KPC in each historical phase. The development towards a textual community will be advocated in the last chapter. The researcher is using the models suggested by Brueggemann not against descriptions of other model analyses like that of Dulles, Ammermann, etc., because the analysis of Brueggemann fits better into the historical development of the Church in Korea.

Wainwright analyses five types of spirituality on the basis of Niebuhr's (1951) Christ-culture typology manifested historically in many different times and circumstances: Christ against culture; the Christ of culture; Christ above culture; Christ and culture in paradox; and Christ the transformer of culture. Wainwright's scheme depends too much on its chief theological proponents and major themes, without taking various contextual realities into account. Nevertheless, the scheme is, as a typology, helpful in understanding how the outcome of a faith community's interpretation of world affects the nature of the church-world relationship and the manifestation of spirituality.

4.3.1 The Receptive and Formative Phase

Historically, the context of the KPC in the receptive and formative phase is characterised by its extreme marginality. As already shown, socio-political oppression, economic devastation due to the perennial invasion and colonisation of neighbouring powers and especially, religious persecution and martyrdom by Japanese *Shinto* militarists were the circumstances surrounding the KPC. Moreover, the forced national division caused by the Cold War between world powers and the experience of the global-scale Korean War characteristically symbolise the marginality of the Korean nation and Church. It was in this particularly marginalized situation that the KPC's identity, faith and spirituality in an early historical phase were nurtured and shaped.

The characteristics of the KPC in this phase correspond to those of the premonarchical community of Israel which Brueggemann (1997:102-103) calls *"new church start"*. The community of early Israel was a community that was socio-economically marginal. Its central metaphor was either "wilderness" or the occupation of marginal land that no one else wanted (:103). Significantly, what characterised the marginality of the community was disengagement from the power structures and the perpetual patterns of the day (:102). The community was a community liberated by God for new life in the world in order to be 'an alternative community' (ibid). In the sense that the community was a planting of an alternative community among people who were ready for risk and who shunned established social relations, it was, according to Brueggemann, *a new church start* (:103).

In similar vein, the Korean Church was a community liberated by God from the power structures and perpetual patterns of the day in order to be an alternative community. It can thus be said that the utterly marginal situation of the Korean nation in the receptive and formative phase was a situation created by God's redemptive power in liberating His people.

Furthermore, as Brueggemann (:102) remarks, the "wilderness" community had no

158

stable institutions, no temple and no prophets. They were marginal communities in society. Nevertheless, the KPC in the receptive and formative phase showed a distinctive identity as a redemptive community, namely, an alternative community with an authentic spirituality in that tragic situation of national suffering (cf. 4.2.1.3).

How was it possible for this marginal community to be an alternative community with an authentic spirituality in such a marginal situation? How could such redemptive dynamics arise in the community of faith in that phase? And what specific role did the marginal situation play in shaping the identity and spirituality of the KPC?

Following our hermeneutical approach to ecclesial spirituality defined in chapter III, we shall examine the dynamic interplay arising in the faith-apprehension of the faith community in conjunction with determinate intersubjectivity (3.2.1.2).

As already mentioned, a specific mind-set called *Han,* or the wounded heart, had been shaped in the Korean people's mind. Being shaped as the result of frequent oppression and perennial invasion of the neighbouring powers since the 15th century, *Han* forms a determinate intersubjectivity as a specific structure of co-intentions at a largely hidden corporate level. It has interplayed with the believers' faith-apprehension and redemptive experience specifically in the extremely marginalized situation in the receptive and formative phase of the KPC, producing the redemptive or transformative dynamics.

As seen in chapter II (2.5.2 and 2.6.1), Korean Christians in the receptive and formative phase showed a peculiar receptivity to the Christian Gospel as well as a strong desire for national independence. Those responses are evidently related with the dynamic interplay of the determinate intersubjectivity in the hermeneutical process of the believers' faith-apprehension. Specifically, they are concerned with the mind-set of *Han* shaped as a result of corporate co-intentions through the continuous history of oppression. Being carried with an image as a linguistic unit in the Korean people's consciousness, the mind-set of *Han* operated in the cognitive function of faith, producing a strong desire for liberation. We can infer that it would have more actively operated in the utterly marginalized situation where people could not but be disengaged from the power structures and socio-cultural patterns around them.

As a consequence, in the interplay between the interrelated components – religious imagery, individual redemptive experience and determinate intersubjectivity – in faith-apprehension of the faith community, we can presume what kind of power dynamics would have occurred. And we can also conjecture what role the marginal situation in the receptive and formative phase would have played in shaping the spirituality of the KPC.

The marginal situation would have evidently impelled the KPC to adhere thoroughly toward God's initiating presence and redemptive power for their liberation, disengaging them from domestication by the power structures and socio-cultural patterns of the day. Thereby, the believers' hermeneutical process in their faith-apprehension would have been involved mainly with the religious world, keeping it distanced from the social world. This implies that the Spirit-driven theodynamics governed the believers' faith-apprehension at the personal or corporate level in the receptive and formative phase. Needless to say, the KPC's experience of the Great Revival intensified the Spirit-driven theodynamics. Consequently, the transformative or redemptive dynamics was created, shaping the authentic spirituality.

In regard to the type of spirituality of the KPC in this historical phase, Wainwright's first typology "Christ against culture" is not necessarily applicable despite the marginalized environment for Christian belief and practice. In the 1910s - 1930s under the Japanese militarists' colonial regime, the KPC showed a positive attitude toward national independence and social transformation (cf. 4.2.1.3.3 & 4.2.1.3.4), which corresponded rather to the type of "Christ the transformer of culture". Only by the late 1930s and early 1940s, during the ruthless enforcement of *Shinto* shrine worship and persecution, did the spirituality of the KPC clearly show this other-world-oriented tendency together with its eschatological emphasis, which could correspond partly to the type of "Christ against culture".

4.3.2 The Growing Phase

The historical context of the KPC in the growing phase can be found as an overlap of the geo-political marginal situation and the situation of socio-economic rapid growth. As already seen in chapter II (2.8.3), in this growing phase, the Korean Church as a whole achieved remarkable external growth and became an established, stable religious institution in the midst of other social power structures, keeping step with social stability and cultural progress.

The social context and characteristics of the KPC in this historical phase appear to be different from Brueggemann's (1997:100-101) monarchical model of the Israel community as *temple community* in various respects. But, in the very core of the characteristics of the model, some similarities are to be found. In regard to the essential characteristic of the monarchical church model, Brueggemann remarks that it was *an established, culturally legitimated church* (:100). It was this church model with visible, stable and well-financed religious structures and recognised leadership. *The temple and its priesthood* played a legitimating role in the ordering of civil imagination. Moreover, as established religion, the church model related itself closely to state and

civic leadership, supporting state ideology. This means that "temple leadership" of the day was, as an established power, deeply involved in established powers of society. The *witness of the prophets* is also pointed out as another feature of the model (:101). They regularly voiced a more passionate, more radical, and more "pure" vision of Israelite faith.

Brueggemann suggests the model as the governing model of modern, established Christianity in the West (ibid). In a certain sense, it can be viewed as unreasonable that we consider the KPC in the growing phase in relation to this model. But, in terms of its essential characteristic, the model shows similarities to the KPC in the growing phase. Through the remarkable growth over three decades (1960s-1980s) the KPC became evidently an established, culturally legitimating church in society. They were well-structured religious institutions with fine buildings and recognised leadership. Moreover, although different in socio-religious context and its quality, the KPC's adhesion to state power is also similar in terms of the Church's engagement in secular power dynamics. And further, the resistance movement of a few progressive leaders and their prophetic witness against the dictatorship under the military regime can also partly support the similarity between both. In a word, the KPC in the growing phase were churches deeply involved in power structures and socio-cultural patterns around them.

How, then, did the established KPC lose the character of an alternative community with authentic spirituality in society? Through which power dynamics in faith-apprehension did the spirituality come to be degraded in spite of remarkable numerical growth? What role did the geo-political marginalisation and the rapid socio-economic growth play in shaping the identity and spirituality of the KPC?

Different from the extremely marginal context in the receptive and formative phase, in the growing phase, national independence—though divided—, economic growth and social stability emerged as new factors for power dynamics in the faith-apprehension of the community of faith. As already discussed in chapter III (3.2.3.1.2), those new contextual realities were offered to the marginalized Korean people as a promise or a possibility, demanding a response thereto. Rightly, here the Korean people's strong desire for security and their mind-set, *Han*, intervened, having been formed by determinate intersubjectivity in their consciousness.

What matters here is that, as Farley (1987:14) pointed out, individual believers or the community of faith, because of their corruption, responded to the demands of the new situation according to their idolatries, their absolutised self-interests, their ethnocentrisms, and their participations in the structures of power (3.2.3.1.2).

Various secular ideologies in the growing phase examined in the previous section, namely, anti-Communism, security and material prosperity etc. were the products of the people's interpretation of the situation based on idolatrous paradigms. Apparently, these ideologies operated powerfully in the dynamic interplay of the faith-apprehension of the community of faith at the individual and corporate level of consciousness, causing power dynamics in corruptive ways. By means of this power dynamics the cognitive function of faith came to be critically distorted.

As a consequence, instead of Spirit-driven theodynamics, corrupted human power dynamics inevitably governed the faith-apprehension, resulting in a perversion of faith and spirituality. In this regard, remarkable church growth in the growing phase can be seen as the product of an explosion of the suppressed *Han* of the Korean Christians in terms of power dynamics (cf. Yoo 1987:210). Significantly, we can conjecture that the geo-politically marginal situation in this phase, namely, the national division would have played a negative role in that power dynamics, intensifying people's adhesion to secular ideologies and the structures of power.

Consequently, the spirituality of the KPC in the growing phase came to be seriously accommodative. To translate the type of spirituality of the KPC in this phase into Wainwright's typology, his "Christ of culture" model could be applied on the whole. But, more precisely, we can say that the "Christ and culture in paradox" model pertained during the 1960s and 1970s. This is not only because the society was not stable politically and soci-economically until the 1970s, but also because theological dualism governed the KPC due to the influence of the missionaries' pietistic and evangelical theology (cf. 4.2.1.4). By the 1980s, when they became more deeply involved in power structures of the social world, together with the achievement of remarkable economic and church growth, the Christ of culture" model apparently began to govern.

4.3.3 The Declining Phase

The context of the KPC in the declining phase is characterised by socio-economic and culturally drastic change. Together with material affluence and socio-political stability, the influx of global cultural trend i.e., postmodernism and technology has brought forth a radical change in the whole range of life. As shown in the previous section, the features of the KPC in this phase show serious moral secularisation and spiritual degeneration.

Whether the KPC in this phase are similar to Brueggemann's postexilic model of the Israel community can be debatable according to different perspectives and views. Brueggemann (1997:104) requests special attention to this postexilic model, stressing

that the model may be echoed in contemporary context of western churches. The contemporary context of the KPC is evidently not identical with that of western churches. But, in the aftermath of globalisation, western [American] culture already co-exists in or governs Korean society and Church (cf. 4.2.3.1.2). Taking the features of the KPC in the declining phase into consideration, we could therefore say that the KPC are currently situated in another type of exilic position or at least they enter the exilic position in a metaphorical sense. In actual fact, the KPC have much in common with the model. At least, two of the three facets that Brueggemann points out need to be noted:

First, the community of faith had to live in a context where it exercised little influence on public policy (1997:104). In this regard, the context wherein exilic and postexilic communities of Israel were situated was evidently common to that of the KPC in the declining phase. As seen in chapter II (2.9), by the 1990s the Korean Church had lost its credibility in society due to its spiritual degeneration, moral corruption and self-interest. Various statistics (cf. 2.9 and 4.2.3.2.2) show the extent of its deterioration. This evidently proves that although the churches are socio-economically and culturally situated at the centre of society, they are increasingly marginalized in terms of their moral authority and influence. That is to say, although they are centrally located in power structures and cultural patterns of the society, their moral position has become marginalized in society.

The second facet of the postexilic community of Israel is the temptation towards syncretism and the disappearance of a distinct identity (1997:104). Under the influence of the surrounding foreign culture, the socio-political marginal community of faith was in danger of losing its national identity, accommodating itself to the surrounding culture. Various symptoms of secularisation or ecclesial pathologies shown in the previous section (cf. 4.2.2.3 and 4.2.3.2), underlined that the KPC in the declining phase were culturally situated in the same context. These characteristics are the result of the KPC's reckless accommodation to contemporary dominant culture. As the churches became stable and allied themselves with the status quo, Christian value systems have apparently become syncretised with or have been replaced by those of the secular dominant culture. As a result, the KPC in the declining phase have lost their distinctive identity as an alternative community in society. The fundamental strategies for survival in the postexilic community of Israel that Brueggemann (:104-105) views as the third facet are hardly found in the KPC at the current stage.

In order to examine, the power dynamics occurring in the faith-apprehension of the faith community in this phase, two things should first be taken into consideration:
The first thing is the faith community's deep involvement in contemporary dominant culture and the power structures around it. This means that the community of faith

actively participates in the social world constructed by the interaction between people in the network of relationships and accordingly in its shared meanings and images taken for granted by members in corporate memory.

Secondly, there is the consequence that the new situation of drastic socio-cultural change has brought to the social world in this phase. As already discussed in chapter III (3.2.3.1.2), new situations engender new shared meanings and images in the social world as a result of people's adaptations and responses thereto (Farley 1990:53). This implies that a significant change would have occurred in the social world in this phase. And this change is directly linked to the change of intersubjectivity constituting the matrix of faith-apprehension in the social and religious world.

Specifically, for new generations born in rapidly changing socio-economic and cultural circumstances after the 1970s, their social world is distinct from that of previous generations. They have no experience of extreme suffering and poverty in the corporate memory. Even the current geo-political situation of national division does not appeal to their sense of reality. Moreover, technology and new cultural trends such as postmodernism have changed their way of thinking and their value system (cf. 4.3.2.1.2 & 4.2.3.1.3).

As a consequence, the drastically changing situation in the declining phase of the KPC and their social world dynamically govern the cognitive function of believers' faith, encroaching upon religious images as faith's content. Significantly, religious meanings and images that constitute believers' redemptive experience are here marginalized by shared meanings and images shaped by contemporary dominant culture. This is the reason why the image of Jesus' Cross and suffering is hardly found in this period. In this respect, we could say that the spirituality of the KPC in the declining phase is metaphorically that of a faith community in exile.

According to Wainwright's model of spirituality, the KPC's spirituality in this phase corresponds apparently to the model of "the Christ of culture", to the extent that the churches have accommodated themselves recklessly to the dominant contemporary culture. Yet, in some cases, the "Christ above culture" model might be applied in a more positive sense. For example, some Christian groups within the KPC engaged in campaigns for establishing Christian culture show a positive attitude to the world and culture, affirming the goodness of the world as well as the necessity of transformation. However, these campaigns or movements tend mostly to stress transformation of culture in the present through the impact of the Gospel, and are lacking in the eschatological dimension of transformation of culture in the future which Wainwright emphasises as the distinctive characteristic of the "Christ transformer of culture" model.

164

4.4 Summary and Conclusion

The spirituality of the KPC in the receptive and formative phase was shaped historically in an extremely marginal situation. The utterly marginal situation of the nation, namely, socio-political oppression, economic exploitation and religio-cultural collapse as well as persecution by neighbouring powers, operated as a positive factor upon the KPC's understanding and experience of God. Together with the experience of the Great Revival, the spirituality of the KPC as marginal communities in society was strongly governed by Spirit-driven theodynamics, which accordingly manifested its authentic features, revealing their distinctive identity as an alternative community in religious life and ecclesial praxis. The marginal communities that existed in tragically marginalized circumstances in this phase were *ecclesia crucis* in the sense that they were communities suffering for Christ and nation.

Entering the growing phase, however, the rise of various ideologies—anti-Communism, security and material prosperity—caused by new situations of national division and rapid economic growth under the military dictatorial regime had a profound impact on and critically eroded the spirituality of the KPC. Those secular ideologies played a decisive role in the understanding and experience of God's presence and redemptive activity, causing power dynamics in the faith-apprehension of the KPC. Involved in power structure, the churches became established religious institutions. As a consequence, the features of the KPC as redemptive communities were no longer found despite remarkable church growth.

By the 1990s, the influx of postmodernism and effects of technology together with democratisation and affluence have shifted the Korean society culturally to drastically different situation, resulting in paradigmatic change in the social world. In the declining phase the KPC are thus now situated in the centre of the domonant contemporary culture. In this cultural circumstance, new shared meanings and images arising from the drastically changing social world powerfully govern the cognitive function of faith, marginalizing faith-content and images in the religious world. In this sense, the KPC in the declining phase are metaphorically in an exilic position in society, accommodating itself to dominant worldly culture and thus losing their distinctive identity as alternative communities in society.

In conclusion, the above analysis and evaluation of particular situations and the features of the KPC show the powerful impact of various contextual situations surrounding the faith community on shaping its spirituality in either positive or negative ways. Further, the finding reveals that the formation of ecclesial spirituality is

essentially related to the life-situation of the faith community in the power-dominated world.

166

CHAPTER V. Quest for Marginality as the Praxial Hermeneutical Locus of Ecclesial Spirituality

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we attempted to analyse and evaluate particular situations surrounding the KPC and the features of ecclesial spirituality shaped therein in each historical phase. The findings revealed the powerful impact of various contextual situations on shaping ecclesial spirituality and consequently, the significance of the life-situation of the faith community in the world. This leads us to the issue of how the faith community in the world should relate to contextual situations around it in order to shape its authentic spirituality, sustaining its own identity. This issue is essentially concerned with that of the praxial hermeneutical locus[107] of the faith community in relation to the power-dominated world where the proper apprehension and response to God's presence and redemptive activity occurs. That is, it is linked with the issue of where the faith community should be located in relation to the power-dominated world.

In this final chapter, our research that constitutes the normative phase of our research methodology will conclude by investigating the praxial hermeneutical locus of ecclesial identity in the contemporary dominant culture and also by proposing an alternative for the fundamental problems that the spirituality of the KPC currently is facing. This proposal will include an incomplete suggestion of the direction toward which the spirituality of the KPC should steer, which in turn constitutes the final phase of our methodology, namely, the strategic phase.

So far, with reference to the formation of ecclesial spirituality, our study focused mainly on the phenomenological dimension of the community of faith, that is, on the Church[108] as a socio-historical entity. The phenomenological understanding of the Church saved our inquiry regarding the formation of the spirituality of the faith community as a human community from drifting off into the purely dogmatic and spiritual, elucidating the phenomenon of power dynamics that occur in the cognitive function of believers' faith in concrete situations.

The Church is, however, not merely the object of a phenomenological understanding. Another essential dimension is the theological dimension that prescribes its identity,

---

[107] By this is not meant the hermeneutical locus based on discursive practice that occurs at a cognitive level, but one based on ecclesial praxis as social praxis that occurs at a structural or relational level.
[108] As the theological dimension will be highlighted in this chapter, the term 'Church' will be preferred to the community of faith. But in some cases both will be used interchangeably.

which is intrinsic to the normative understanding of ecclesial spirituality. In this chapter, therefore, in step with the sequence of our research methodology, ecclesial identity and power dynamics in the world will be examined from the theological point of view, focusing our attention on ecclesial confrontation with the Powers.[109]

5.2 Ecclesial Identity and Spirituality

What makes the Church different from other human communities in the world? What specifically qualifies the Church in relation with the power-dominated world? That is, what is the identity of the Church that determines its spirituality?

In this section our inquiry into the identity of the Church will be explored in terms of its distinctive position in the world that is based on its particular relationship to God which results from the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The identity of the Church as the Spirit-filled community will, therefore, be examined here in terms of the following three distinctive characters: the eschatological character, the political character based on the lordship of Christ, and the character as the community of an alternative power.

5.2.1 An Eschatological Entity

Along with the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, "the King of the *eschaton*" (Powell 1963:85), the *eschaton* is infiltrated into the world now as a present reality (cf. 2 Cor. 5:17). By the outpouring of the Spirit, the Church participates in the life and power of the *eschaton*, namely the Kingdom of God that will culminate in the future. The Spirit-filled Church thus is a "revealed reality" grounded in the revelation in Jesus Christ (Bonhoeffer 1986:190), which constitutes a distinctive identity as an eschatological entity in the world.

Often described as "the body of Christ", the Church reveals the presence of Christ and

---

[109] For the following reasons, the term "Powers" will be capitalised:

First of all, the term is specifically concerned with Pauline references to spiritual realities in the New Testament. According to Paul's understanding, life is ruled by a series of Powers, which designate neither worldly powers nor angels. Rather, as the influence of angelic powers on earth, their influence is manifested in the regular patterns and structures of earthly existence such as nation, race, moral code, ideology etc.

Secondly, the Powers as a creation could serve as an aid in ordering human life, but they often present themselves to us as possible objects of ultimate loyalty in the fallen world, defying God's redeeming power.

Thirdly, the Powers are already unmasked and disarmed by Christ's cross, and shall imminently be dethroned and redeemed at the time of Christ's advent.

cf. Berkhof, Hendrikus 1962. *Christ and the Powers*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. Mouw, Richard, J 1976. *Politics and the Biblical Drama*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. pp. 85-98. And Walter Wink's trilogy on the Powers.

participates in the eschatological redemptive activity of God in the world. Thereby the Church proclaims where it belongs, determining its specific position in the world.

5.2.1.1 Manifestation of Divine Presence

The new life and the Spirit given to the Church result from the life of the crucified and risen Christ. Christ is the King of the new *aeon* and they essentially belong to the new *aeon* in which the whole world will take part eschatologically. The knowledge of the Church about God, the self and the world, therefore, belongs to a totally new order. On account of this nature of the new life that the Church possesses, it has also a unique position in the world (cf. Calvin's Inst. 1.1.2).

As a representing metaphor of the Church that describes best the relationship between the Church, Christ and the world is that of the body of Christ[110]. In the Ephesians and Colossians, the mention of Christ's double position is remarkable with respect to both the Church and to the cosmos: Christ is the Head of the Church or the Head of the body and, at the same time, he is the Head of all things (Eph. 1:22, 23; Col. 1:18, 19). Paul draws here the connection between Christ's all-embracing significance as the Head of "all things" and his position as the Head of the Church.

Noticeably, the words "fullness" (*pleroma*) and "fill" (*plero*) repeatedly come to the fore in two epistles, as the essential words that describe God himself and Christ's all-embracing significance, and are employed of the Church in its relation to Christ (cf. TDNT, vol. VI: 291f & 303f). According to Paul's account, the whole fullness of God dwells in Christ bodily (Col 2:9), which means the might and glory of God with respect to all things becomes manifest in him. And further, the "fullness" terminology is connected to the Church. The Church is "Christ's *pleroma*" (Eph. 1:23). This means that the Church is the dominion filled by Christ (cf. O'brien 1999:150; Lincoln 1990:75-78; Arnold 1989:82-85).[111]

Here the Church as Christ's *pleroma* shows clearly its place in the whole creation. In the cosmic reign of Christ, the Church as the body of Christ has a central position. The Church is "the place *par exellence* in which Christ's present reign over all creation is actualised" (Harrington 1980:71). In other words, the Church is "the focus for and

---

[110] The idea of the Church as the body of Christ has a central significance in the Pauline ecclesiology, along with that of the Church as "the people of God". cf. Ridderbos (1975:327-395).

[111] Ridderbos makes a distinction between Christ's fullness in all things (with his mighty presence) as the Head of the whole universe and his fullness in the Church as the Head of the Church. According to his comment (1975:391), while the former speaks especially of "his power and of the containedness of all things in him", the latter has reference primarily to "the appropriation of the resultant benefits and gifts of Christ to and by the Church." In this regard, the *pleroma* of the Church is gift, and at the same time, mandate and goal. The Church must "attain to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13, 14; cf. Col. 2:7,8).

medium of Christ's presence and rule in the cosmos" (Lincoln 1990:77). To put this in Bonhoeffer's expression (1972:230), "the Church is the critical centre, from which all is judged" and therefore "the Church can only witness to the centre of the world which only God makes to be the centre."

Like Zion in the Old Testament, this implies that the Church is the epistemological centre of the world from the theological point of view. As Hauerwas and Willimon (1989:94) remark, "the world needs the Church, because, without the Church, the world does not know who it is, and the only way for the world to know that it is being redeemed is for the Church to point to the Redeemer by being a redeemed people".

To the same effect, the metaphors for Christians in the world such as "the salt of the earth" and "the light of the world" in the Sermon on the Mount are to be understood. To be the salt of the earth means that "the Christian is a visible sign of the new covenant (cf. Lev. 2:13) which God has made with this world in Jesus Christ" (Ellul 1989:3). Thus, apart from the Church, i.e., the sign of this new covenant, "this earth will not know where it is going; it will no longer have any real knowledge of itself, nor any certainty about its preservation" (ibid). And to be the light of the world means that the Christian is "the criterion of goodness" and gives "meaning and direction to the history of the world." This implies that "these criteria, meaning and direction are supplied not by logic, nor by certitude, but only by the presence of the Church" (:4; cf. Berkhof 1977 [1953]: 51, 58).

To sum up, the Church is in a real sense the presence of God in the world. Apart from the Church, the world is bereft of its existence and meaning. This is because the Church is called to be "a prophecy and a representation of the redemptive work of Christ" (Ridderbos 1975:391) in the world.

5.2.1.2 Church for the World

As noted above, if Christ is the hidden centre of the identity of the Church, where is the distinctiveness of the identity of the Church specifically to be found?

It can, above all, be described in terms of the Church's reciprocal relationship to the world as well as within the Christian community which is the primordial sphere of the formation of spirituality in human reality (cf. 3.2.1.1).

Regarding the issue, Bonhoeffer developed two important concepts in his *Sanctorum Communio* (1986). One of the concepts concerns the social structure of the reciprocal relationship in Christian community. As a basic pattern of relations, Bonhoeffer took note of the 'I-thou' relationship in the community. For Bonhoeffer, the 'I-Thou'

170

relationship is a form in which human personhood is shaped. Originally 'Thou' is the form in which the divine is experienced and all 'thous' as human beings have their own characteristics only through the divine (:33). In other words, only when God or the Holy Spirit comes to me through his work, the other becomes 'thou' for me and my personhood (*Ich*) originates from the 'thou' (ibid). Every human 'thou' is a 'thou' as the image of God created by the divine 'Thou'. In this relationship 'I' become the person who recognises responsibility for others. Ethical responsibility for others is, according to Bonhoeffer, based on the revelation of God's love (:34). By the revelation 'I' realise the other as well as myself as the divine personhood. This is the experience of transcendence of personhood.

Thus, the 'I-thou' relationship in the Christian community is the structural form in which God's revelation is experienced and where the human person takes shape, the identity of 'I' and 'thou' being discovered. In this sense, personhood is from and for others (:32).

Bonhoeffer's concept of personhood developed into a notion of a collective person, of which "Christ existing as community" is the primary example. He understood the Church to be the body of Christ in the sense that the Church is the very presence of Christ (:87). For him, however, the Christian community is Christ present as a social reality, that is, an empirical community existing in concrete situations, even if its full identity is an eschatological one.

Most importantly for Bonhoeffer, the concept of the Church is based on the unity of individuality and sociality (:51). That is, in the Church as a collective person, individuality is not dissolved into sociality. Rather, sociality incorporates the concept of individuality. In this sense the Church is the community in which the redemption of God is accomplished through the unity of human individuality and sociality.

To this effect Bonhoeffer's understanding of sin is based on sociality. Bonhoeffer emphasises that individual sin becomes part of the sin of the whole humanity in solidarity with knowledge (:72). That is, individuality of sin is united with sociality of sin. Yet, the community of sinners' fellowship acknowledges only the former and accordingly, it does not feel an ethical responsibility for the latter. Bonhoeffer called this attitude "ethical atomism" (:70) as a mode of existence of the *peccatorum communio* (cf. 1986:73, 76, 127). It is exactly at this point that the Christian community as the *sanctorum communio* differentiates itself from other human communities.

The second essential concept of Bonhoeffer concerns that of proxy or deputyship (*Stellvertretung*) (cf. Walton 1994:104; Kelly 1984:36). The identity and differentiation

of the Church as "the community of saints" is essentially based on this principle of proxy. For Bonhoeffer this concept of proxy is not an ethical, but a theological one. That is, on the proxy of Christ on the cross the individual and social structure of the Church is grounded. "Just as God's love manifested in the proxy of Christ reconstructs the community between God and human, so the human community is embodied in His love" (Bonhoeffer 1986:100).

Consequently, the Church as a new humanity has a new sociological meaning on account of the proxy of Christ, which shapes the principle of the reciprocal ethic in the Christian community. The reciprocal ethic is realised in mutual devotion, supplication on behalf of others and in forgiveness (:106 ff). Further, all praxes of the Church based on the Christ's proxy are directed towards the whole of humanity. The sentence in *Sanctorum Communio* (:128): "One person supports the other in real love, prayer for others and forgiveness of sin based on proxy that is possible only in Christian community..." may be applied further. Likewise, the Church supports the whole of humanity in the same acts.[112]

Regarding the relationship of Christ, Church and world, Thomas Day (1982:202) summarises Bonhoeffer's notion of Christian community as follows:

> The church consists of those human beings in whom Christ stands in the place where the whole world is meant to stand and acts as deputy for the world. The church serves the world and summons it into the fellowship of Christ's body.

Thus, the Church retains its identity in its confession and expression of Jesus Christ. In terms of the proxy of Christ, the identification of the Church with Jesus Christ is being- for-others or being-for-the world. As "revealed reality," the Church is called to identify with others (Walton 1994:107).

The sheep-in-the-midst-of-wolves metaphor of Jesus reveals this distinctive identity of the Church for the world in a more vivid way. Ellul (1989:4-5) comments that the metaphor denotes the Christian's sign of the reality of God's action in the world. Like a sheep, Christians must offer the daily sacrifice of their lives, united with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God. The world cannot live without this living witness of sacrifice. Thus, Ellul (:xli) maintains that "by incarnating their God-given identity as light, salt, and sheep, Christians effect a present reality of the Kingdom of God which

---

[112] This emphasis on the identity of the Church as Church for the world is found in most of Bonhoeffer's other writings. For instance, he maintained in *Ethics* (1992:94) that "what occurs in the Church is intended for all humanity". In the same context, he also stresses in his last letters, *Resistance and Obedience* (1970:415) that "the church is only the church, when it is there for others." It is a case of Christ existing as the Church for others.

will be culminated in the future." In short, the Church is called to be the agent of the Kingdom of God that proclaims His presence and action in the world.

5.2.2 A Political Community

Because the Church is called to exist for the world, it does not exist apart from the world. The Church is in the world and itself part of the world. But, "the Church is a piece of qualified world" with a calling (Bonhoeffer 1966:286). As already stated, the Church is the only community that witnesses to the centre of the world that Christ, the Head of all things reigns. Existing as the body of Christ in the world in which Powers dominate, the Church confesses and proclaims Christ's lordship over all of the world and all of the cosmos. It is right here that the political character of the Church arises, constituting a distinctive identity of the Church as the proper location of the Christian faith and obedience.

5.2.2.1 Church as *Polis*

The Church is the unique location in the world where Christ's lordship is proclaimed and realised in an eschatological sense. In other words, it is the gathering of the people who express their loyalty to Christ, the King of the *eschaton*. In this respect, the Church is a "heavenly *polis*" (cf. Hauerwas 1995:26-28; 1989:12) of which the Christians are citizens. Significantly, the proclamation of Christ's lordship is not confined to the community. It proceeds to the larger society in the world. In regard to the Church as a *polis* and its political nature, Bonhoeffer remarks as follows:

> Because the church is the city set upon the hill – the *polis* (Matt. 5:14) – that God himself has founded on earth and because the church as such is God's sealed property, its political character is part and parcel of its sanctification. Its political ethic has the only ground in its sanctification in that world remains world and the community remains the community, but God's word goes out from the community over all the world as the message that the earth and all that is in it are the Lord's; this is the political nature of the community (Bonhoeffer 1989:277-278).

Articulating the political nature of the Church as the centre of the world not in a sociological, but in a theological sense, the above description suggests the Church's task for the world and its own strategy.

The emphasis on the political nature of the task of the Church is found in the recent discussion and dialogue between the Reformed and the Anabaptist communities on

matters of the theological ethics in the Church.[113]

In *Politics and the Biblical Drama,* applying "the three marks of the true Church" to the external mission of the Christian community in the world, Richard J. Mouw (1976:67-69), a Reformed theologian, designates the external mission as the "political" mission of the Church. Interestingly, he derives his idea of the political mission (or evangelism) from "the marks of the true Church" based on the Belgic Confession of 1566 that has been accepted by many Reformed Churches as part of their doctrinal standard (:57).

According to Mouw the Church is called to proclaim God's Word in the world, to relate as servants to the world by identification with it, and to alter the structures of the larger human community. Mouw articulates that these three aspects of the mission correspond closely to the biblical "offices" of prophet, priest, and king (:67).

Despite his deep concern about contemporary political theology, however, his usage of the term "politics" remains in the traditional sense of designating the management of the society by means of power. What is more, in his later discussions – dealing with the issue of confronting the Powers – Mouw restricts it only to the third task, which he calls the "kingly" task. In this regard his concept of the term "politics" is narrow and is accordingly applied to a limited scope.

In contrast with Mouw, it is noteworthy that Yoder, a Mennonite theologian with a strong Anabaptist tradition, uses the term in his own fashion. In *The Politics of Jesus* (1972), he provides a new sense of "politics" by claiming that a commitment or witness to a distinctive lifestyle such as non-violence should be regarded as another form of Christian political action. Remarkably, Yoder's Christian politics is inseparably linked with the understanding of the Powers. For him the influence of the Powers is not related only to the political structure in a narrow sense. It concerns the whole realm of the life of the Christian community as a "witnessing community" (Yoder 1971:27). For him, the whole Christian life is based on what he called "the politics of Jesus." Thus Yoder's concept of politics is concerned with a Christian lifestyle distinctive from that of the prevailing culture, in addition to all tasks or missions of the Church with reference to its witness. Although Yoder's concept of politics is not fully acceptable from the Reformed theological point of view, it certainly suggests a more comprehensive understanding of ecclesial politics[114].

---

[113] See Mouw, Richard J. 1976. *Politics and the Biblical Drama.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company. 98-116. See also Shin, Won Ha 1997. Two Models of Social Transformation: A Critical Analysis of the Theological Ethics of John H. Yoder and Richard J. Mouw. Ph.D dissertation, Boston University.

[114] In this respect, Mouw's concept of politics and his understanding and application of the Powers need to be complemented by Yoder's.

In short, all three aspects of the mission of the Church are political to the extent that they are all concerned with the reality of the Powers. The prophetic, priestly, and kingly tasks of the Church as a *polis* in the world are thus altogether linked to the political faithfulness of the Church based on the lordship of Christ.

5.2.2.2 Witness to Christ's Lordship

The Church is, as indicated above, the social location in which God's redemptive work for the world is revealed. God's redemptive work is based on Christ and his historic work on the cross, which intrinsically involves the reality of overcoming the invisible Powers. The Church is the community of the people who proclaims Christ's lordship, which is inseparably linked with the reality.

Because the Church has a special ability to understand the reality, the Church has a unique position in the world, which is seen clearly in Ephesians 3:10. According to the passage, it is God's intent that "through the Church the manifold wisdom of God should be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly realms."

The "heavenly realm" here denotes the dimension of reality of which the believer becomes aware as a result of being "raised up" by God with Christ. According to Wink (1984:92), it is the realm in which "the final contest for the lordship of all reality is being waged". The unbelievers are "dead" to this reality (Eph. 2:1-3; 4:17-19), which is known to the Church only by revelation (Eph. 3:3-9). And it is in this very realm that, despite their defeat by Christ's power of the cross, the fallen Powers still exert their influence on humanity as if having an ultimate meaning and power. Thus, the task of the Church pertains not only to the dimension of the visible, earthly realm, but fundamentally to the invisible, heavenly realm. That is, the political character of the task of the Church is essentially concerned with this invisible, spiritual realm.

According to Eph. 3:10, it is to the "heavenly Powers" that the Church proclaims God's wisdom. In other words, the proclamation is to the invisible, spiritual reality that dominates over the people (cf. O'Brien 1999:244ff; Schnackenburg 1991:139 ff; Lincoln 1990:184ff). And it is through the very existence of the Church and particularly through a distinctive pattern of life of the Church. Specifically, it is through the distinctive quality of life in which Gentiles and Jews who once walked according to the ways of the world and the prince of power of the air (Eph. 2:2) live together in the unity of Christ's fellowship, being freed from the domination of the Powers.

The passage thus shows that the existence of the Church having such a distinctive

lifestyle has itself a significant political implication. This is simply because the mission of the Church is *inter alia* grounded on its political faithfulness to the lordship of Christ over the Powers. Its existence is grounded upon the redeeming of Christ. The distinctive lifestyle is fixed in its political faithfulness to the universal lordship of Christ, which constitutes the content of its mighty witness towards the Powers.

In regard to the importance of the distinctive pattern of life of the Church based on the political faithfulness to Christ's lordship, Berkhof (1977:51) remarks as follows:

> All resistance and every attack against the gods of this age will be unfruitful, unless the church herself is resistance and attack, unless the church demonstrates in its life and fellowship how men can live freed from the Powers.

Seen in this light, what is first required of the Christians is not political action in itself – although that cannot be neglected – but a presence, a distinctive style of life, a special mode of existence based on their political faithfulness to Christ's lordship (cf. Ellul 1989:xli).

To the same effect, Yoder (1979:125) contends that the Church which obediently practices new virtues and distinctive lifestyles different from those of the world functions as "a paradigm," and "a pilot processing plant for the models of culture". By the political faithfulness to Christ's lordship in word and deed, the Church is thus meant to be a "priestly kingdom" that points to the eschatological life and order for the rest of the world (cf. 1 Peter 2:9; Yoder 1984; Mouw 1976:50-56).

To summarize, an essential task or mission of the Church is to be the Church that witnesses to Christ's lordship over the Powers in word and deed.

5.2.3 A Community of Alternative Power

According to the previous investigation, the epistemological function of the Church concerns both the earthly and heavenly realms. While it relates, as a social entity, to the earthly, visible realm, it concerns, as a spiritual entity, the heavenly, invisible as well as earthly realm.

Christ's lordship is essentially linked to his redemptive work on the cross that has overcome the Powers. The life and Spirit that are given to the Church are basically rooted in Christ's redemptive power on the cross. The Church in itself cannot exist, therefore, apart from the power of Christ's cross.

In this respect, discernment of the Powers is an essential part of the Church's intrinsic

task and the understanding of the power of Christ's cross is imperative for grasping the unique character of the identity of the Church.

5.2.3.1 Confrontation with the Powers

Christ's redemptive work on the cross entails the victory over the Powers, as invisible, spiritual realities. That is, the Powers have been defeated by the power of Christ's cross. But, they are still at work and the Church is called to wage spiritual war against them (Eph 6:10ff).

What is then the true nature of the Powers? Do the Powers exist independently? Are they intrinsically evil? Or are they incorrigible? And further, what's the specific task of the Church against the Powers?

H. Berkhof (1977 cf. Wink 1992:65-85) explained three aspects of the reality of the Powers in terms of the scheme of creation, fall and redemption:
As a first aspect, the Powers are created to serve as agents to provide order, guidance, and meaning according to the purpose of God in the world (Col. 1:16-17; Berkhof 1977:18-26; Wink 1992:65-68; cf. Webber 1986:35). They form something invisible that constitutes the "soul" of the visible, of material phenomena of institutions and systems, something that cannot be reduced to rational terms, something that suggests a deeper existence and is not altogether explicable on the human level (Ellul 1969:163). In short, they serve as the "invisible weight-bearing substratum of the world," i.e. as the "underpinnings of creation" (Berkhof 1977:28-29).

The Powers are involved primarily in the sphere of the social structures of reality.[115] Humanity is not possible apart from its social institutions and systems, for example, their political or economic systems, which form the context of individual and social life. The social structures are thus indispensable for human existence. Accordingly, humanity exists under the influence of such Powers (cf. Eph. 2:2-3). Significantly, however, with regard to their specific influence, the Powers are collectively referred to as "the domination of darkness" in Colossians 1:13 from which believers have been delivered.

This passage points to the second essential aspect about the reality of the Powers. The Powers as God's creation are fallen powers (Berkhof 1977:27-35; Wink 1992:68-73). They are not intrinsically evil, but they are fallen Powers. Their violent nature is a sign

---

[115] Traditional Christian interpretation of the Powers has stressed the influence of them mainly on individuals, whereas more recent interpretation stresses primarily on the structures of our existence. For this issue, see Arnold, Clinton E 1992. *Powers of Darkness: A Thoughtful, Biblical Look at an Urgent Challenge Facing the Church.* Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press. 167-209.

that they are perverted and distorted from the original purpose they had in God's creation. Yet, in spite of their perversion, the Powers still maintain the existing order of the world institutions and systems under God's sovereignty. As "the domination system," the Powers teach humanity what to believe, what we should value, and what we can see, dominating over every realm of life at a depth level (Wink 1992:51-55; cf. Romans 13).

Specifically, in the form of the state, national interest, public opinion, accepted morality, tradition, and democracy, the Powers give meaning, unity, and direction to humanity (Berkhof 1997:32-33). Yet they separate humanity from the true God. More significantly, they act as if they were ultimate values, calling for loyalty as if they were the gods of the cosmos. In fact they have become gods (Gal. 4:8), behaving as though they were "the ultimate ground of being," and demanding from men an appropriate worship (Berkhof 1977:30 cf. Yoder 1972:143). Yet man is not aware that he is subject to such Powers. This is why Paul reminds his Galatian readers that they had formerly lived in bondage under the world Powers (Gal 4:1-11). When they were outside Christ, they were ruled by *stoicheia*. *Stoicheia* in modern terms could be called the state, nationalism, militarism, capitalism, communism, traditional culture, class, racism, sexism and the like.

Nevertheless, these Powers could serve to some degree as an aid in ordering human life. They still undergird human life and society and preserve them from chaos like "the dike that prevents the chaotic deluge from submerging the world" (Berkhof 1977:33). However, they often abandon their divine vocation for the pursuit of their own idolatrous goals. Then they become demonic. Furthermore, when they confront Christ, they reveal their tyrannical character (:34), as was shown in the case of Japanese militarists' colonial rule over Korea (cf. II-2.6.3).[116]

It is this idolatrous delusion of the Powers that Christ unmasked in his cross (Col. 2:15). The true nature of the Powers thus came to light in the crucifixion. The cross disarmed them and made a public example of them. That is, unmasked, revealed in their true nature, they lost their mighty grip on humanity.

This leads us to our final point on the spiritual nature of the Powers. The Powers will be redeemed (:36-46; Wink 1992:73-85). The gospel is grounded on the fact that God not only liberates us from the Powers, but also liberates the Powers as such. This is

---

[116] Two biblical passages concerning the state show clearly this point: Romans 13 and Revelation 13. Both Paul and John refer to the same (Roman) government. In the former, however, the reasonable government that implements its original function is presupposed, whereas in the latter, the diabolical government that confronts the power of Christ in John's apocalyptic vision is presumed (cf. Walton 1994:110; Wink 1992:89-96). In other words, John's understanding on the Roman government focuses on its spiritual dimension in which it forces people into ultimate loyalty.

Paul's theme in 1 Corinthians 15:24-28. One day Christ shall turn over his kingship to God the Father, "when He shall have dethroned every rule and every authority and power" and "the last enemy to be dethroned is death."[117] Thus, the godless dominion of the Powers will eventually come to an end. All the anti-Christian Powers, that is, every structure of authority, institution, system, ruler in heaven and earth and under the earth will be brought into subjection under Christ's feet. Their function as instruments of God, given to them in creation, shall be fully transformed in the new creation.

Since the victory of Christ on the cross, the dominion of the Powers is limited (Berkhof 1977:43ff). They can no longer attain their goal. They can achieve nothing but that which fits into the saving divine counsel (:45). Yet this does not mean that their ungodly action has been put to a stop. They are still seductive and menacing. Only where the lordship of Christ is manifested, their seduction and threats shrink. For this reason the discernment of the spiritual nature of the Powers is imperative for the Church that exists in the eschatological tension between "already" and "not yet". The witness of the Church to Christ's lordship thus continues to be unavoidably disposed to a confrontation with the Powers, whether directly or indirectly. And this determines the essential nature of the task of the Church in the world.

What then is the specific task of the Church confronting the Powers? Berkhof (:47-67) explains it as having two aspects: on the one hand, the task concerns the continual exposure of the domination of the Powers; on the other hand, it involves restoring the Powers to their divine purpose.

The first task of the Church is to unmask the idolatrous pretensions of absoluteness by the Powers over all of reality (:47-52). The nation, the state, the financial system, the technique, and the future etc. try to dominate humanity as absolute powers. In addition, all kinds of isms are the derivatives as a result of this absolutisation of the powers such as nationalism, racism, imperialism, capitalism, communism, and so on.

Even unmasked, and having lost their dominion over men's souls, the Powers are still seducing humanity into submission to them. They often force people to be loyal to them as if having ultimate meaning and power.

But the Church of Christ is called to refute the idolatrous pretensions of the powers, no matter how powerful they may be in reality. By faith and in a life based on Christ's

---

[117] The Greek verb *katargein* for "dethrone" means literally "to make ineffective, powerless, idle" (Bauer-Ginglich Lexicon 1979). Yet, the translation of *katargein* in 1 Cor. 15:24 and 26 poses a problem. If the word is read "destroy" as in RSV, then any possibility of reconciliation is precluded. Thus it seems more desirable to read "dethrone" as Hendrik Berkhof (1977:41) does, or to read "neutralise" or "depotentiate" as Walter Wink (984:50-55) suggests.

lordship, the Church avoids deifying it, proclaiming that the whole world belongs only to Christ and labelling the dominion of the powers as un-self-evident.

Berkhof (:49-50) pointed out that this is an aspect of "a Christian avoidance of the world." According to him, Christians need to avoid any realm of the world, insofar as the Powers that reign would draw them away from their fellowship with their Lord. This does not necessarily mean withdrawal in a spatial sense. It rather means a decentering in relation to secular powers (cf. Walton 1994:242-245). In other words, this implies that Christians should keep a critical distance from worldly powers, without being dominated by them. To put this more positively in Paul's terms, this avoidance of the world corresponds with "dying" to the world, namely to the domination Powers (cf. Gal. 2:20; 6:14).

By so doing, however, the believers do not flee the world. Instead, Christians constantly remind themselves: they do not belong to the nation, the state, the money, the technique, and the future, but belong only to Christ (:50). More actively they profess their allegiance to the Lord, risking their own lives. It is this profession of the Christian identity in the life that effectuates the continual exposure of the subtle deceit of the Powers, which is the first task of the Church (cf. John 12:31).

On the other hand, the second task of the Church involves restoring the Powers to their proper function (:53-67). Christ's victory and dominion over the Powers do not remain within the Church. The reign of Christ goes far beyond the borders of the Church. In Colossians 1:20 Paul says, "And through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross" (NIV). According to this passage, Christ's incarnation and self-sacrifice entails restoring the heavenly Powers, i.e., reconciling them to this divine ordinance and purpose.

This reconciliation is to unite all things in heaven and on earth in Christ (Eph 1:10). The Church as an agent of reconciliation is, therefore, not only called to expose the idolatrous pretensions of the Powers, but to bring these Powers closer to their true nature in Christ (cf. Webber 1986:43-44). This task concerns what Wink (1992:165) called "changing or altering the spirituality of the Powers: to recall the Powers to the humanising purposes of God revealed in Jesus".

Berkhof (1977:58) labelled this as a "Christianisation" of the Powers. This term implies that the Powers are relativised, are made instrumental and subservient to Christ. In other words it means that the Powers – instead of being ideological centres – are made what God meant them to be.[118]

---

[118] Berkhof stated: for the nation or state, it means to carry out their original mission in their proper

But the change of the Powers is not accomplished merely by a change of structural arrangements alone. It concerns the changes at the deepest level, which Wink called altering their spirituality. It is at this point that Paul reminds the Ephesian community of the spiritual nature of Christian struggle of life (Eph 6:12).[119] In this regard, Berkhof's remark (1977:61) is of great significance:

> To strive to neutralize [i.e. Christianize] the Powers and de-ideologize life, without taking as point of departure and as goal the reality of God in Christ, will take us no further than a certain degree of 'humanization," which today or tomorrow will fall prey to a new Power, that of "humanity." To strive to neutralize the Powers and de-ideologize life by seeking to shore up the prophetic message with coercive measures, in order thereby to enthrone Christ without passing by the detour of preaching and conversion, will achieve too much and thereby little. This would but replace one Power by another – in this case by a Christian ideology – whose legalistic character would tend to veil from sight the Lord's salvation and degenerate into hypocrisy.

Berkhof's remark shows what should be the content of the task of the Church in respect to changing the spirituality of the Powers. It is not merely the struggle to change structural arrangements. Nor is it to bring the Powers to their knees. This is Jesus Christ's own task. It is, therefore, to be a Church that bears the prophetic, living testimony to Christ's victory on the cross over the Powers in word, deed, and presence. And it is to continue to challenge and engage the Powers by a living prophecy based on faith and life, that is, on political faithfulness to Christ's lordship at all times and at any cost.

5.2.3.2 A New Paradigm for Power

As a result of Christ's victory on the cross over the Powers, the power of Christ's cross became a new paradigm for power in the world now. As a redeeming power that belongs to the *eschaton,* it has infiltrated into the world now, representing the essential characteristic of the eschatological Kingdom of God.

---

relationship to the ultimate authority of God: to become a means of preventing society from chaos and of ordering human relations, instead of oppression by serving their own interest or enslaving men to the world view they propagate.

In the economic and technological realm this task means the subjection of all their resources to serve man according to the divine intention, instead of exploitation or plundering.

[119] "For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places".

The Church is the unique social location that has participated in the power of God's Kingdom in the world. Needless to say, the implementation of the task of the Church and its life is radically grounded in the power of Christ's cross. It is thus essential to understand the nature of the power of Christ's cross.

According to Paul's argument, the word of Christ's cross is the epistemological criterion dividing two groups of people in the world: those who are being saved and those who are perishing (1Cor 1:18). For the first group, the cross is "the power of God"; for the second group, it is a "folly, a stumbling block." The two groups of people are delineated and defined by their response to the word of the cross.

Because human wisdom is profoundly distorted, the world cannot know God by human wisdom (1Cor 1:20). As a consequence, for humanity the real wisdom is judged to be folly, while folly is deemed to be the real wisdom. Paul's preaching of the crucified God thus reveals the radical discontinuity between God and the world. It is only Christ's cross that yields knowledge of God (1Cor 1:21). And further, the cross as the central symbol of God's redeeming power, as Paul understands it, becomes "the fulcrum and the measure of reality itself" (Purvis 1993:74). To understand the cross as folly is, therefore, to reveal a basic misunderstanding of the structures of reality.

As already noted, the Powers had dominated the world until the power of Christ's cross was revealed. All structures of reality and systems of meanings were and are still ruled by these Powers in the fallen world. The cross of Christ has disclosed the identity of the domination Powers, which Ellul (1969:84-108) called the "necessity" by which the fallen world has sustained itself.

Regarding the intrinsic nature of the fallen Powers, in *The Symbolism of Evil* Paul Ricoeur (1967:175-210) articulates it as "the law of violence" that has dominated over the world. Much of the realities and structures of our modern disordered world rest, according to Ricoeur, upon violence, and therefore, the fallen world in itself is sustained by violence. Only by means of violence is the victory of order over chaos possible in this fallen world. Violence thus has "redemptive character" in the fallen world (cf. Wink 1992:13-31).

In reality, the law of the violence exerts its powerful impact on the world:
First of all, it dominates the individual self, pertaining to both the conscious and the subconscious sphere. It involves the human decision-making process. What is more, as already mentioned in Chapter III (3.2.3.2), the power based on the law of violence interplays with human imagination at a depth level. It is by the influence of this power that such distorted images of self, the other, and God take shape, which have a profound impact on the formation of faith and spirituality (cf. Migliore 1983:30-39).

Secondly, the law of violence dominates interpersonal relationships in the form of control, manipulation, and coercion (cf. Mouw 1976:45-53; Purvis 1993:19-36). In reality it is part of "necessity" that the powerful dominate the weak and the powerless are oppressed by the powerful in the world. Ironically, more often than not, practical opposition to oppressive violence too easily devolves into the same means, namely a struggle of power against power (cf. Hall 1993:127; Wink 1992:17; Berkhof 1977:44; Ellul 1969:93-115).

Thirdly, the law of violence rules, as already mentioned in the previous section, the whole infrastructure of institutions, systems, and culture by the principle of self-absolutisation.[120] It goes without saying that the Church in the world is not exempted from it.

The power of the cross thus proclaims a break with the Powers. To have true freedom is, from the power point of view, to escape "necessity" as the law of violence or, rather to be free to struggle against this "necessity" (Ellul 1969:127). And to have true freedom is to abide in Christ's power of the cross "derived from the self-imposed weakness of his love" (Hall 1993:129). The power of the cross thus liberates the individual self, others, and all structures and systems. It leads humanity into unity and harmony, instead of into conflict and disintegration.

Consequently, the power of Christ's cross becomes the new paradigm and the norm of all powers (cf. Cousar 1990:183ff; Sleeper 1969:135). All powers in distorted forms must be judged and interpreted by Christ's cross. It is only the power of the cross that saves the world. The Church as the community of the cross is the agent of God's power in the world. It is the redemptive community called to witness the reality of the power of the cross to the world.

5.2.4 Summary

In line with the ecclesial identity examined so far, the Church is the social location of God's presence and redemptive activity in the world. As a qualified piece of the world, it exists as a redemptive community for others in the world. Its distinctive identity is found in the fact that it is the community of Christ. To the extent that it is a witnessing community to Christ's lordship over domination powers of the world, the Church also has the character as a political community. In this regard it is a community of alternative power called to carry out the tasks of both unmaking and restoring the

---

[120] Wink (1992:17-30) maintains that the myth of redemptive violence dominates contemporary America, that is the very heart of public life more powerfully than Judaism or Christianity.

Powers by means of God's redeeming power revealed in Christ's cross.

5.3 A Hermeneutics of Ecclesial Praxis and Marginality

According to ecclesial identity examined in the previous section, the Church is an instrument of the redemptive community in a particular position in the world. In view of Christ's lordship, the Church is located in the place of Master of the world, but in view of his incarnation, it is situated in the place of servant of the world. Moreover, as the social location of God's presence and redemptive activity – while it is part of the world – it is distinct from the world. Existing in the world, the Church involves various contextual realities, such as socio-politico-economic and cultural systems and structures etc. around it. And at the same time it is required to sustain its own position as a result of its own identity. Authentic ecclesial praxis and spirituality presuppose this particular position of the Church in the world.

How could, then, this particular ecclesial position in the world be articulated, which determines a peculiar mode of ecclesial existence and spirituality? This requires a hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis in terms of power dynamics between God's redeeming power and the fallen Powers. This is because the Church in the world takes part in the dynamics occurring between both powers. In this section we will briefly deal with our inquiry into hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis and marginality.

5.3.1 A Hermeneutics of Ecclesial Praxis

As already discussed, the nature and function of the Church as the faith community concern both socio-historical and theological aspects. As a social entity, the Church has, on the one hand, a material aspect which functions in the same way as other human communities, involving various contextual realities and a social world situated in a specific socio-historical situation.

On the other hand, the Church, as a theological entity, has also a spiritual aspect that functions in a completely different order reigned by the crucified and risen Christ. On account of this aspect, the Church, as a distinctive community, belongs to the eschatological Kingdom of God in discontinuity with the world now. The Church thus exists in a double position in the world. While the Church exists in the world now, it participates in the new life of the *eschaton,* i.e. the world to come. In short, the Church is 'in the world, but not of the world'.

Naming this particular position of the Church in the world "the theologic of Christian awkwardness", Douglas J. Hall calls the Church *ecclesia crucis* (Hall 1996a:198-213). By means of the particular identity as *ecclesia crucis*, the Church is a community

184

crucified to the world now. The Church should therefore disengage itself intentionally from the worldly culture. And by the same theologic it should also reengage itself meaningfully in it. Our concern in this section is to articulate hermeneutically the authentic locus of *ecclesia crucis* in which the 'theologic' is practically embodied.

The Church is a community called to God's redemptive work in/for the world. Ecclesial praxis is, therefore, based on the sovereign presence and praxis of God himself for his redemptive work in the Church as His body (cf. Müller 1992:2-3). In this regard, authentic ecclesial praxis is determined basically by the character of God's redemptive praxis. With a view to our quest for the hermeneutical locus of authentic ecclesial praxis, the focus will be placed on three hermeneutical characters of God's redemptive praxis in relation to the world: its specific context and manner, its implications, and its dialectical dynamics.

God's presence and redemptive praxis, first of all, are associated with a particular life-situation or context of the Israelites. It is evidently shown in the narratives of the patriarchs and the exodus, according to which the living God is always encountered and experienced not in secure situations or territory, but in insecure and dangerous contexts, in the wastes of uncertainty.

Notably, God or *Yahweh*'s presence in Ex. 2:23-4:17 appears to be relating to the suffering situation of his people. It specifically relates to the present status of his people in oppression, bondage and slavery under the Egyptian authority. It is here to be noted that God's active presence and praxis is directed towards his people at the periphery or margin in the contemporary socio-historical context.
Although the socio-historical context is different, the exile narrative is to be understood in a similar vein. God's presence and redemptive praxis here move from the secure, stable land to an insecure, uncertain and dangerous place, especially during exile.

The God of Abraham and the Israelites is thus viewed as a *deus mobilis*, a moving God (Leech 1985:28 cf. Müller 1992:3, 8) toward the margin in human history and society, i.e. the people who are victimised and marginalized by the *status quo* in the fallenness of the whole of creation. Such a redemptive movement of God is associated with what Stringfellow (1984:43) called 'the politics of the Kingdom', according to which *Yahweh* or God's presence and praxis is directed basically towards a marginal location that is incompatible with the *status quo* (cf. Leech 1992:92ff).

Significantly, however, the exodus narrative suggests the other aspect of God's presence and praxis directed towards marginality. Having delivered His people in oppression and slavery out of Egypt, God forms a covenantal relationship with them in

185

the wilderness, including the demand of divine holiness and justice. For Israel it was a vocation, one that she should be 'a kingdom of priests' and 'a holy nation' in/for the world (Ex. 19:6).

The character of God's presence and praxis as the locus of the vocation of Israel in the exodus narrative leads us to the second hermeneutical character of authentic ecclesial praxis. God demanding divine holiness of Israel implied a special meaning. To be holy means to 'cut' or 'separate' in its origin (The New Bible Dictionary 1962:530). To make something holy is, therefore, to cut it off from its natural environment and to transfer it into a different environment. The word is used only for or in relation to God in the Old Testament. Accordingly, it denotes 'apartness' and so the separation of a person or thing from the common or profane to a divine use (ibid). Holiness, therefore, involves separation and describes thus a peculiar position of the Israelite people in the world.

What matters here is the idea of holiness. Israel is called, in obedience to the Holy God, to reject the pagan notions of 'sacralisation' in the quest for true holiness and true freedom. It is here important to note that holiness as the vocation of Israel is demanded to be embodied by observance of law not within a secure, sacralised realm separated from being human, but in the insecure, mundane realm of ordinary human life. The demand is characterised by ethical instructions relating to a distinctive style of life, for instance, reverence for parents and for the Sabbath, respect for the poor and strangers, social justice, and the demands of love. These instructions demand the uprooting of the people from the sacral structures of contemporary pagan religions, and a willingness to live within the insecurity of being human.

The vocation is, therefore, essentially countercultural and subversive regarding the pagan religious, social order. Remarkably, God's demand of holiness includes that even the marginalized, i.e. non-persons in society are acknowledged as the subjects of God. Divine holiness thus is unpredictable, demanding and even dangerous in comparison with the contemporary pagan notion of the secure, sacral order (Leech 1985:44). So, God as *Yahweh* undermines the stable pagan order with its demand for total allegiance and the establishment of a unique relationship with Israel.

It is no wonder that *Yahweh*'s call to divine holiness and justice continues in the monarchial period. As Brueggemann (1985:49-77)[121] pointed out, the witness of the

---

[121] In his article, Brueggemann sees the prophetic role as that of a destabilising presence within society so that the prevailing system is not equated with reality, and so that alternatives are thinkable. He sees the task of prophetic ministry to be one of nurturing, nourishing and evoking a consciousness and perception alternative to those of the dominant main culture.

prophets who regularly voiced a more passionate, more radical, and more pure vision of Israelite faith was obviously focused on the vocation of the holy people. It goes without saying that Israel's exile was caused by the same issue.

In summary, God's presence and praxis in the exodus narrative are linked to the vocation of his people toward divine holiness and justice in the world. The vocation is, in essence, concerned with "God's saving activity in the midst of human history; God's intentions, on behalf of which God is ever active, that all people come to live in peace and justice, love and freedom, wholeness and fullness of life (*shalom*) and that creation be brought to final completion" (Groome 1991:15). Thus, God's presence and praxis tend essentially toward marginality, but they entail ultimately the liberation and transformation of the whole world through the vocation of Israel, which is finally accomplished in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (cf. 5.2.3.1). This is the second important hermeneutical character that determines an authentic ecclesial praxis.

The third and last character of hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis is concerned with the dialectical character of God's praxis. The dialectic occurs basically because of the dynamic movement of God's praxis in the world caused by the reality of domination Powers. All social orders, structures and relationships in the world are, in essence, dominated by fallen Powers which tend toward centrality, i.e. the inclination that tries to secure safety and stability in this-worldly form of life. On the contrary, God's presence and praxis are directed, as already noted, toward marginality.

What is at stake here is the dialectical dynamics of God's redemptive praxis that occurs practically in its marginality, having relations with centrality of the fallen Powers. Importantly, the dialectic, which is practically experienced in ecclesial praxis, is not one occurring merely in a discursive practice on which 'the revised method of correlation' is fundamentally based. It is rather the dialectic occurring in a process of praxis that involves the whole person, i.e. the mind, heart, and body in relationships. That is to say, the dialectic is associated with ecclesial praxis that occurs in the web of relationships in the world.

The dialectical dynamics occurring in God's redemptive praxis operate in the form of a simultaneous negation and affirmation of the world, caused by the disparate politics between domination Powers of the world and the power of Christ's Kingdom. The crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ is an indicative example. His death represents the negation of the world, but his resurrection represents the affirmation of the same. Significantly enough, the negation here includes the affirmation, and the affirmation necessitates the negation. And further, this dialectical dynamics are practically rooted in his redemptive suffering.

The Church is the community of discipleship called to follow Jesus Christ. Authentic ecclesial praxis should, therefore, be characterised and determined by this dialectical dynamics of God's praxis based on Jesus' redemptive suffering. And here the dialectical dynamics of negation and affirmation between the Church and the world practically arise[122], which produce a particular position of the Church in the world, fully participating in its life, but maintaining "a dialectic between staying and leaving, preserving and judgement" (Ellul 1970:74-75, 84).

In conclusion, God' presence and redemptive praxis as the foundation of hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis are characterised by marginality in the world. Marginality is viewed as the praxial and hermeneutical locus in the power-dominated world where God's presence and praxis of transformation of the world occur in the dialectical dynamics of negation and affirmation to the world in relation to the Powers. Authentic knowledge and praxis of the Church to God occur only in marginality. Marginality, therefore, becomes the authentic locus where the 'theologic' of *ecclesia crucis* is practically embodied in the world.

5.3.2 Three Hermeneutical Approaches to Marginality

With reference to God's praxis and/or Christian praxis, there have been some discussions on marginality. However, the understanding and interpretation of marginality shows some differences, depending on the perspective used. With a view to developing our argument on marginality, three aspects of a hermeneutics of marginality will be examined in this section. For our purpose, however, two models will first be briefly dealt with and our attention will be mainly directed to the third model.

5.3.2.1 A Theocentric Hermeneutic

For our discussion on marginality, above all, the definition of the concept of marginality is needed. The word marginality is inherited from the social scientists (cf. Lee J Y 1995:35). To be marginal means to be "excluded from or existing outside the mainstream of society, a group, or a school of thought" (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed.). A margin refers to a centre that defines it. According to the above definition, a centre lies in the mainstream of a human society, a group, or a school of thought. A margin is thus defined in terms of its relation to the centre.

From the phenomenological point of view, the visible reality of a secular centre in the

---

[122] C. van Gelder's (1996:46-47) recent argument on 'repositioning the Church' in the context of North American Churches shows that the issue raised is fundamentally caused by the Churches' practical negligence of the dialectical dynamics of affirmation through negation of the dominant culture.

world is basically associated with the reality of power. And further, power is theologically linked to the reality of fallen Powers whose centrality is taken for granted as a typical paradigm of power in this-worldly form of life. In this view, a margin is the locus negated by a centre of power.

From this power point of view, the world is filled with many centres and margins, and the tension between them is constant. Humanity wants to create its own centres, stronger and more powerful than others. The more centres are created, the more margins are also created in the world. Gender, class, race, culture, religion, and the like are thus determinants of marginality. Marginality is, therefore, caused by the urge toward centrality, namely the human tendency to be at the centre with a view to exercising control or dominion over others[123].

A perspective of marginality as the locus of God's redemptive work in the world is employed by Bonhoeffer. As already stated, according to Bonhoeffer (1972:230), the Church is the critical centre from which all is judged. Yet, in the light of Church history it is "the hidden centre of world history" (1986:142). Bonhoeffer's perspective of marginality is clearly manifested in the following statement:

> God himself is the crisis, not the preacher, not the church. Nobody knows ahead of time where the centre will be. According to historical measures it can lie at the *periphery*, like Galilea in the Roman Empire and Wittenberg in the sixteenth century. But God will make the place visible and everyone must pass by. The church can only witness to the centre of the world that God makes to be the centre. It must attempt to create space for God's work (1972: 230 Italics added).[124]

The same perspective is also manifested in one of his letters. For him the great events of world history is viewed "from below, from the perspective of the outcast, the suspects, the maltreated, the powerless, the oppressed, the reviled – in short, from the

---

[123] The human tendency to seek the centre of power dominates whole spheres of life regardless of the non-Christian and the Christian world, especially in modernity. Rasmussen (1993:26-33) pointed out that modernity, which resulted in the fragmentation of society, was fundamentally based on the image of mastery and control. As a result all great schemes and systems are, according to Rasmussen, viewed in a post-modern view as "socially produced means of some group exercising control over another; that is, all relations are power relations, and suspect."
The same view is also prevalent within the Christian community, especially in conjunction with ecclesial authority as part of the problems facing contemporary Churches. See. Gunton, Colin E & Hardy, Daniel W (eds) 1989. *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community*. Edinburgh: T.&T Clark. The contributors are highly critical of past and present ways of exercising authority in the Church that have distorted divine authority onto the level of human authority based on centrality.
And further, the same idea is also critically referred to in Western theology. It has always been tempted to try to possess a central position in the power-dominated world based on human autonomous will and works at the expense of its peculiar position (cf. Theron 1997:7-12; Forde 1997:23-102; Smith 1989:204).
[124] The same insight is partly echoed in Moltmann 1990:38f, 63-69, 301-312.

perspective of those who suffer" (1968:442).

Furthermore a similar perspective on marginality is also found in Karl Barth. He (1958:168) remarks that by sharing his life with the despised and forgotten, Jesus revealed that God is a God who "ignored all those who are high and mighty and wealthy in the world in favour of the weak and meek and lowly". Barth even speaks of the "partiality" of God for the poor and oppressed (ibid). God is thus to be found in the below, and he looks at the life from the below, thereby transfiguring all values (:169).

In summary, for both Bonhoeffer and Barth, marginality is viewed as the real or theological centre where God himself works in world history. Here their perspective of marginality is associated with God's own way of working in this fallen world. According to this marginal perspective, God is understood as an invader questioning the *status quo* and desiring to change it, overturning all centralist values of the humankind. Thus the Kingdom of God proceeds from the below to the above in history.

5.3.2.2 A Liberationist Hermeneutic

Another perspective of marginality is most commonly manifested in various theologies of liberation. For theologians of liberation, God is understood as a God of the oppressed who liberates the oppressed from their oppression. The oppressed denote the economically exploited, the politically powerless and the socially alienated. The oppression is consequently bound up with social, political, economic and ecclesiastical structures that create and sustain injustice. That is to say, the oppressed are those who are marginalized by dominant power groups in the system as a totality. In other words, the oppressed or the poor are those who are on the outside of ever changing historical constellations.

With reference to the peculiar position of God's people, using the exodus motif, a liberation theologian, E. Dussel (1988:52-53) explains as follows:

> The poor set out on their journey. They pass beyond Egypt's frontier, they transcend the horizon of the system, they cross the barrier of death. Now there is nothing to follow, no one to heed, but the Lord. They have now embarked on the nothing-of-the-system, the non-being of the prevailing morality. They are on the road to the "wilderness" (Heb., "bamidbar", "in the wilderness", is a theological category). The "wilderness" (Matthew 3:3; 4:1) is exteriority, the expanse over which domination no longer has sovereignty.

God's people are here symbolised by the poor (cf. Gutiérrez 1988:xx-xxi.),[125] and

---

[125] Gustavo Gutierrez here speaks of the "irruption" and the "new presence" of the poor: "Liberation

190

exteriority is viewed as the location of the identity of God's people. And Dussel (1978:69) also asserts that "only when the church identifies itself with the poor and the oppressed can it accomplish its prophetic function". The function is to invade the world from outside. This task requires the praxis as the struggle for liberation, which will lead to the liberation of the oppressor as well as the oppressed, challenging the domination system as a totality.

Thus, in theologies of liberation, marginality that is expressed as exteriority is the locus where the identity of God's people is found. It is the place distancing the Church from domination of the fallen system. And at the same time, it is a vantage point from which the Church can criticise and challenge the established systems of the world based on centralist values.

However, the perspective of marginality in theologies of liberation is fundamentally based on a dichotomy functioning in modernity's schemes and systems, such as the oppressor and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless (cf. Gutiérrez 1988:63ff; Bonnino 1975:70). In other words the concept of marginality here is defined merely by socio-politico-economic standpoint, which causes inevitably an incompatible, antagonistic relationship between two parties. And problematically, marginality here is mainly focused on negation of the system, although the negation is often insisted to be directed ultimately towards transformation of the system (cf. Dussel 1988:237). In addition, it is undeniable that in contrast to their advocacy, the method of liberationists' praxis as struggle for justice, in reality, shows that it rests upon centrality of power as control and dominion over others.

5.3.2.3 A Hermeneutic of Holistic dynamics

Recently, Jung Young Lee, a Korean-American theologian, developed a new concept of marginality in his book *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (1995). Lee's perspective on marginality offers us a significant insight, suggesting a holistic dynamic model for the hermeneutics of marginality, i.e. the dynamics of simultaneous negation and affirmation.

According to Lee, thinking is not merely the activity of our rational faculty, but a holistic process that involves the mind, heart, and body, and accordingly, "how we think is ultimately conditioned by who we are" (:66). His views on marginal thinking are thus based on his identity as an Asian (Korean)-American. With regard to his identity, he has double status as a Korean immigrated to the United States, and as an American emigrated from Korea. Thus this double status makes him belong to two

theology is closely bound up with this new presence of those who in the past were always absent from

191

worlds in terms of race and culture, experiencing alienation from both worlds. His life and thinking in the United States is thus primarily based on this experience of alienation by this particular identity. Overcoming the negative experience in his own marginal thinking, he developed a perspective on marginality as part of an authentic theological stance. The value of his marginal thinking lies in the fact that it rests not merely upon abstract reasoning, but fundamentally on his existential life situation and Christian faith based on his particular position between two different worlds.

To begin with, in defining marginality, Lee notes its negative perspective defined by dominant groups in terms of racial and cultural determinants. According to the classical definition of the word "marginality", marginality or a marginal person points to being, or to one situated, in-between, belonging to neither of two worlds (:42-47).[126] This classical definition reflects the negative experience of an ethnic minority as total strangers in United States. Korean-Americans are marginal people in the United States. They are Koreans in North America, but are Americans in Korea: They are Koreans in North America because they have their own racial and cultural roots in Korea; they are Americans in Korea because they are naturalised American citizens. Thus, as marginal people, they belong neither to the people of their lineage nor to the people of their residence.

Often, they are not welcomed and rejected in the Caucasian dominated society as well as being strangers in their fatherland. They are placed between a two-world boundary. As a result, they experience themselves as non-beings or nothingness. This negative experience is thus that of "in-between" / "neither-nor", being caused by two dominant worlds. This reality mirrors evidently an aspect of the actual experience of Christians in the power-dominated world whose spiritual status is rooted in the world to come, but whose existential life is grounded on the world now under the rule of domination Powers.

Further, as a complement to this classical definition of marginality, Lee presents a contemporary definition based on a positive and self-affirming understanding of marginality (:47-53). This new definition, Lee points out, has developed along with the rise in position of ethnic minorities in American society by changing economic, technological, political, cultural, and religious global structures and especially by the technological and economic expansion of East Asian countries.

In this new definition, marginality is viewed not in reference to two dominant worlds. Rather, the two worlds are viewed from marginality. That is, in the self-affirming

---

our history".

[126] Lee draws this classical definition from Robert E. Park and Everett Stonequist whose insights are borrowed from George Simmel and Werner Sombert. cf. p. 43.

contemporary definition, the norm of marginality shifts "from the centre to the margin" (:56).

The contemporary definition thus emphasises the idea of "in-both" rather than "in-between." From the marginal point of view, a Korean-American belongs to both Korea and North America. This is because he owns jointly the heritages of both worlds. In a more positive sense, he is more than a Korean, because he is an American; he is more than an American, because he is a Korean. Thus, a marginal person in both worlds affirms both worlds without giving up either one. Both his cultural and racial root (Koreanness) and his present social life (Americanness) are affirmed. This positive perspective of marginality suggests another aspect of the Christian life experience through God's empowerment that summons a more positive attitude toward the world now.

Significantly, however, Lee stresses the dynamic relationship between the two definitions of marginality. Lee asserts that the contemporary self-affirming definition of marginality does not exclude the classical self-negating definition. Instead, the positive definition of marginality includes the negative definition. In other words, the former does not replace, but complements the latter. In terms of existential reality, two experiences coexist in a marginal person. Thus both negative and positive experiences are, according to Lee, two different aspects of one reality (:59).

At this point, Lee's definition of marginality moves forward into a new and comprehensive one based on the holistic experience of marginality (:55-70). Lee defines his holistic perspective of marginality as "new marginality." For him new marginality is represented as "in-beyond" that includes "in-between" and "in-both." That is to say, in the new marginality the margin is the locus where transcendence is experienced, including simultaneously both the negative experience of "in-between" and the positive experience of "in-both."

The margin thus becomes a creative core. The margin in the new marginality is no longer the margin of centrality, the margin defined by dominant groups. It is a new margin, the margin of marginality that negates to be at the centre sought by the fallen humanity under the influence of dominating Powers. In a strict sense, the new margin as a creative core is a new centre that marginalises the centre of centrality (:98). Significantly, however, the creative, transforming core will never replace the centre of centrality. Despite being a real centre it always remains a margin, because it is the margin of marginality. A new marginal person or a person living in-beyond thus is a person in-both worlds but also in-between them at the same time[127].

---

[127] As an example of a new marginal person, Martin Luther King, Jr., serves as an illustration. He was

193

Lee emphasises that the essence of being in-beyond is not a by-product of being in-between and being in-both. Rather, it embodies a state of being in both of them without either being blended. That is, in the new marginal person as the person in-beyond, being in-between and being in-both coexist, reflecting a holistic or comprehensive understanding of marginality. For this reason, creative dynamics of transformation occur continuously in the new marginal person: from being to non-being, and from non-being to being simultaneously (:62f). In other words the process of change proceeds from being in-between to being in-both, and from being in-both to being in-between at the same time.

To summarise, Lee provides us with a comprehensive and holistic hermeneutic of marginality. From the phenomenological point of view, the visible reality of a secular centre in the world is basically associated with the reality of power. And further, power is theologically linked to the reality of fallen Powers whose centrality is taken for granted as a typical paradigm of power in this-worldly form of life. In this view, a margin is the locus negated by a centre of power. Marginality here does not remain the locus of either mere negative experience or mere affirmative experience. It is the locus where a transformative or transcending theodynamics occurs beyond the dialectical experiences arising from simultaneous experiences of both negation and affirmation in the power-dominated world.

5.3.3 Marginality and Its Creative Dynamics

5.3.3.1 Dialectic Experience of Total Negation *and* Total Affirmation

Significantly enough, in Lee's marginal way of thinking as paradoxical reasoning, negation and affirmation occur simultaneously. Affirmation is necessary for negation, and negation is, likewise, necessary for affirmation. The total negation (a neither/nor) and the total affirmation (a both-and) are opposites, but complementary. Both harmoniously coexist in the way of thinking of the new marginal person.

According to Lee's marginal point of view, Jesus-Christ[128] is the new marginal person *par excellence* (Lee 1995:71f, 77-99). Jesus' marginality is salient in his birth, life,

---

indeed the one person who had risen above being either black or white American. Yet this does not mean that as a person he was the synthesis of two races (the black and white). Martin Luther King, Jr., as a marginal individual, was not a person of a new race, not a hybrid of the black and the white, but an authentic black American. As a black American, however, he was in the world of neither black nor white Americans because he was truly in both simultaneously.

[128] Lee asserts that a hyphen should be inserted between Jesus and Christ. This is because Jesus is the Christ, while the Christ is also Jesus. Therefore, a one-sided emphasis of either Jesus as Christ or Christ as Jesus is not enough. Both are inseparable. Thus, in order to highlight the idea of new marginality, as in the case of an Asian-American, it is desirable to use a hyphenated "Jesus-Christ." cf. p. 78.

death and resurrection.[129]

In the birth and incarnation narratives, despite the Creator and Master of the world, He was rejected by his people and by the world (Jn 1:10-11). He became a marginal person of his own accord by emptying himself to become a servant of people (Phil. 2:6-8). The self-emptying process – that is his transition from divinity to humanity – is, according to Lee, "divine marginalisation" (:79). By taking human form, Christ was marginalized by God. The Creator became a creature. The Master became a servant.

By becoming a servant, Jesus is also marginalized by people of the world. Becoming a servant means to become nothing or non-human being, because he is absolutely controlled by his master. By the self-emptying process, Christ thus became the margin of marginality. Jesus' death on the cross was the culmination of marginality whose elements are suffering, humiliation, loneliness, and rejection.

On the cross, as servant, Christ was alienated from and placed in-between two worlds without belonging to either. He entered a neither/nor category. Yet, this kind of total negation was imperative for Jesus-Christ to make a total affirmation of himself in-both worlds. Only because he took the lowest position, he was raised to the highest position. Because he was nothing through the emptying process, he was the one who could live in-beyond all things in heaven, on earth, and in the world below (Phil. 2:9-11). The resurrection of Jesus-Christ was its definitive demonstration.

What is at stake here is that Christ's exaltation is accompanied by his humiliation. That is, the act of self-fulfilment takes place simultaneously with the act of self-emptying. In the same manner, Christ is still the servant of the world as the margin of marginality, and Lord of all lords. At this point, Lee notes that although both are inseparable, Christ's marginality precedes his lordship (:83). In other words, without his marginality or servanthood, his lordship cannot be considered.

It is important to know that Christ is present in the world not only in terms of his lordship but also in terms of his servanthood as the self-emptying process. Thus, Lee asserts that if one stresses Christ's lordship alone and neglects his servanthood, it represents a critical error. Here, an interpretation of the paradoxical relationship between Jesus-Christ's death and resurrection in terms of the perspective of the new marginality is possible.

Jesus-Christ's death implies utter negation to the world. It is a definitive "No" to humanity and the assertion of a neither/nor (:95). It is unbearable humiliation and

---

[129] See Gospel of Mark especially.

divine rejection. And it is the abyss of abysses that separates this from that world. Yet, paradoxically, all things come from it. His death is the end of the old, but the beginning of the new. In his death, negation and affirmation, death and life, are interconnected. In his suffering, its embracing love is contained. Jesus-Christ's redemptive love is rooted in his redemptive suffering, which is the margin of marginality where all is negated and affirmed (Romans 6; 2 Cor 5:17)

Death as the neither/nor is thus the beginning of resurrection as the both/and. This is why his death is necessary for resurrection, and resurrection is possible because of death. Jesus-Christ's death and resurrection thus coexist and are complementary. That is, on the cross his death and resurrection become joined.

His resurrection means ultimate affirmation to the world. It is a definite "Yes" to humanity and the assertion of both/and (:95). Through Christ's resurrection his presence had a cosmic dimension, becoming limitless, beyond space and time. With resurrection, Christ transcended all marginality. Breaking the bonds of every cultural, racial, economic, social, sexual, religious bias, Jesus-Christ is a new humanity, a new marginal person, who lives in-beyond by affirming both worlds. With resurrection, marking the beginning of a new age, Christ-Jesus became the creative core of a new life and Spirit.

It is at this creative core, the margin of marginality, where the identity of the Church as the new marginal people is found or determined. For the new marginal people, the total negation and affirmation to/by the world meet simultaneously. And the dialectical tension of Christian life in the power-dominated world is to be articulated in this new marginality.

5.3.3.2 Dynamics of Transcendence and Transformation

According to Lee the new marginality is a creative core where the Son, Spirit, and Father are present (:97) and creative dynamics occur in being in-beyond. Significantly, in such creative dynamics, the mutual transformation between being in-between and being in-both takes place without ceasing to be each.

The event of Pentecost serves as a good illustration. It is in the new transforming core that people from every nation found at Pentecost a common core and understanding which transcended their own language. It is also in the transforming dynamics of the creative core that reconciliation occurs. Jews and Gentiles become one in the centre of the new marginality. As Lee points out, "wherever there is an event of reconciliation, there is a new marginality; wherever there is a new marginality, there is a creative core where Christ-Jesus is present" (:98).

196

In this creative core, weakness becomes strength, while strength becomes weakness. The creative core of Christ-Jesus is thus the authentic locus where divine presence is experienced.

> In the creative core of Christ-Jesus, racism is overcome, sexism is no longer in practice, the poor become self-sufficient, the weak find strength. All people live in harmony and peace. The creative core of Christ-Jesus includes all things. It is the authentic centre where God reigns over the world. To recognise this creative core means we put our centre in God, who is none other than the margin of marginality. When we are there at the margin of marginality, we glimpse the divine presence and become the agent of reconciliation (:98-9).

According to Lee the Church was born in this creative core. Because the creative core is Jesus-Christ as the margin of marginality, the Church is the community of God's marginal people (:121). Yet, the Church is different from a mere gathering of marginal people. The consciousness of the presence of Jesus-Christ in their midst is the essence of the Church. It is, therefore, important to note that because Jesus-Christ is the margin of marginality, he is actively present at the margin. This, however, does not mean that he is not present at the centre. Rather, his presence is necessarily eclipsed in the centre of centrality (:121, 122).

For this reason, Lee stresses that it is difficult for centralist people to experience the genuine presence of Christ, and instead, those who are poor, powerless, and at society's margin are easily and naturally conscious of Christ's presence as the margin of marginality. However, Lee also asserts that even many theologians use the centralist system of values as the norm of their theological backing of liberation (:123). The Christianity based on centrality is a pseudo-Christianity (:119-120),[130] and in those Churches that support a centralist ideology, Christ's presence is eclipsed. The Church, therefore, must always be conscious of Christ's presence as the margin of marginality in the power-dominated world.

Insofar as the Church is conscious of the presence of Jesus-Christ in its midst, the Church thus should be best characterised as "a movement of marginal people" (:132).[131] Further, when marginal people experience the presence of Christ, they

---

[130] Lee contends that with Constantine, a new form of Christianity, a pseudo-Christianity, developed which is based on centrality. cf. p. 120. In addition, he also maintains that such centralist inclination is still dominant in today's Church. cf. pp. 122-129.

[131] In the sense that the Church is a living community of marginal people who belong to Christ, Lee points out that it is a different sort of institution. The Church as institution based on centrality seeks stability and security, whereas the Church as a living community of marginal people is a movement that moves forward, following after Christ's presence in ever-changing global situation. cf. pp. 131-132. cf. see: Palmer, Parker J. 1991. *The Company of Strangers*. New York: Crossroad.

become "new marginal people", transcending the marginality and still remaining at the margin. And the Church as a living community of new marginal people becomes the redemptive transforming community, reconciling with the world.

5.3.4 Summary

A hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis based on God's ongoing presence and praxis in the world proves that marginality is the authentic praxial locus of the Church as *ecclesia crucis*. It is in marginality that ecclesial praxis in the world authentically takes place. And a dialectical dynamics of negation and affirmation to/by the world also occurs practically in marginality. Here, the perspective and concept of marginality was investigated from a comprehensive and holistic perspective, overcoming the limitation of the existing perspective and concept of marginality. Following J Y Lee's hermeneutic model, marginality was viewed in terms of creative power dynamics occurring between two realities of God's redeeming power and human centralist value system controlled by domination Powers. Marginality here becomes the locus where creative, transformative theodynamics towards transcendence occur and are experienced beyond the dialectical, simultaneous experiences of negation and affirmation in the power-dominated world.

5.4 A Marginal Community and a Spirituality of Marginality

On the basis of the preceding inquiry into hermeneutics of marginality, we will explore, in this section, the character of the Church as a marginal community manifested in the Scripture. And further, a spirituality of marginality will be finally suggested as an alternative for the current problems of the spirituality of the KPC, including some concrete strategies.

5.4.1 A Marginal Community on the Move

The history of the Hebrew people is characterised by the history of emigration and marginalisation. It began with the journey of Abraham, who emigrated to Canaan in response to God's call. Later his descendants became immigrants in Egypt. After years of marginalized life in Egypt, they emigrated to Palestine through forty years' life of wandering in the wilderness. Eight hundred years later, they were exiled again to Babylon. Then the *Diaspora* took the Jews to various nations of the world. The faith community in the Bible is always the marginal community on the move. That is to say, God's people is "a people on the way" (Brueggemann 1997:110).

In what follows, we will take note of 'wilderness' and 'exile' as two typical metaphors of the marginal community in the Old Testament, as well as of *'paroikia'* as a

representing metaphor of the marginal community in the New Testament.

5.4.1.1 A Community in the Wilderness

The wilderness or desert has a central position in the emergence of Israel as a people, and of Israelite faith in Yahweh. As Leech (1987:140; 1985:27ff; 127ff) pointed out, for the Israelite God was "God of the desert," and it was in the desert that Israel was found and was to learn the lesson and privilege of dependence upon Yahweh (Deut. 32:10; Hosea 9:10). Israelite beginnings of the experience of God in the context of the desert stem from Abram and Sarai's journey into the unknown.

In the narrative of Abram's calling (Gen. 12:1-9), God's call begins with his order to leave Abram's homeland for a strange land. Abram's homeland was Ur of the Chaldeans whose symbol was Babel's tower as signifying the human rebellion against God. In this story, Babel symbolises human centeredness on safety, security, and success based on the world powers. As Ellul (1970:10-23) pointed out in *The Meaning of the City*, the Babel that humanity constructed is marked with power as revolt against the Lord. That is, Babel as a city is the place where man's conquest is affirmed and is the memorial to that conquest.[132] The history of Israel's salvation begins first with God's calling of Abraham from his homeland in Babel to a foreign land.

God's call to Abram and Sarai meant that they were to be marginal people. With their departure from their homeland they were to be completely detached from the country that had protected and nurtured them. Becoming displaced, they were to be aliens and marginalized in a strange land. This, in fact, implied they became "a people deeply at risk, without home, without land, without security" (Brueggemann 1997:110). Significantly, however, their leaving was a journey toward a new place, trusting in God's own promise.

Yet, here a question can be raised. How could marginal people constitute a powerful nation? How could wanderers receive land? And how could marginalized people make a great name? From the human power point of view, marginalisation and greatness are completely incompatible. It is therefore essential to note that in the narrative of Abram's calling Israelite faith was, right from the beginning, based on Yahweh's own trustworthy calling and promise, in contrast with many heathen religions and their faith based on human centrality: power, wealth, fame, security, and the like. Moltmannn (1965:99) remarks that "for Israel the appearing of God is immediately linked up with the uttering of a word of divine promise", which differentiates the Israelite God from the gods of other nations. The promise directs toward the future, incongruous with the

---

[132] Ellul contends that Israel as the chosen people was everywhere separate from the city. They were

reality around the hearers of the promise, which consequently has a 'historicizing' effect (:100).

Brueggemann (1997:110) also stresses that the Israelites' journey to a new land was initiated by *the sovereign promise of God*.[133] By this promise the people was summoned and sent. With regard to God's sovereign promise, Brueggemann (ibid) remarks:

> It is the voice of God that initiates the journey. This is a God who notices trouble, who promises to accompany, who anticipates blessing and well-being, who drools and dreams with Israel over milk and honey. In the presence of that sovereign promise, Israel is deeply certain that bondage, barrenness, oppression, and marginality are not God's will for them—or any one.

This indicates exactly that the Israelites' journey, as represented by the narrative of Abraham and patriarchs, stems not from human or natural reasoning, but only from God's own calling and promise based on His trustworthiness and love. It is right on this abiding promise that for the people of God the perseverance of faith rest in ever-changing circumstances (cf. Berkouwer 1958:93ff).

In short, Abraham's faith is essentially based on God's call to be marginal people and the promise in this connection. In faith, they accept being marginalized in conformity with God's original design for their life. Israel's identity as God's marginal people was determined from this moment. Seen in this light, Abraham and Sarah were "marginal pioneers and the perfect symbol of sojourners" (Lee J Y 1995:111).

Furthermore, the typical character of Israel as God's marginal people is remarkably illustrated in their forty years' life in the *wilderness*. As Abram and Sarai had to depart from Babel by God's call, so the people of Israel had to leave Egypt[134] by *Yahweh* God's call. Since the descendants of Abraham migrated to Egypt, they were no longer sojourners, but permanent Egyptian settlers. As the Israelites multiplied, however, they became strong enough for the Egyptians to fear them (Ex. 1:7, 9). After Joseph's death, however, as the oppression of the Hebrew people and the genocide of their new-born sons began (Ex. 1:11-16), they became totally marginalized in Egypt. They were reduced to slavery.

---

wanderers and had no share in the creation of the city. cf. p. 23.

[133] On the role of God's promise in the life of the biblical strangers with reference to Yahweh's presence, see further Brueggemann's "Old Testament theology" (see chap. 8), 150-182.

[134] Egypt was, according to Ellul (1970:23-27), the place where Israel learnt to build cities for the first time. In addition, Ellul stresses that Egypt was the city/country built by Mizraim, the brother of Nimrod – both of whom had been sons of Ham – who had built the city of Babel, and accordingly Israel had to leave the city.

From a marginal perspective, the Exodus may be viewed as God's call to turn from human marginalisation in Egypt to "divine marginalisation" (Lee J Y 1995:112). When liberated from Pharaoh's rule, they were not freed from marginality. They were destined to be marginal people of God for the service of the world. The wilderness was thus the locus of divine marginalisation for God's marginal people.

Above all, bitterness, groaning, thirst, alienation, and powerlessness were the typical characteristics of the marginalized Israelites' experience of wilderness. The wilderness was the place that threatened the very existence of Yahweh's chosen people (Mauser 1963:21). However, the focus of their marginality shifted from centrality to God. That is to say, their experiences of marginalisation in the wilderness were meant to make them forfeit their dependence on human centrality, or to choose rather to place their total dependence on God (Deut.8:2). At stake was solely survival. And even it was not at their disposal. As McKenzie (1961:27) pointed out,

> In the desert the complexity of civilisation vanishes as if it had never existed; one realises how little of the surface of the globe is available for human life, and one feels that one is an intruder. Life is reduced to a very few simple decisions, and a wrong decision may be fatal. One cannot allow oneself to be distracted from the single purpose, which is survival; and unless one accepts the fact that survival in the desert is totally demanding, one will not survive...

Thus, the desert was the place where Israel had to accept Yahweh God on His own terms if it was to survive. This was because the wilderness was the place where all dependence upon human potentiality was completely cut off.

Significantly, as the second aspect of Israel's experience of the wilderness, it was in the wilderness that both divine grace and revelation occurred (cf. Leech 1985:34, 37). In the hardships of the wanderings in the wilderness "the fatherly guidance of God" was thoroughly experienced through a divine process of testing (Von Rad 1979 [1966]:71). Moreover, it was in the wasteland where human potentiality was totally blocked that the covenant as a symbol of the special relationship between God and Israel was formed. In the totally marginalized situation that the real identity of Israel was revealed: "it can be said that Israel's fundamental belief in her election as God's chosen people is rooted in the wilderness tradition" (Mauser 1963:15).

At the covenant ceremony, Israel was officially chosen to be God's own possession (Exod. 19:5).[135] They were chosen to be servants of God for the fulfilment of God's

---

[135] The passage of Exodus 19:5-6 focuses on the special relationship between Israel and Yahweh God: 1) God's treasured possession (*segula*) means special treasure that belonged to the king; 2) a kingdom of priests means special people who serve the king; 3) a holy nation means the people sacred to the will of God. And this special relationship determines Israel's peculiar status and identity in the world. cf.

Kingdom on earth. In other words, they were identified as God's new marginal people for the world. The only condition for their qualification was total obedience to and observance of God's covenant as the response to God's call.

To sum up, the wilderness is inseparably linked to the identity of Israel as God's chosen people. As Aalders (1969:39-40)[136] pointed out, it was in the wilderness that the mystery of Israelite knowledge of the true God was born and its real future burst open; the pure promise was visible; 'the way to life' began to march on.

5.4.1.2 A Community in Exile

In the understanding of Israel's identity as God's marginal people, the Babylonian exile was an epoch-making event in the Old Testament. In a sense, Israel's experience of exile marks the formation of its peculiar identity in an enigmatic way.

It was in and after exile that as the scope of God's saving power expanded past Israel into the whole of global reality, creatively structured identities were revealed in order to be "the people of God" in a foreign land (cf. Smith 1989:63; Powell 1963:8). In addition, it was in exile that the Suffering Servant became the symbol of the true Messiah, which was eventually fully and perfectly manifested in Jesus-Christ, the archetype of new marginality.

As in Abram's calling and Israel's exodus, exile is to be understood in terms of God's decentralisation of his people from centrality. Taking note of the fact that Israel had, as a wanderer, no share in the creation of the city, Ellul (1970:23ff) contends that Israel's idolatry was directly linked to its building cities in Canaan.

This was, according to Ellul, caused by Israel's attraction to foreign powers and the rich culture around it. As a result, the cities of Judah became the places where instead of God, various kinds of idols were actually dominant and worshipped (cf. Jer. 11:13). From the marginal perspective, this implies that the kingdom of David was reduced to the focal point of centrality in contrast with Israelite call and covenant to marginality in the wilderness. In this context, exile is to be viewed as God's intervention for restoration of Israel's covenantal identity.

Calvin's commentary on the same passage.

[136] "Daar werd het huiveringwekkende geheim van dit volk geboren, het geheim van zijn Godskennis. Daar vond het de andere God, die niet een persoonlijking was van de 'natuurlijke mogelijkheden' dezer aarde, maar die Zijn schepsel 'mens' riep en riep, verder en verder riep op de eindeloze weg door de woestijn. En dat was bepaald geen wandeling. Zelfs geen 'omwandeling' – zoals het bij Jezus geen omwandeling is geweest...Maar dáár en zó sprong de ware toekomst open; werd de echte belofte zichtbaar; begon de 'weg ten leven' zich af te tekenen".

In exile the Israelites experienced a negative experience of nothingness as God's chosen people. The circumstance of exile was, as Brueggemann (1997:3-11) pointed out, characterised by a sense of loss, rootlessness, the power of despair, profane absence of God, moral incongruity, the danger of self-preoccupation, and the like. In short, it could be summarised as a crisis of identity.

In exile all values and treasured symbols of meaning that had been sought were mocked or dismissed by the Babylonians. And the experience of God's absence drove Israel to despair with the sense of abandonment by its own God. For exilic Israel, its own world that had sustained it was thoroughly uprooted and negated. According to the socio-historical investigation by Daniel L. Smith (1989:38-41), though the Jews in Babylonia may not have been "slaves" in a literal sense, they were most assuredly on this continuum. Evidently, that was the experience of "nothingness" by total negation.

On the other side, however, the exilic circumstance suggests the affirmative aspect from the perspective of God's salvation history. Surprisingly enough, it is found in Jeremiah 29:5-7 that the prophet Jeremiah actively admonishes the exiles captured in Babylonia as follows:

> Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat what they produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters; take wives for your son, and give your daughters in marriage, that they may bear sons and daughters; multiply there, and do not decrease. But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare.

According to this passage, the exilic circumstance is not viewed merely as something to be negated by Israel. Rather, it is something that is to be affirmed actively. Even the Babylonian city, city of the enemy, is viewed not as the object to be destroyed but to be sought for its welfare. In the exilic circumstance both Israelite life and Babylonian rule are thus affirmed.

It is of great importance to note the context of this passage, however. This admonition of Jeremiah is followed by Hananiah's false prophecy that God will bring back the exiles soon after having broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Interestingly enough, the logic of Jeremiah's affirmation of the exilic reality overturns that of Hananiah's negation of Israelite captivity.

At stake here is the ground on which such negation and affirmation is based. Apparently, Hananiah's prophecy is grounded in his idea of the God of power,[137]

---

[137] Smith (1989:135) notes that Hananiah's prophecy is uttered in decidedly militaristic terms: "I have

which is the very ground of his negation of Israelite captivity. According to Hananiah's logic, the power of Israel's God is far mightier than that of the Babylonian king, and it is thus unthinkable that Israel, God's chosen people, is ravaged by the hand of the gentiles, and accordingly God will destroy Babylon. This logic is apparently based on the fallen human centrality.

In contrast with Hananiah's prophecy, Jeremiah's prophecy is based on totally different grounds, what Brueggemann (1997:3) called the "hard core." In the light of the external circumstances, the content of Jeremiah's prophecy seems to be senseless. Is it sensible to tell the "landless people" to multiply in the circumstances of the exile? Is it conceivable to admonish the marginalized exiles to dare to exercise any influence over the welfare of the Babylonian city and rulers?

Paradoxically, however, it is exactly at this point that the "hard core" is found. It is, according to Brueggemann, "pre-rational". It is something that circumstances cannot undermine and negate. It is at this point that Israel's own peculiar identity as God's new marginal people is found.

From the marginal perspective, Jeremiah's logic is fundamentally based on the logic of God himself which directs Israel towards "new marginality". The inconceivable idea which the Prophets contain is that it was Yahweh who willed the exile, not the power of foreign gods, because the exile was a punishment for Israelite sin. God's work surpasses the limit of human intelligence.[138] He "plucks up" and "breaks down", "destroys" and "overthrows" His people, but he also "builds" and "plants" them through the exile (Jer. 1:10). God alone has the capacity to bring endings through His judgement and new beginnings *ex nihilo* in the historical process (Brueggemann 1993[1988]:24). The exile thus leads us into "a larger field of mystery" that contains "more dangerous dimensions" of Israelite faith and identity (Brueggemann 1997:10). And inevitably, the mystery points to the creative core of what Lee J Y calls the new marginality that contains the experience of self-transcendence through simultaneous self-negation and self-affirmation.

With regard to the creative core, Jeremiah's witness is remarkable in that in the very midst of extreme sadness and despair caused by the sense of God's abandonment (cf.

---

broken the yoke of the king of Babylon... I will bring back Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim king of Babylon...I will break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all the nations within two years" (Jer. 28:3-4, 11).

[138] This is the reason why 'a theology of Exodus' appeals to human understanding and action far more than 'a theology of Exiles'. Most liberation theologies appeal to the theology of Exodus as their hermeneutical ground of liberation, verifying that they are essentially based on the human logic of centrality. cf. Croatto, J. Severino 1981. *Exodus: A Hermeneutics of Freedom.* New York: Maryknoll. pp. 12-13.

Lam. 1-2:), strong hope is generated by God's "steadfast love, mercy, faithfulness" (Lam. 3:22-23. cf. Moltmann 1965:116). Moreover, in the very midst of the exile Isaiah strikingly proclaims that Yahweh has triumphed over the power of exile, that is over Babylonian gods (cf. Isa. 46:1-2) and over Babylonian royal power (47:1-11).

It is in this context that the creation of Israel – as God's treasured creation – takes place (41:13-16; 43:1-5). Here the creation concerns Israel who is expected to be free from the dominating powers of Babylonian rulers and gods, because the saving power of Yahweh God is at work in the exilic circumstances. Interestingly enough, the promises of Isa. 40f are worded in creation terminology. Israel as a marginal people will be a new creatio ex nihilo![139] What is more, the creation relates to Israel who is expected to be called "priests of the Lord," "ministers of God" (61:6) in future who follow the way of Yahweh's Servant as the Suffering Servant (52:13-53:12). One can recognise here that Israel's covenantal identity established in the wilderness is re-identified in the development of revelation.

All in all it is in the circumstance of the exile that Israel's own peculiar identity as new marginal people is more vividly revealed through whom God's saving power is mobilised for the whole world beyond Israel's limited territory.

5.4.1.3 Church as *paroikia*

Along with Pauline recognition of the Church as an eschatological entity, the image of the Church as *paroikia* comes to the fore in 1 Peter, Hebrews, and Revelation in the New Testament (cf. Harrington 1980:81ff; TDNT vol.V. 1985[1967]:851ff). This imagery seems to suggest strongly the peculiar identity of the early Christian communities as minority groups in its contemporary society.

In the first letter of Peter the Christians, who are God's elect and strangers in the world (1:1), are urged to live their lives as strangers here (*ton tes paroikias humon chronon*) in reverent fear (1:17). This is because they are called to be "aliens and strangers (*paroikoi* and *parepidemoi*)" in the world (2:11).[140]

Paroikia means literally "*the stay or sojourn* of one who is not a citizen *in a strange*

---

[139] Genesis 1-2 is now repeated in the ecclesial life of Israel and later in the life of the Church (cf. Eph. 1: 22, 23, Col. 1:18) which is the recreated and transformed new cosmos. This *ekklesia* called out is the body, the company of strangers! See the following section on Church as *paroikia*.

[140] The early Church still regarded itself as an alien colony (Diog. 5.5). 2 Clem. 5.1 uses *paroikia* in the same way as 1 Peter. Irenaeus calls the Churches *paroikiai* (Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 5.24.14). This plural becomes a term for the individual congregations (cf. the NT *ekklesiai*), and then *ekklesia* (singular) comes to be used for the whole Church, and *paroikiai* for the constituent Churches (Lat. *parochiae*; Eng. *parishes*). Strictly, then, the parishes are societies of resident aliens on earth whose true citizenship is in heaven. cf. TDNT vol. V. 1985[1967]:851-853.

place, also the *foreign country* itself" (Bauer-Gingrich Lexicon 1979). Expressed differently, the word implies "living away from home" (Müller-Fahrenholz 1995:109). According to Elliot (1990:24), the term *paroikia,* a derivative of *paroikos* which is composed of *par-* and *oikos,* is fundamentally a word associated with home. That is, whereas *oikos* connotes associations and impressions of home, belongingness, and one's proper place, *paroikos (paroikein, paroikia* etc.) depicts the "DP", "the displaced and dislocated person, the curious or suspicious-looking aliens or stranger" (ibid), pointing with various nuances to "the political-legal, social and religious identity and situation of the addressees and authors of 1 Peter" (:39). From the viewpoint of the spiritual status in the body of Christ, Christians are actually 'no longer strangers and aliens *(zenoi* and *paroikoi),* but fellow citizens *(sympolitai)* with God's people and members of God's household,' as is stressed in the Paul's letter to the Ephesian community (2:19).

That Christians as aliens and strangers in the world are, therefore, viewed from a different perspective. In the first letter of Peter, *paroikia* is used metaphorically for the Christian status in the power-dominated world from the sociological point of view. Though Christians are fellow citizens in the Kingdom of God, they are still resident aliens in another form, i.e. relative to the earth and the *sarx* (1 Pet. 2:11). That is to say, the Church is, on the one hand, *ekklesia* relative to God, and on the other hand, it is *paroikia* relative to the world (TDNT Vol.V. 1985[1967]:852). In this sense, *paroikia* is to be understood as "a sociological expression for the eschatological character of the Christian existence" in the world (quoted by Feldmeier 1992:102).

Seen in this light, *paroikia* supports strongly a marginal perspective on ecclesial identity in the power-dominated world. On the one hand, the *paroikia* metaphor has an aspect of negation of the dominating powers of the world. This is simply because the Christian communities in the first century AD were established on their fundamental faith that they were the people who no longer belonged to the Roman Emperor, but to Christ, the eschatological King. They saw themselves as "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, and God's own people" (1 Pet. 2:9), which echoes Israel's covenantal identity (Exod. 19:6; Isa. 61:6).

One can here conjecture how the Christians' patterns of behaviour appeared among the pagan society. According to W. Schäfke's study of the resistance of early Christianity (1979:460ff), Christians' deviant patterns of behaviour were found especially in religion, in politics, and in the family. They refused to participate in the official cults, as well as in the emperor's loyalty cult, and they stood aloof from political office, because these involved contact with idolatry. And besides, they rejected divorce, and placed considerable stress on the control of sexuality.

All these patterns of dissident behaviour were virtually the expression of loyalty to a "heavenly *polis*" (cf. Hauerwas 1995:26-28; 1989:12) of which Christians were citizens. That is to say these Christians were part of "a dissident minority" in Roman society (Theissen 1992:281). As a consequence, it was inevitable that their dissident way of life would often cause conflict with the conformist majority at whose hands they had to endure the pain of unjust suffering (cf. 1 Pet. 2:19-20; 3:8-10). This implies that the contemporary Christianity was cut off from the world around by a demonstrative confessional dissent. The *paroikia* metaphor thus evidently demonstrates the marginal feature of the early Church in society.

Significantly, however, the Church as *paroikia* did not merely have the aspect of negation from/of the world around. The *paroikia* metaphor had, on the other hand, another aspect of affirmation from/of the world around. It is noteworthy that at points where neither idolatry nor the shedding of blood was involved, Christians were admonished to live good lives among the pagans. With respect to the latter, Theissen (1992:283ff) points out in his analysis of early Christianity from the sociological viewpoint of conflict theory that the contemporary Christians selected "outbidding of the general consensus" so that they might live as model citizens among the pagans.[141]
As an example, one may find that with regard to the state, slaves, and women, a strong and positive exhortation was given to the Christian communities in 1 Peter 2:13-3:6. Interestingly enough, they were admonished to "submit to every authority instituted among men" and even to "honour the (Roman) king." The same principles were also applied to the slaves and women. This exhortation shows evidently the contemporary Christians' active affirmation of the world around.

In a certain sense, this exhortation seems to be in contradiction to that of their dissident way of life. How is it possible to keep such contradictory attitudes at the same time? It is exactly at this point that one could find the feature of new marginality in the *paroikia* metaphor, that is, the inclusivity of simultaneous negation and affirmation of the world: withdrawal and participation; rejection and legitimation; nonconformity and consensus.

The *paroikia* metaphor thus suggests a tense relationship between the Church and the world around. What is important is that, as Theissen (1992:285) pointed out, both nonconformity and consensus were selective and not mutually contradictory.

> Both enabled early Christianity to set itself apart from the surrounding world.
> When Christians maintained alternative values and rules of conduct, this dissent

---

[141] According to Theissen (1992:283-285), this was the way of "adaptation" of early Christianity to the world around. However, he also points out that this had its price, for in outbidding the consensus with the world around, hope and expectations that were alive in early Christianity were repressed.

took the form of a confessional contradiction that even went so far as readiness for martyrdom. Where rules of conduct and values were shared with the world around, the difference took the form of an outbidding of consensus. Christians were not merely citizens like everyone else; they were "better citizens."

In this light, the *paroikia* character of the Church eliminates the misunderstanding that it may promote escapist spirituality or sectarianism.[142] The pattern of adaptation of early Christianity to the world around was, therefore, neither "active" nor "passive," but a "repressive" one.[143]

In this respect, recent emphasis on the metaphor of "the Church as a colony" and "Christians as resident aliens" by Hauerwas & Willimon in our modern context seems to support the biblical idea of the Church's own identity as *paroikia* in the world.[144] Because the Church as *paroikia* is God's means for the salvation of the world, it will have not a defensive, but an offensive relation with the world – "against the world and for the world" (Hauerwas & Willimon 1989:51). In summary, *paroikia* is served as an authentic metaphor of the Church in the world.

5.4.2 Marginality as the Locus of Ecclesial Spirituality

This section will propose authentic ecclesial spiritualities based on marginality, which is suggested as alternatives to existing spiritualities and some practical strategies for the current problems facing the KPC's spirituality. And this will serve as a new direction in nurturing a new spirituality in the KPC.

5.4.2.1 A Counter-cultural Spirituality

The Church as a marginal community is the community of discipleship called to follow Christ. It should, therefore, always be on the move, directing itself towards the vocation to which Christ calls it. In conformity with God's vocation, it must locate itself at the conjunction or boundary between two realms of the "already and not yet" of God' Kingdom. In this particular position, the Church should judge *and* transform

---

[142] With reference to using the term *paroikia*, Müller-Farenholz (1995:110) contends that the term helped to foster an escapist spirituality based on a dualism that despised the earth and glorified the world beyond, though the notion of *paroikia* is useful in underscoring that Christians could only be strangers in a world that rejects them.

[143] Referring to the attitude of the modern Church toward the world around, Metz (1980:97-98) warns of the danger of sectarianism as a pattern of "passive adaptation," along with that of "active adaptation." With regard to the attitude of early Christianity toward the world around, however, Theissen (1992: 283ff) asserts that it was "repressive adaptation" which accompanied a selective outbidding of the general consensus.

[144] Cf. Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Wilimon (1989:12). On the notion of the Church as "resident aliens" implies sectarianism, see critique of Hauerwas (1995:56-60).

the world, existing as "a revolutionary or subversive agent" in the world (cf. Ellul 1989:xli).

It is possible only when the Church questions and resists the world and its culture in totality, keeping a critical distance, instead of an uncritical or idolatrous compliance with it (cf. Brueggemann 1997:121). This attitude does not support a sectarian or escapist spirituality, however. It suggests rather a counter-cultural spirituality in dynamic and dialectical tensions between the Church and the world within history, which leads to a peculiar style of life, i.e. what Ellul called 'a dialectical and agonistic style of life'.

With reference to the attitude of the contemporary Church to the modern culture, Metz (1980:97f) points out two dangers; active adaptation and passive adaptation. The former denotes that by adapting itself in a modernistic way, the Church loses itself. And the latter indicates the danger of sectarianism. By driving it into a close sectarian attitude, the Church loses its influence on society and the world. Metz warns especially the danger of the latter:

> There is obviously a danger that the Christian message will be completely adapted and Church Christianity will sink to the level of an unnecessary religious paraphrase of modern processes in the world. Over and against this danger that the Church will lose itself by a process of active adaptation, there is the danger of loss through passive adaptation. The latter danger is far less in the foreground of our attention today than it would be if we were really concerned with the way that the Church should follow in society now and in the future. This danger is that the Church will become a sect in the theological sense. In other words, it is the danger of a traditional sectarian orthodoxy and a sectarian attitude in a closed Church (:97).

In the light of above Metz' analysis, the KPC have undeniably shown an ambivalence of both active and passive adaptations since 1970s. In conformity with the process of modernity, the KPC recklessly accommodated themselves to their new socio-economic and cultural surroundings (cf. 4.2.2 & 4.2.3) with the result that the KPC became idolatrous and thus unfaithful to their vocation. Specifically in terms of the gospel message, the Christian message was actively adapted to the spirit of the dominant culture based on the materialistic value system.

As a consequence, the KPC are currently in need of developing a spirituality of cultural resistance, which needs a radical change in their position and attitude in relation to the dominant culture. This task involves the authentic affirmation through negation of the world and culture. While the Church engages in the dominant culture,

209

it disengages itself from it. In this regard, Van Gelder's (1996:46-47) contention of the necessity of "repositioning the Church" in the contemporary North American context corresponds to the challenge of the KPC in today's context, although the socio-religio cultural contexts are not congruent.

Regarding this task of repositioning the Church, van Gelder refers to two approaches. Part of this task concerns the disengagement of the Churches from the dominant culture. The contemporary situation in both the North American Churches and the KPC shows evidently that the more the Churches are involved in the dominant culture, the more marginalized is their influence in society. In this context the KPC should discern and confront the reality of the dominant culture, practising intentional disengagement from it (cf. Hall 1996:198ff). In other words, in order to liberate themselves from the fascinating dominant culture, they need to disengage themselves from the spirit of the contemporary dominant culture represented by capitalism and consumerism. And then they need to return to the original locus of their own vocation where they are called to stand.

In this regard, the KPC should question their existing locus of "middle class" Christianity in an affluent society. This is because the Church is essentially a gathering of poor people who confess the Poor One as their Saviour (1 Cor 2:26; Ellul 1984:150). And in order to accept their responsibility for the poor, the KPC need "to enter into the spiritual and material condition of those who put God's question to the world" (Ellul 1984:160). The mind of the KPC should therefore be directed towards the poor or the marginalized in society and specifically in the north, freed from the spirits of success-oriented competition and material affluence.

Another part of van Gelder's repositioning task of the Church involves addressing "the trivialising of the gospel" by those Churches that reveal a separatist attitude toward the broad culture, which has in common with what Metz called passive adaptation. Those Churches adopt the modern view that faith is only a personal and private matter. As a result, they fall victim to the danger of a traditional sectarian orthodoxy and a sectarian attitude without having any influence on society.

The KPC that inherited the tradition of a pietistic-conservative American theology in terms of its theological and religious tradition show currently the same kind of danger, even in collusion with the spirit of dominant culture. Being absorbed in their own survival and growth, they remain in the self-centered type of spirituality, which is specifically manifeted in the KPC's understanding and practice of prayer. The fervent and enthusiastic prayer has been a valuable tradition in the KPC. Yet, the prayer is currently critically under a bias towards the vertical dimension, lacking in the horizontal dimension. The KPC, therefore, need new understanding of the political and

social dimension of prayer in order to nurture a counter-cultural spirituality.

True Christian prayer that is oriented towards the vision of the Kingdom of God is essentially inseparable from resistance and struggle (Leech 1980:68). Because the Kingdom is accomplished in the crucified and risen Christ Jesus, the act of Christian prayer to seek the coming of the Kingdom is absolutely a political one. Authentic prayer can therefore never be purely individualistic. As Leech (:89) asserts;

> All prayer is Kingdom-centred because it is oriented towards the coming of the 'age to come', on earth as in heaven. All prayer is social, because it is rooted in *koinonia* sharing, in the life of God. And all prayer is therefore political, because it is an essential element in the transformation of the world.

As is shown in the prophets of the Old Testament, the perversion of liturgy and spirituality for Israelites derives from the independence and perversion of priesthood and priestly liturgy (cf. Torrance 1999[1955]:5). The priestly code and practices appear as the essential elements for nurturing a counter-cultural spirituality in Israel.

In the similar vein, the importance of the role and function of the ministry as priesthood of all believers need to be rediscovered and recovered in the contemporary KPC. Specifically the instructional and cultic functions of the priesthood, namely, the proclamation of God's will, instruction concerning what is holy and what is unclean and also the office of reconciliation and atonement should be properly performed (cf. TDOT vol.7 1995:66-70). By recovering this function and role of the priesthood, the KPC should discover both the Kingdom-centred, and the social and political dimension and be directed towards it, freed from the individual-centred, power-dominated idolatrous culture.

5.4.2.2 A Spirituality of Mourning

As a further step, the task of the authentic affirmation through negation of the world and culture needs a spirituality of self-surrender or self-denial. This means that the KPC should relinquish their ambition to be in the centre of the dominant culture, together with "the recognition of failure, the acknowledgement of having gone astray, the total disillusionment with modernity and its technological rationality" (Baum 1990:41). This attitude entails even the abandonment of any effort based on faith in progress to overcome the current crisis that they recognise.

As already stated in Chapter II (cf. 2.8.3 & 2.9.1), the KPC have shown a self-complacent attitude towards their remarkable growth achieved since the 1970s. By the 1990s facing the crisis of the numerical decline and secularisation, they have been

trying to devise various measures or alternatives to overcome the confronting crisis. At this stage, however, what the KPC really require is not any self-attempt for change. Instead, it is a spirituality of mourning based on self-surrender or self-denial, which originates from a theology and spirituality of the Cross (Luke 9.23f; 1 Cor. 1.17f).

In the contemporary context of the Western world, Arbuckle (1991:3) maintains that Christian communities should learn "the art of grieving" over significant losses in order to allow the new to enter. A process or stage of grieving over loss is basic, he argues, to human nature and the patterns and rules of human change, whether as individuals or groups (:22). Whereas the modern culture is characterised by the loss- or death-denial, Arbuckle argues, the need to grieve and mourn for newness is one of the most dominant themes in the Scriptures (:56). In the Scriptures grieving is viewed as an awareness of alienation from God through sin and its effects at the levels of personal, community, national, international as well as an awareness of humanity's utter need of God, whereby individuals or communities can reach to newness (:90). More precisely, grieving is to participate in God's grief about his people who sin against him and *"only grief permits newness"* (Brueggemann 1986:33-46)[145].

The Christian life lived in times of transition or the in-between-times could be marked, Arbuckle (:105-106) remarks, by the struggle. It should be a process of daily dying to self, a journey of detaching oneself from all that would hinder individuals or organisations from a committed relationship with God. Detachment—which is the release of all obstacles to the relationship—is, therefore, at the heart of all authentic grieving. Jesus is the model of detachment: Christ's life, especially in his agony, death, and resurrection, is "a journey of grieving", in which He is that which is lost and the leader of the mourning ritual at the same time (ibid). It is thus not possible to become authentic Christians, apart from grieving over their sinful attachment to what does not belong to Christ.

One of the most conspicuous problems currently facing the Korean Church as a whole is the loss of repentance. The message of repentance is rarely found today in the pulpit. This proves in itself that the KPC are attached to the spirit of self-interest, self-security and self-aggrandizement of the dominant culture. In this regard, Arbuckle's argument of the necessity of a spirituality of grieving or letting go in the Western context is true of the contemporary context of the KPC, which is also in desperate need of a spirituality of mourning based on self-denial or self-surrender.

In order to nurture a spirituality of mourning, the task of re-orientation or renewal of the ritual of worship is imperative. That is to say, the worship ritual need to be directed

---

[145] Brueggemann stresses that the possibility for Judah, Israel, Church is to participate in God' grief

212

also towards grieving and mourning over significant loss of self-identity of the worshippers. According to Victor Turner (1969:166ff), worship is a time of liminality, namely, an experience of being freed from existing social structures (such as hierarchy, status, and role-playing) and value system and placed in an in-between state. What does not ordinarily happen in society occurs and is experienced in liturgical liminality. And thereby the worshippers recover the meaning and identity of their individual and social existence, and envision new ways of thinking and living. The central role of the worship ritual as a time of liminality thus focuses on celebrating the renewal of worshippers' covenant identity (cf. Müller 1992:6). Thereby worshippers envision the reality of the Kingdom of God, detaching themselves from the dominant culture.

What, then, are the specific liturgical rituals and disciplines required for the renewal of worshipper's covenant identity, particularly in the contemporary context of the KPC? In this connection, Brueggemann's (1997:110-134) suggestion what he calls "dangerous disciplines" is very helpful. Against the background of today's American situation in which the churches suffer from their loss of identity, Brueggemann suggests six intentional disciplines of "readiness" for what God may do: *dangerous memories, dangerous criticism, dangerous promises, dangerous songs, dangerous bread and dangerous departure.* All these disciplines are marked by "danger", because they are radically based on an act of memory and hope of God's own promises. It is in this act of readiness that a new faith, a new mission, and a new worship might be birthed, together with the renewal of the worshippers' covenant identity. And by this natural process, a spirituality of mourning might be nurtured.

And further, a spirituality of mourning is to be linked up with the power of the freedom to suffer the suffering of others. This kind of freedom to suffer, is given only as the gift of the Spirit of renewal. This demands another kind of art, called *ars moriendi* in Metz' term (1978:20ff) – the art of dying as a living sign of the Spirit[146]. According to Metz the *ars moriendi* means the ability to let go and "the art of being able to come to an end and die", not only individually, but collectively (:20; cf. Bonhoeffer 1966:79)[147]. Significantly, Metz asserts that without the practice of this *ars moriendi*, there cannot be any *ars vivendi*, the art of living, the art of making a radically new start (:21).

In the reformed theological tradition, *ars moriendi* and *ars vivendi* are emphasised by the *mortificatio* and *vivicatio* in the believer by the Holy Spirit (cf. Calvin *Institute* 3.3.3. & 3.3.5. & 3.3.8.). Through the process of *mortificatio* God works out the believer's freedom from sin's absolute dominion over self. And as its counterpart,

---

about the terminal illness, to participate so deeply that newness has a chance (:41).

[146] This *ars moriendi* is originally urged to religious orders.

[147] Bonhoeffer remarks that "when Jesus calls a man, he bids him come and die". Refusal of the cross, therefore, signals that one bargains for "cheap grace". For him discipleship thus means allegiance to the suffering Christ.

through the process of *vivicatio* the Holy Spirit gives rise to the desire to live in a holy and devote manner in the believer. Significantly, the work of the *mortificatio* and *vivicatio* by the Holy Spirit is accomplished not apart from, but through, the continuous disciplined effort of the believer (Gleason 1995:62ff). According to Calvin, self-denial, bearing the Cross, and meditation on the future life are suggested as the specific practice of *morificatio* (ibid).

5.4.2.3 A Spirituality of Prophetic Aliens

In our analysis and evaluation of the spirituality of the KPC in the previous chapter – having examined how they experienced change in specific situations in each historical phase – we concluded that the contemporary KPC are, to borrow Brueggemann's three Church models in the Old Testament, metaphorically in an exilic position in society. The expression, "exilic position," means that the contemporary KPC's faith and spirituality have been reshaped by the dominant voices of present culture, equating their own claims of faith with a cultural definition of reality.

Accordingly, the KPC suffer from the loss of their own identity. As a result of uncritically accepting the "Babylonian" definition of reality, they are not aware of who they are and where they belong. In other words they have lost their home and they are now a homeless people (cf. Buechner 1996; Elliot 1990; Brueggemann 1986). Buechner' remark regarding the reality of homelessness of contemporary people in the North American context is worth listening to,:

> And as we listen each night to the news of what happened in our lives that day, woe to us if we forget our own homelessness (:104)... To be homeless the way people like you and me are apt to be homeless is to have homes all over the place but not to be really at home in any of them. To be really at home is to be really at peace, and our lives are so intricately interwoven that there can be no real peace for any of us until there is peace for all of us (:140).

The above remark speaks for the position of the contemporary KPC advocating a middle class Christianity in affluent society. Assimilating and identifying with the ideology of capitalism, the free market system, and values that grow from there, they forgot the dominant culture was that of a strange land and came to be regarded as home like the exiled Israelites in Babylon. Therefore, they are now in desperate need of homecoming in the metaphorical sense. Homecoming here indicates a recovery of the KPC's own identity and spirituality as the community of *paroikia* in an alienated contemporary cultural situation.

As an alternative and strategy for recovering their identity and authentic spirituality,

214

the task of repositioning the KPC and the art of grieving were suggested in the previous sections, which was represented by a counter-cultural spirituality and a spirituality of mourning. In this section, furthermore, a spirituality of prophetic aliens is ultimately suggested. By a spirituality of prophetic aliens is meant that sustaining its identity as the alien community in an alienated cultural situation, the Church continues to perform more positively a prophetic mission in service of the Kingdom of God. That is to say, witnessing to the reality of the politics of the Kingdom in word and deed by means of their own claim of faith, they impinge upon contemporary idolatrous ideologies in a subversive way.

How, then could the contemporary KPC specifically find and return home in a theological sense? In other words, in what way could they shape the spirituality of prophetic strangers?

5.4.2.3.1 A Community of Memory and Vision

As an analogy with the contemporary faith situation of (North) American Christianity in the light of second Isaiah, Brueggemann comments in his book, *Hopeful Imagination* (1986), that the poetry of second Isaiah announces the possibility of homecoming of the exiled Israelites in Babylon in a specific manner. Viewing the central task of second Isaiah as inviting people home and creating a sense of prospect and hope, he remarks that second Isaiah is involved in a play of imagination against the immediate visible reality (:111). The imagination is *dangerous* one in the sense that it is based on God's own promise resisting and surpassing the human will (cf. 1997:124f). The subversive effect of the possibility of homecoming is thus nurtured by a *dangerous* memory derived from God's promise in the narrative of Sarah, Noah and Exodus (:112ff). Regarding the power function of memory, Brueggemann (:128-129) remarks:

> The memory gives us freedom, flexibility, and distance in relation to the present definition of reality and arrangement of power. Where the memory is muted or distorted, we will, unlike Sarah, trust only obvious possibilities. We will, unlike Noah, come to believe that the present guards against chaos are the only ones available. When the memory is forgotten, we will come to trust excessively in Babylonian modes of life as the only thinkable, possible modes. We will become docile, passive, submissive subjects of the empire, glad to have our life-world contained in the imperial system which is the solution. Where memory is lost or nullified, we are left with only a narrow range of present-tense systems to which excessive commitment is often made.

Thus the historical possibility of homecoming cannot be evoked merely from the

negation of Babylon, but only from the positive evaluation of Israel and its memory. Brueggemann, therefore, stresses that the memory "creates space in which Israel can see that the claims of the Babylonian empire are now void, thus permitting and requiring new action" (:115). More positively, by rereading and reinterpreting the memory in terms of the present, and by re-entering the memory, life, traditions, and self-understanding of the community Israel could see the reality of God's redemptive power beyond the present obvious reality whereby Israel is summoned to the possibility of homecoming.

In order for the contemporary KPC in their metaphorically exilic position to shape a spirituality of prophetic aliens, the practice of the narrative memory as an act of remembering through preaching is imperative, which in turn could serve as "the only alternative" to any absolutising claim of the present definition of reality (:131). That is, only by retelling and remembering the covenant stories of the Scriptures (cf. Müller 1992:3), could the KPC be liberated from the disillusion of the present exilic reality. Furthermore, they could proceed to recover their identity and spirituality as an alien community in the dominant culture.

As already stated in Chapter II, Korea is geo-politically a marginal country surrounded by neighbouring powers. And its modern history is that of suffering. The country is still divided into South and North, and the people in the North are still in severe political oppression and dire poverty. Although South Korean society recently started enjoying remarkable economic growth, social stability and political freedom, the freedom, security and material affluence in society are also only limited and incomplete, because these are bound with the global power structure based on injustice practised by world powers and idolatrous ideologies. In this situation, the KPC should establish where they really belong and who they are, facing historical reality in a marginal theological and geo-political situation. Moreover, they should not forget that as long as the North (Korean Church) remains not free, the South (Korean Church) can not be free either (cf. Walton 1994:244).

At this point, as a practice of memory and an act of remembrance, another specific vision is imperative for the Korean Church as a whole, which is the vision of "an immolated Lamb" (Rev. 5:12) in Johannine Apocalypse (Rev. 5:12) that was given to seven Churches in the Roman Empire. In each of the very different Church situations, the call to conquer is addressed to the Christians in each of the seven Churches (Rev. 2:7, 11, 17; 26; 3:5, 12, 21) together with the vision. The call to conquer is "a call to engage in the eschatological battle" described in the central chapters of the book (Bauckham 1993:14).

The imagery of "the immolated Lamb"[148] in John's apocalyptic vision, representing the paradoxical features of the ambivalence of Christ's exaltation and humiliation in history, is most remarkably described as a central image among various kinds of different images and symbols. Significantly enough, the Lamb seen as both immolated and triumphant, is viewed as the only who can open the meaning of history (cf. Rev. 5:1 ff).

Interpreting the four horses in Rev. 6 as chief components of history[149] – political power, economic powers, forces of destruction, negation, and death, and specifically also the Word of God – Ellul comments in his *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation* (1977:154-155) on the role of the crucified Lamb in history:

> ...these four horses are set in motion by the opening of the four seals, brought by the Lamb. There is then finally the affirmation that, in the last resort, it is Jesus Christ who is the master of this unchaining. And not the Christ triumphant and judge: the crucified Lamb, precisely the one who has borne the weight of the gallop of the horses, crushed by the justice of men and by the cupidity of men and at the same time by the historic, military, and economic expansion of one of the greatest civilizations. The Lamb is, finally, the one who does not at all create the Scourges, nor even evoke them, but who *discloses* them. And in fact it is clearly in the moment of the crucifixion that there has been disclosed what Power is, and what the Justice and Government of men are!

The immolated Lamb is thus the one who discloses the action of God in history. Bearing God's judgment upon history, the crucified Lamb discloses the identity of dominating powers that compose human history. And thereby he reveals the reality of God's redeeming power in history upon which the secret meaning of history rests. In this way He is the master of the history. Yet, the God who raised the crucified one from the dead remains hidden in history, in the fallen world order, and in our human experience. His victory over the power of death will be fully comprehensible only at the end.

It is exactly this vision of the immolated Lamb that the contemporary KPC desperately need at this moment. By this vision, as Bauckham (1993:14) remarks, they could be summoned to be victorious within their own specific situation and to participate in the

---

[148] *Lamb* is the most distinctive title of Jesus in Revelation. The term is used 28 times here and nowhere else (the Gk. word used in Jn. 1:29, 36; Acts 8:32; 1 Pet. 1:19 is different). cf. NBD 1962.
[149] According to Ellul (1977:146, 150 ff), history is not the result of chance, of an ensemble of automatisms, but the result of the interplay between the will of God (that is the love of God and not his imperative power, which is symbolised by the white horse), the will of men, and a certain number of abstract forces (which are symbolised by the red, black, and pale horses). All of history is constituted by the intermingling of these powers; they inspire, but men act.

eschatological battle, in order to reach the eschatological destiny described as "New Jerusalem" at the end of Revelation. The New Jerusalem, i.e. the Kingdom of God where God's perfect reign and presence are actualised now and eternally, is a home that the KPC need to find and enter. For this purpose, as an alien and marginal community, they should remember, prophetically witness and hope for the immolated Lamb as master of history and real Power conquering their present reality.

5.4.3 Summary

The various covenant stories and metaphors the Scriptures, in both the Old Testament and New Testament, support the identity of the faith community or the Church as a marginal community on the move. The Israelite community in the wilderness and the exile narrative in the Old Testament are representative examples, where their covenantal identity as God's chosen people was found, their knowledge of the true God was shaped, and Israel's peculiar identity as God's marginal people for the whole world beyond Israel's limited territory was strikingly revealed. The image of the Church as *paroikia* in the New Testament reveals more vividly the marginal perspective of an ecclesial identity in the power-dominated world. According to the *paroikia* metaphor, the Church is a community of resident aliens on earth, directing itself towards its true home where God is present and remembered through its distinctive life style and ministry. In this light, the contemporary KPC are in desperate need of a spirituality of marginality represented by a counter-cultural spirituality, a spirituality of mourning and a spirituality of prophetic aliens. And only by virtue of the narrative memory and vision of the coming Kingdom are they able to reach home.

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

As an alternative to the problems facing the KPC's spirituality, we proceeded in this last chapter to examine and propose marginality as the praxial hermeneutical locus of ecclesial spirituality. Towards this end we first investigated ecclesial identity in relation to the power-dominated world. The Church participating in the life and power of the *eschaton*, i.e. a totally new order, is a redemptive community called from and existing for the world that belongs to the old *aeon*. A distinctive identity of the Church, therefore, relates to its particular position in the world, specifically in relation to domination Powers absolutising the present reality of the *status quo*.

In order to articulate the position, a hermeneutics of ecclesial praxis was examined as a second task, and marginality was hermeneutically suggested as an authentic praxial locus of ecclesial spirituality. In the light of a hermeneutic of marginality, the Church is viewed as a marginal community on the move, directing itself towards God's ongoing

218

presence and praxis. And finally, we examined various biblical metaphors – such as wilderness, exile and *paroikia* – which strongly supported the distinctive ecclesial identity as God's marginal people in the world. Furthermore, we finally suggested a spirituality of marginality as an alternative and strategy overcoming the problems regarding the contemporary KPC's spirituality.

CHAPTER VI Conclusion

6.1 General Summary

This study started with the researcher's assumption that the features which the Korean Presbyterian Church representing the broad Korean Church have displayed during last 120 years' mission history are so unique and unparalleled that justice needs to be done to them. Inheriting the tradition of the strong revivalism shaped in the formative period, on the one hand, the KPC achieved a remarkable Church growth during the three decades of the 1960s-1980s, which attracted public attention of world churches. On the other hand, the KPC have shown an accompanying feature, i.e. a phenomenon of rapid moral secularisation since the 1990s, demonstrating that the KPC are currently out of position or in a transition period.

The aim of this study was to account for this problematic phenomenon and further to suggest a substantial alternative for the problem at this stage. To achieve this aim, this study employed a practical hermeneutical methodology based on contemporary practical theology and was approached in terms of ecclesial spirituality.

Paying special attention to the marginality of Korea as a small nation − shown in her modern history and geopolitical location − this study set up a hypothesis that the problematic phenomenon of the KPC is fundamentally related to the particular historical and geopolitical life-situation around the Korean nation destined to be a victim of world powers.

In Chapter II, as a first step towards a practical hermeneutical investigation, the history of the KPC was reconstructed at some length from a marginal perspective to discern the particular geopolitical, socio-politico-economic, and cultural situations that presumed to have had a crucial impact on shaping the faith and spirituality of the KPC. Here, some special attention was paid to the marginalized Korean people and their experience of severe suffering caused by those particular situations.

As a result, this study established various contextual realities in each historical phase: namely oppression and exploitation by imperial powers, extreme poverty, a forced demand for shrine and Emperor worship, ruthless religious persecution, national division by world powers, civil and global war, confrontation with Communism,

220

military dictatorship and growth and security ideologies etc. And it was also noted that the beginning of the foreign mission, as well as the remarkable experience of the Great Revival of the KPC in the formative period, had occurred in those strong marginalized situations of the nation. Further, it was noted that the remarkable Church growth since 1960s had occurred in the situation of a socio-politico-economic upheaval under the military rule, i.e. industrialisation and urbanisation along with rapid economic growth. And it was observed that the phenomenon of rapid moral secularisation since the 1990s occurred in the drastically shifted socio-economic cultural situation exemplified by material affluence, democratisation and globalisation.

In Chapter III, as a theoretical foundation for further research steps, this study proposed a definition towards the phenomenon of ecclesial spirituality. Here, focusing on the aspect of the faith community as a social entity, the primordial sphere in human reality was examined where authentic Christian spirituality shapes the hermeneutical character of the faith community, and the hermeneutical process again shapes ecclesial spirituality. In this process, utilising mainly Edward Farley's ontological reflection on human reality as well as a phenomenological reflection on faith-apprehension, this study explained that ecclesial spirituality took shape not merely by an act of faith by the faith community in God's redemptive work, but in the dynamic interplay between divine, human and contextual powers operating in socio-historical situations. By the above this study demonstrated that not merely a theological, but a phenomenological approach is essential in grasping the dynamic dimension of spirituality of the faith community, taking seriously into consideration the reality of various contextual powers.

On the basis of the proposed definition of ecclesial spirituality, Chapter IV devoted ample space to analysing and explaining what and how contextual realities historically operated in shaping the spirituality of the KPC and further evaluating the features of the KPC's spirituality manifested in each historical phase. The result of this analysis and interpretation showed that in the receptive and formative phase, the marginal situation of the nation operated as a crucial factor in the formation of the KPC's faith and spirituality, interplaying with Spirit-driven theodynamics ignited by the experience of the Great Revival in the KPC's understanding and experience of God. And it also demonstrated that in the growing phase various secular ideologies – caused by new situations of national division and rapid economic growth under the military dictatorial regime – had a profound impact on and critically eroded the KPC's spirituality. Further, this chapter elucidated the declining period relating to the situations of paradigmatic change caused by democratisation, material affluence, the development of information and technology, postmodernism and globalisation etc., which played an active role in degeneration of the KPC's spirituality, accommodating the KPC to contemporary dominant culture and consequently having them lose their distinctive identity in society.

In the final Chapter V, as a normative and strategic phase, this study concluded by examining the identity of the Church as a theological entity and by investigating *marginality* as the praxial hermeneutical locus of authentic ecclesial identity in the power-dominated world. Here, the study asserted that the Church as the redemptive community is intrinsically God's marginal community looking for their own 'home' and, therefore, the current KPC should retrieve their intrinsic position in the contemporary dominant culture. And further, as an alternative and strategy for the problem the KPC currently face, a spirituality of marginality represented by a counter-cultural spirituality, a spirituality of mourning and the spirituality of a prophetic alien was suggested.

6.2 Conclusion

This study represents the first attempt to investigate the problematic phenomenon of the KPC, i.e. a remarkable Church growth and rapid moral secularisation manifested during the last four decades in terms of ecclesial spirituality. This practical and hermeneutical study – focusing on the marginality of the Korean nation from a global power structure – offers the following benefits in studies regarding the spirituality of the KPC:

1. Without taking the marginality of the Korean nation seriously into consideration, one cannot do justice to the spirituality of the KPC. As shown in this study, the completely marginalized situation of the Korean nation in a receptive and formative phase played a crucial role in shaping the authentic feature of the KPC as *ecclesia crucis* and their spirituality. However, in the growing and declining phase the marginality of the Korean nation, giving rise to various ideologies, is responsible for the rapid numerical growth of the KPC and the swift degeneration of their spirituality in the newly developed situation.

2. The marginality of the Korean nation as exemplified by the physical circumstance surrounding the KPC, therefore, leads us to scrutinise and interpret various particular situations and the reality of powers operating therein. Being a crucial factor, they have a decisive impact on the faith community's faith-apprehension and experience of God's presence and redemptive activities in either a positive or negative sense.

3. The perspective of marginality of the Korean nation as the situation surrounding the KPC also contributes to realising the distinctive identity and position of the KPC as *ecclesia crucis* in the contemporary situation. This further motivates the significance of studies in eccesial spirituality, particularly for both Western churches and the South African white Church in their identity crisis in the contemporary dominant culture and drastically changed socio-political context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aalders, C 1969. *Spiritualiteit: Over Geestelijk Leven Vroeger en Nu.* 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum n.v.

Ahn, Y J 1960. 사랑의 원자탄 *(The Seed Must Die)*. Busan: Calvin Press.

Arbuckle, Gerald A 1991. *Grieving for Change: A Spirituality for Refounding Gospel Communities.* London: Geoffrey Chapman.

Arnold, Clinton 1989. *Ephesians: Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of Its Historical Setting.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arnold, Clinton E 1992. Powers of Darkness: *A thoughtful, Biblical Look at an urgent Challenge facing the Church.* Leicester: Inter Varsity Press.

Aune, David E 1998. *Word Biblical Commentary. Vol.52B: Revelation 6-16.* Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Barth, K 1958. *Church Dogmatics IV.* Edinburgh: T. & T Clark.

Bauckham, R 1993. *New Testament Theology: The Theology of the Book of Revelation.* Cambridge: University Press.

Bauer, W, Arndt, W F, Gingrich F W & Danker F W 1979. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* 2nd edn; from Bauer's 5th edn; The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1979.

Baum, G 1990. The Contextual Theology of Douglas Hall. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 72, 36-47.

Beasley-Murray G R 1992[1974]. *The New Century Bible Commentary: Revelation.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott.

Bellah, R N et al (eds) 1985. *Habits of the Heart.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Berkhof H, 1966. *Christ: The Meaning of History.* London: SCM Press.

.........(tr) Yoder, J H 1977. *Christ and Powers.* Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House. Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press.

.........(tr) Sierd Woundstra 1979. *Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Study of the Faith.* Grand Rapids: Eerdman Publishing Company.

Berkouwer, G C (tr) Knudsen, Robert D 1958. *Studies in Dogmatics: Faith and Perseverance.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Blair, William Newton & Hunt, Bruce F 1977. *The Korean Pentecost and The Sufferings Which Followed.* Carlisle: The Banner of Truth Trust.

Blue, Lionel 1983. Judaism, in Wakefield, Gordon (ed) *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality.* Philadelphia: Westminster.

Bonhoeffer, D 1966. *Gesammelte Schriften vol.III,* Bethge, E (ed). Munich: Kaiser.

.........1972. *Gesammelte Schriften vol.V,* Bethge, E (ed). Munich: Kaiser.

.........1986. *Sanctorum Communio: Eine Domatische Untersuchung zur Soziologie der Kirche,* Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke I, van Soosten J (ed). Munich: Kaiser.

.........1989. *Nachfolge,* Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke IV, Kuske, M & Todt, I (ed). Munich: Kaiser.

Bonino, Jose Miguez 1975. *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation.* Philadelphia: Fortress.

Bosch, David J 1979. *A Spirituality of the Road.* Scottdale, Pa.; Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press.

.........1991. *Transforming Mission.* New York: Orbis Book.

Bouwsma, William J 1989. The Spirituality of John Calvin, in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation.* London: SCM Press.

Browning, D D (ed) 1983. *Practical Theology.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

.........1987. Practical Theology and Religious Education, in Mudge, L S & Poling J N (eds) *Formation and Reflection.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1991. *A fundamental Practical Theology: Descriptive and Strategic Proposals.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Brueggemann, W 1978. *The Prophetic Imagination.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1986. *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1992. *Old Testament Theolgy: Essays on Structure, Theme, and Text.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

.........1993 [1988]. *To Pluck Up, To Tear Down: A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah 1-25.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Edinburgh: The Handsel Press.

.........1993. *The Bible and Postmodern Imagination: Text Under Negotiation.* London: SCM Press.

.........1994. *A Social Reading of the Old Testament: Prophetic Approaches to Israel's Communal Life.* Miller, P D (ed). Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

.........1997. *Cadences of Home: Preaching among Exiles.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

.........1998. *Isaiah 1-39.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Buechner, F 1996. *The Longing for Home: Recollection and Reflection.* San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Calvin, John (ed) Mc Neill, John T (tr) Battles, Ford Lewis. *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion in Two Volumes (Vol. XX: Books I.i to III.xix).* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

Chang, H J 1991. Baptism and Liberation of Women in Korea. *The Korean Church and History* (vol. 1), 122-133.

Cho, D G 1988. 식민지 사회구조와 민중 (The Social Structure under the Japan's Colonial Rule and *Minjung*), in Korea Theological Research (ed). 한국민중론

(The Discussions on the Korean Minjung). Seoul: Korea Theological Research. 180-195.

Cho, Paul Yong-Ki 1965. 믿음의 위대한 힘 *(The Great Power of Faith)*. Seoul: 순복음 중앙교회 남침목회 출판부.

Cho, Paul Yong-Ki 1977. 삼박자 구원 *(The Triple-beat Salvation)*. Seoul: 영산출판사.

Choi, D S 1996. The Ecclesiological Foundation in the Establishment of the Kosin Denomination, in *Coram Deo (1946-1996)*. Busan: KTS Press. 141-186.

.........2000. 한국교회 친일파 전통 *(The Pro-Japanese Tradition of the Korean Church)*. Seoul: 본문과 현장사이.

Choi, H B 1987. 부흥회와 영성 (The Revival Meetings and Spirituality). *기독교사상 1987 년 5 월호.*

Choi, H K 1983. 한국기독교의 사회적 써비스 실태에 관한 연구 (A Study of Actual State of Social Service of the Korean Church). 서울대학교 석사학위 논문.

Choi, M Y 1996. *Korean Presbyterianism and Social Work: A Critical Analysis of the Social Work of Four Presbyterian Denominations*. PhD dissertation, University of Wales.

Choi, J S 1984. 개신교 100 주년 선교대회의 결산 (Evaluation on Centennial Anniversary Rally of Korean Protestantism). *Christian Thought* 28:10, 195-202.

Choo, J Y 1982. 한국민중과 개신교 역사 (Korean Minjung and History of Protestantism), in the committee of theological studies in NCC (ed). *민중과 한국신학 (Minjung and Korean Theology)*. Seoul: 한국신학 연구소.

.........1995. 한국 초대교회 형성의 사회역사적 배경 (The Socio-Historical Background in Formation of the Early Korean Church). *기독교 사상 1995 년 4 월호.* 20-28.

Chung, S K 1983. 한국교회 설교사 (A History of the Sermons in the Korean Church), *신학지남 vol.50-3 (199)*. 109-142.

Cousar, Charles B 1990. *A Theology of the Cross: the Death of Jesus in the Pauline Letters*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Croatto, J. Severino 1981. *Exodus: A Hermeneutics of Freedom*. New York: Maryknoll.

Day, Thomas 1982. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer on Christian Community and Common Sense*. New York: Harper & Row.

DeSilva, D A 1992. The Social Setting of the Revelation to John: Conflicts Within, Fears, Without. *Westminster Theological Journal* 54, 273-302.

Dingemans, G D J 1996. Practical Theology in the Academy: A Contemporary Overview. *The Journal of Religion* 76/1, 82-96.

Dorr, Donal 1990. *Integral Spirituality: Resources for Community, Justice, Peace, and the Earth*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Downey Michael 1997. *Understanding Christian Spirituality*. New York/ Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press.

Dussel, E 1988. *Ethics and Community.* Maryknoll: Orbis Books.

.........1978. *Ethics and the Theology of Liberation.* Maryknoll: Orbis Books.

Elliot, J H 1990. *A Home for Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of I Peter, Its Situation and Strategy.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Ellul Jacque 1969. *Violence.* London: SCM Press.

.........1970. *Prayer and Modern Man.* New York: The Seabury Press.

.........(tr) Pardee, D 1970. *The Meaning of the City.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

.........(tr) Schreiner G W 1977. *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation.* New York: A Crossroad Book, The Seabury Press.

.........(tr) LaVonne Neff 1984. *Money & Power.* Downers Grove: IVP.

.........(tr) Bromiley, G 1986. *The Subversion of Christianity.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

.........(tr) Wyon Olive 1989. *The Presence of Kingdom.* Colorado Springs: Helmers & Howard.

.........(tr) Bromiley Geoffrey W. 1990. *The Technological Bluff.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

.........(tr) Kim, J H 1995. *우리 시대의 모습 (Perspective on Our Age: Jacques Ellul Speaks on His Life and Work)* Seoul: 대장간.

Farley, E 1975. *Ecclesial Man: A Social Phenomenology of Faith and Realty.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1982. *Ecclesial Reflection: An Anatomy of Theological Method.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1983a. *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1983b.Theolgy and Practice outside the Clerical Paradigm, in Browning, D D (ed) *Practical Theolgy.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

.........1987. Interpreting Situations: An Inquiry into the Nature of Practical Theology, in Mudge, L S & Poling J N (eds). *Formation and Reflection.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1990. *Good and Evil: Interpreting a Human Condition.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Feldmeier, Reinhart 1992. *Die Christen als Fremde: die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief.* Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Firet, Jacob 1986. *Dynamics in Pastoring.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Forde, Gerhard O 1997. *On being a Theologian of the Cross: Reflections on Luther's Heidelberg Disputation.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Forman, Charles W 1964. *The Nation and the Kingdom.* New York: Friendship Press.

Gallop Korea 1998. *한국인의 종교와 종교의식 (Religion and Religious Consciousness in Korea)*. Seoul: Gallop Korea.

Gleason, Randall C 1995. *John Calvin and John Owen on Mortification: A Comparative Study in Reformed Spirituality*. New York, Washington D.C./Baltimore, San Francisco, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Vienna, Paris: Peter Lang.

Goudzwaard, Bob (tr) Vennen, Mark Vander 1984. *Idols of Our Time*. Illinois: IVP.

Groome, Thomas H 1991. *Sharing Faith: a Comprehensive Approach to Religious Education and Pastoral Ministry: the Way of Shared Praxis*. San Francisco: Harper.

Gunton, C E & Hardy, D W (eds) 1989. *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Gustafson James M 1961. *Treasure in Earthern Vessels: The Church as a Human Community*. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row Publishers.

Guthrie, S 1996. Korean Church Catches a Whiff of Trouble in the Air. *Evangelical Mission Quarterly* 32, 198-204.

Gutiérrez, Gustavo (tr) & (ed) Inda, Caridad and Eagleson, John 1988 [1974]. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*. London: SCM Press.

Gwak, C D 2000. Eccesiology and Membership Trends in the South Korean Churches. ThD, University of Stellenbosch.

Gwak, S H 1982. *한 청년의 고민 (A Young Man's Agony)*. Seoul: 도서출판 엠마오.

Ha, H R 1981. 한국기독교에 할 말 있다 (One Word for the Korean Christianity). *월간조선 1981. 10 월호.*

Hageman, Howard G 2000. Reformed Spirituality, in Collins, Kenneth J (ed) *Exploring Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Reader*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

Hall, D H 1980. *Has the Church a Future?* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

........1991. *Thinking the Faith: Christian Theology in a North American Context*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

........1993. *Professing the Faith: Christian Theology in a North American Context*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

........1994. Ecclesia Crucis: The Disciple Community and the Future of the Church in North America, In Floyd Jr., Wayne Whiston and Marsh, Charles (eds). *Theology and the Practice of Responsibility: Essays on Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press International.

........1996a. Ecclesia Crucis: the Theology of Christian Awkwardness, in Hunsburger, G R & Van Gelder, C (eds) 1996. *The Church between Gospel and Culture: The Emerging Mission in North America*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

........1996b. *Confessing the Faith: Christian Theology in a North American Context.*

227

Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

.........1997. *The End of Christendom and the Future of Christianity*. Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International.

Ham, S H 1995[1983]. 뜻으로 본 한국역사 *(A Meaning of Korean History)*. Seoul: Han-Gil Sa.

Han, J H 1997. An Historical and Theological Critique of Worship in the Presbyterian of Korea (Ko-Sin) in the Context of Its Directory for Worship 1992. ThD dissertation, Boston University, School of Theology.

Hanson, Paul D 1986. *A People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible*. New York: Harper & Row.

Harper J. Steven 2000. Old Testament Spirituality, in Kenneth J. Collins (ed) *Exploring Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Reader*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

Harrington, Daniel J 1980. *God's People in Christ: New Testament Perspectives on the Church and Judaism*. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Hauerwas Stanley 1994. *Dispatches From the Front: Theological Engagements With the Secular*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hauerwas, S & Willimon, W H 1989. *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian* Colony. Nashville: Abingdon.

Hendriks, H J 1996. Diversity and Pluralism in the Church: A Theory to Enhancing Reconciliation and Unity. *Ned Geref Teologiese Tydskrif 37:3, 386-395*.

Hodgson Peter C. 1995. The Face and the Spirit, in Williams, Robert R (ed) *Theology and the Interhuman: Essays in Honor of Edward Farley*. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International.

Holmes, Urban T 1980. *A History of Christian Spirituality*. New York: Seabury.

Hong, C M 1998. 한국부흥사에 있어서 부흥운동 (The Revivalism in the History of the Korean Revivals), In *the Jounal of the Korean Church*, vol.2, No.3. 30-50.

Hunsberger, G R & Van Gelder, C (eds) 1996. *The Church between Gospel and Culture: The Emerging Mission in North America*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Hur, Soon-Gil 1996. *Fifty Years History of Koryo Theological Seminary*. Busan:고려 신학대학원 출판부.

Hwang, S C 2000. 세속지향적 목회의 문제점과 그 대안 (The Problem of the Secularised Ministry and Its Alternative). 신학지남. 2000년 가을호.

Hyun, Y H 1982. 민중 속에 성육신해야 (Christianity and Incarnation among Minjung), In the committee of theological studies in NCC (ed). 민중과 한국 신학 *(Minjung and Korean Theology)*. Seoul: 한국신학 연구소. 15-18.

Jenni, Ernst & Westermann, Claus (tr) Biddle, Mark E 1997. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament. Vol.3*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers.

Jenni, Ernst and West Claus (eds), Biddle, Mark E (tr), 1997. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament (vol.3)*. USA: Hendrickson Publishers. 1201-1220.

Jun, B W [1999] 2000. 부흥(*Revival).Com*. Seoul: Kyujang.

Jun, Y T & Lee, H B 1935. 북풍아, 불어라 (Blow, the North Wind!), In Lee, Y K (ed) 1993. *예수(2)*. Seoul: 예수교회.

Jun, Y T 1935. 목자없는 양의 무리 (The Sheep without the Shepherd), In Lee, Y K (ed) 1993. *예수(1)*. Seoul: 예수교회.

Jun, Y T 1938. 하늘로 오는 말씀 (The Word from Heaven), In Lee, Y K (ed) 1993. *예수(2)*. Seoul: 예수교회.

Kaiser, Otto (tr) Bowden, J 1983. *Isaiah 1-12*. London: SCM Press Ltd.

.........1974. *Isaiah 13-39*. London: SCM Press Ltd.

Kang, I C 1995. 분단과 평화에 대한 기독교인의 역사적 책임 (The Historical Responsibility of the Christians On the Division and Peace). *기독교 사상 1995 년 6 월호.*

Kang, I C 1996. 한국 기독교회와 국가, 시민사회 (Korean Christianity, Nation-state and Civil Society): 1945-1960. Seoul: The Institute of Korean Church History Studies.

Kelvin, Ralph W 1979. *Israel in Exile*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Kim, B S 1995. *한국 사회와 개신교: 종교 사회적 접근 (Korean Society and Protestantism: Religio-sociological Approach)*. Seoul: 한울 아카데미.

.........1999. 열린예배 논쟁 (Debate on Contemporary Worship). *기독교사상 1999. 11 월호.*

Kim, H K 1998. Han Sangdong and Reformed Spirituality in the Korean Presbyterian Church. ThD dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

Kim, H S 1999. *A Study of the Korean War and This-Worldly Blessings in the Christian Churches*. Seoul: The Institute of Korean Church History.

Kim, J K et al. 1982. *한국교회 성장과 신앙양태에 관한 조사연구 (A Research for the Type of Growth and Faith of the Korean Church)*. Seoul: 현대사회 연구소.

Kim, K J 1983. *한국 문화신학 (The Theology of Korean Culture)*. Seoul: 한국신학 연구소.

Kim, K J 1994. Christianity and the encounter of Asian religions: Method of correlation, fusion of horizons, and paradigm shifts in the Korean grafting process. PhD dissertation, Leiden Universiteit. Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum.

Kim, M H 1990. Lessons from the Prayer Habits of the Church in Korea (Appendix: Can Revivals Be Prepared for by Man?), In Carson, D A (ed). *Teach Us To Pray: Prayer in the Bible and the World*. The Paternoster Press and Baker Book House.

Kim, M H 1994. 한국교회의 영성과 예배 (The Spirituality and Worship of the Korean Church), in *Soli Deo Gloria:Festschrift in Honour of Rev. Won Tae Suk, D.D., Litt. D. on His 60th Birthday*. Seoul: Kyung-Hyang Publishing Company. 129-147.

Kim, M Y 1998. 한국 초대교회사 (*A History of the Early Korean Church*). Seoul: Qumran Press.

Kim, M Y 2001. 이 시대의 바른 기독교 사상 (*The Authentic Christian Thought of This Age*). 서울: 장로회 신학대학교 출판부.

Kim, O S 1988. 실천신학에서 본 영성 (The Spirituality in the Light of Practical Theology), In 한국기독교 신학회편. 신앙과 신학 제 4 집: 오늘의 영성 신학. Seoul: 도서출판 양서각. 174-192.

Kim, S T (ed) 1993. 신사참배 거부 항쟁자들의 증언: 어둠의 권세를 이긴 사람들 (*The Testimonies of the Protestors against Shintoism: The people who defeated the powers of darkness*). Seoul: 다산글방

Kim, S T 1991. 한국 기독교와 신사참배 문제 (*Korean Church and the Shinto Shrine Issue*). Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History.

.........1994. 한국 기독교의 역사적 반성(*A Historical Reflection on Korean Protestantism*). Seoul: 다산글방.

Kim, T Y 1966. Development of Christian Education in Korea, In Hong, Herald (ed) 1966. *Korea Struggles for Christ*. Seoul: KCLS.

Kim, U H 1998. 한국교회 성장둔화와 번영신학 (*The Decline of Church Growth of the Korean Church and the Theology of Prosperity*). 신학지남 1998 가을.

Kim, W J 1997. 한국교회와 정신건강 (The Mentality of the Korean Church). 신학 사상. 1997 여름.

Kim, W Y 2001. 포스트모던 시대에서의 설교 (Preaching in Postmodernism). 장 신논단 17 집, 2001 년. 339-361.

Kim, Y B 1992. *Messiah and Minjung: Christ's solidarity with the People for New Life*. Christian Conference of Asia: Urban Rural Mission.

Kim, Y H 1990. 평화통일과 한국 기독교—복음주의적 통일신학을 향하여— (The Peaceful Unification & Korean Christianity—Toward the evangelical unification-theology—). Seoul: 도서출판 풍만.

Kim, Y S 1956. 한국 기독교 해방 10 년사 (*Ten Years' History of Korean Christianity after the Liberation*). Seoul: 대한 예수교 장로회 종교교육부.

Kistemaker, Simon J. 2001. *New Testament Commentary: Exposition of the Book of Revelation*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

Kitamori, Kazoh 1966. *Theology of the Pain of God*. London: SCM Press.

Kittel, Gerhard (ed), Bromiley, Geoffrey W. (tr & ed) 1968. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (vol. 2)*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company. 79-81.

.... *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (vol.5)*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

.........*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (vol.6)*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Kraft, Charles H 1992. *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Marynoll: Orbis Books.

Lee, D J 1997. 초기 내한 선교사들의 신앙과 신학 (The Faith and Theology of the Early Missionaries to Korea). *The Korean Church and History* (vol. 6), 30-59.

Lee, Hakjae 1999. A rhetorical and Theological Interpretation of *Ruach* in Ezekiel 37:1-14. ThD dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

Lee, J Y 1995. *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortess Press.

Lee, K B 1990. 한국사 신론 *(A Revised History of Korea)*. Seoul: 일조각.

Lee, K M 2000. N 세대의 가치관과 신앙교육 방법 (The Sense of Value of N Generation and the Way of Christian Education). *기독교 사상 2000 년 5 월 호.* 54-66.

Lee, K S 1962. The Christian Confrontation with Shinto Nationalism: A Historical and Critical Study of the Conflict of Christianity and Shinto in Japan in the Period between the Meiji Restoration and the End of World War II (1868-1945). PhD dissertation, Vrij Universiteit te Amsterdam.

Lee, P S 1995. 교회 어떻게 새로와져야 하나? *(How Should the Church Be Renewed?)* 안양: 대장간.

Lee, S H 1998. 미래목회 대예언 *(Critical Prediction of Future Pastoring)*. Seoul: 규장.

Lee, S J 2001. 한경직 목사와 한국전쟁 (Rev. Han Kyong-Jik and the Korean War). *The Korean Church and History* (vol. 15), 9-37.

Lee, W K 1992. 한국교회의 사회학적 이해 *(A Sociological Understanding of the Korean Church)*. Seoul: 성서 연구사.

.........1994. 주일성수가 흔들리는 이유가 무엇인가? (Why the observance of Lord's Day is Joggling?). *목회와 신학 1994 년 9 월호.*

Lee, Y D 1938. 십자가 (The Cross), in Lee, Y K (ed) 1993. *예수(2)*. Seoul: 예수교 회.

Lee, Yohan 1985. The Analysis of the Christian Prayer Mountain Phenomenon in Korea. PhD dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary.

Leech Kenneth [1985] 1989. *Experiencing God: Theology as Spirituality*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Leech, Kenneth 1977. Soul Friend: A Study of Spirituality. London: Sheldon Press.

.........1980. *True Prayer: An Introduction to Christian Spirituality*. London: Sheldon Press.

.........1992. *The Eye of the Storm: Spiritual Resources for the Pursuit of Justice*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.

Lim J C 1981. 관주도형 외형성장전략의 성취와 한계. *경향신문사,* 8 월 15 일 자.

Lincoln, A T 1990. *Ephesians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 42. Dallas: Word Books.

Lofink, G 1982. *Jesus and Community*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Lorenzen, Thorwald 1995. *Resurrection and Discipleship: Interpretive Models, Biblical Reflections, Theological Consequences.* New York: Orbis Book.

Louth, Andrew 1983. *Discerning the Mystery: An Essay on the Nature of Theology.* Oxford: Clarendom Press.

Louw, D J 1998a. Theology of Science within Theology: Scientific Research as a Theological Problem (Study guide notes, Dept. of Practical Theology, University of Stellenbosch).

Louw, D J 1998b. *A Pastoral Hermeneutics of Care and Encounter.* Cape Town: Lux Verbi.

Louw, Daniël J 1992. Ontwerp van 'n Praktiese-teologiiese Ekklesiologie vir Gemeentebou, in *Praktiese Teologie in Suid-Afrika* 7(2). 119-136.

MacClelland, William Robert 1990. *Worldly Spirituality: Biblical Reflections on Money, Politics, and Sex.* St. Louis, Missouri: CBP Press.

McGrath, A E 1996. *A Passion for Truth: The Intellectual Wherence of Evangelicalism.* Leicester: Apollos/IVP.

..........1999. *Christian Spirituality.* Oxford, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Macquarrie, John 1992. *Paths in Spirituality.* Harrisburg,Pa.: Morehouse.

Martens, Elmer A 1994. *God's Design: A Focus on Old testament theology.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books. Leicester: Apollos.

Masahiko, Gurata 1991. 일제의 한국 기독교 탄압사 *(The History of Japanese Oppression on the Korean Christianity.* Seoul: 기독교문사.

Mauser, U W 1963. *Christ in the Wilderness: the Wilderness Theme in the Second Gospel and its Basis in the biblical Tradition.* London: SCM Press.

Metz, Johannes B (tr) Glen-Doepel, William 1969. *Theology of the World.* Burns & Oates: Herder and Herder.

.........1978. *Followers of Christ: The Religious Life and the Church.* Burns & Oates: Paulist Press.

.........(tr) Smith, David 1980. *Faith in History and Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology.* London: Burns & Oates

Migliore, Daniel L 1983. *The Power of God.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

Min, K B 1981. 교회와 민족 (The Church and Nation). Seoul: 대한 기독교출판사.

..........1987. 한국 기독교 사회 운동사 *(A History of Social Movements in Korean Churches).* Seoul: The Christian Literature Society.

..........1991. Problem of Beginning of the Korean Protestant Church. *The Korean Church and History* (vol.1), 21-32.

..........1994 [1972]. 민경배. 한국 기독교회사 *(A History of Korean Christianity).* Seoul: 연세대학교 출판부.

Min, Y J 1977. A Theological Meaning of the Korean War. 기독교 사상 *(The Christian Thought)* 77 년 6 월호, 20-27.

Moffet, Samuel A 1920. Korean Christian Faithful in Adversity, In *The Korea Mission Field* 16 (February). 26.

Moltmann Jürgen (tr) Wilson, R A & Browden, J 1974. *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology.* London: SCM Press.

..........1990. *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christology in Messianic Dimension.* London: SCM Press.

..........1993[1992]. *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Monod, R. *De Bidders van Korea: De Geschiedenis van de Koreanse Opwekking.* Zeist n.d.

Montague, George T 1994: *Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition.* Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers.

Morris, C Leon 1997[1969]. *The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries: Revelation.* Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Motyer, J A 1993. *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary.* Downers Grove: IVP.

Mouw, R J 1976. *Politics and the Biblical Drama.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Mudge, L S & Poling J N (eds) 1987. *Formation and Reflection.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Mudge, L S 1987. Thinking in the Community of Faith: Toward an Ecclesial Hermeneutic, in Mudge, L S & Poling J N (eds). *Formation and Reflection.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Müller, B A 1992. Hermeneutiek in die Teologie en die Gemeentelike Bediening, in *Praktiese Teologie in Suid- Afrika* 7(1). 27-41.

Müller, B A 1992. Homiletics beyond the Walls: Toward an Ecclesial Hermeneutics of Praxis. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Homiletics, held at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Müller-Fahrenholz, Geiko 1995. *God's Spirit: Transforming a World in Crisis.* New York: Continuum; Geneva: WCC Publications.

Noh, C J [1993] 1995. *일제하 한국 기독교 민족운동 연구 (A Study of the Korean Protestant Nationalistic Movement under Japanese Rule).* Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History.

Noh, C J 1986. 한국교회 개교회주의에 관한 연구 (A Study on Individualistic Congregationalism of the Korean Church). *기독교 사상 1986 년 5 월호.*

.........1995. 한국전쟁이 한국교회의 성격 결정에 미친 영향 (The Impact of the Korean War Upon the Formation of the Character of the Korean Church). *기독교사상 1995 년 6 월호.*

.........1996. 한국교회의 개교회주의 (The Individualistic Tendency of the Korean Church), In Lee, W K (ed) 1996. *한국교회와 사회 (The Korean Christianity and Society).* Seoul: 도서출판 나단.

.........1998. *한국 개신교 사회학 (The Sociology of Protestantism in Korea).*

Seoul: 도서출판 한울.

O'Brien, P T 1999. *The Letter to the Ephesians.* Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Oosterom, L 1990. *Comtemporary Missionary Thought in the Republic of Korea: Three Case Studies on the Missionary Thought of Presbyterian Church in Korea.* Utrecht; Leiden: IIMO Research Publication.

Osborne, Grant R 2002. *Revelation.* Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.

Paik, Lak-Geoon G [1973] 1993. 한국 개신교회사 *(A History of Korean Protestantism).* Seoul: Yeonse Unversity Press

Paik, N J 1934. 삼년 후에 다시 읽으시오 (Read This Again, Three Years Later),In Lee, Y K (ed) 1993. 예수(1). Seoul: 예수교회.

Park, Andrew Sung 1993. *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Park, C M 1993. 한국교회의 사회봉사 실태와 전망 (The Realities and Prospect of Social Service of the Korean Church). 기독교 사상 1993 년 10 월호.

Park, Daniel Young-Don 1998. The Renewing Work of the Holy Spirit in the World: An Affirmation of the Biblical Distinctives of the Spirit's Renewing Work in Response to Pneumatological Trends in Contemporary Theology. PhD dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary.

Park, H D 1921. 정신계의 부흥 (The Revival of Spirit), In Han, S W 1921. 종교계 제명사 강연집 *(Collection of Sermon and Speech of the Religious leaders).* 경성: 활문사 서점.

Park, H K 1995. 한국교회를 어떻게 살릴 것인가? *(How Can the Korean Church be Revived?).* 안양: 대장간.

Park, K W 1994. 한국교회의 형성과 발전의 과제 (The Problem of Formation and Development of the Korean Church). 신학사상 1994 년 봄.

Park, S W 1992. A Study on the Renewal of the Presbyterian Worship in Korea. D Min. dissertation, Covenant Theological Seminary.

Park, Y K 1993[1992]. 한국장로교 사상사 *(A History of the Thought of the Korean Presbyterian Church).* Seoul: 총신대학출판부.

.........2000. 평양 대부흥 운동 *(The Great Revivalism in Korea: Its History, Character, and Impact. 1901-1910).* Seoul: 생명의 말씀사.

Pedersen, J 1946. *Israel: Its Life and Culture I-II.* London: Geoffrey Cambridge, Oxford University Press; Copenhagen: Povl Branner.

Pieper, A (tr) Kowalke, E E 1979. *Isaiah II: An Exposition of Isaiah 40-66.* Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House.

Powell Cyril H 1963. *The Biblical Concept of Power.* London: The Epworth Press.

Principe, W 2000. Toward Defining Spirituality, in Kenneth J. Collins (ed) *Exploring Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Reader.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

Purvis, Sally B 1993. *The Power of the Cross: Foundations for a Christian Feminist Ethic of Community.* Nashville: Abingdon.

Pyon, C H (ed) 1953. *A Collection of Minister Yi Yong-Do's Letter*. Seoul: Simyuwon.

.........1958. *Biography of Minister Yi Yong-Do*. Seoul: Simyuwon.

Raitt, Jill (ed) [1988] 1989. *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*. London: SCM Press LTD.

Rasmussen, Arne 1995. *The Church as Polis: From Political Theology to Theological Politics as Exemplified by Jürgen Moltmann and Stanley Hauerwas*. Notre Name, Indiana: University of Notre Name Press.

Rasmussen, L L 1993. *Moral Fragments and Moral Community: A Proposal for Church in Society*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Rhee, J S 1995. Secularization and Santification: A Study of Karl Barth's Doctrine of Sanctification and its Contextual Application to the Korean Church. PhD disseration, Vrij Universiteit. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Ricooeur, Paul 1969. *The Symbol of Evil*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Ridderbos, H (tr) De Witt, John Richard 1975. *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Ro, B R & Nelson,M L (eds) 1995. *Korean Church Growth Explosion*. Seoul: Word of Life Press.

Rodes Harry A & Campbell Archibald 1964. *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (vol. II) 1935-1959*. The United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Runia, K 1992. *Notities over Spiritualiteit*. Kok: Kampen.

Russel, Anthony 1986. Socio;ogy and the Study of Spirituality, in Jones, C, Wainwright, G, & Yarnold, E (eds): *The Study of Spirituality*. New York: Oxford.

Ryu, T S 1975. *The History and Structure of Korean Shamanism*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Schackenburg, R (tr) Heron, H 1991. *Ephesians: A Commentary*. Edinburgh: T& T Clark.

Schlier, Heinrich 1961. *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament*. Freiburg: Herder; Edinburgh-London: Nelson.

Schreiter, R J 1985. *Constructing Local Theolgy*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.

Schuurman, Egbert 1977. *Reflections on the Technological Society*. Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation.

Shim, S B 2001. '열린 예배'에 대한 성경적 평가와 전망: 신약성경에 비추어서 (A Biblical Evaluation on Contemporary Worship: in the Light of the New Testament). 신학지남. 2001 봄호.

Sider, Ronald J 1979. *Christ and Violence*. Scottdale, Pa.; Kitchner, Ont.: Herald Press.

Smit, Arnoldus Tobias 1995. The Role of Leadership in the Formation of Congregational Spirituality. ThD dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

Smith, Daniel L 1989. *The Religion of the Landless: The Social Context of the Babylonian Exile*. Bloomington: Meyer-Stone Books.

Son, D H [1994] 2000. 나의 아버지 손양원 목사 (My Father Rev. Son Yang-Won). Seoul: Agape Press.

Song, G S 1980. 한국교회와 성령 (The Korean Church and the Holy Spirit). 신학 사상. 1980 겨울.

Speer, Robert E 1987. Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. [printed for Use of the Board and the Missions.] The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Stringfellow, W 1984. The Politics of Spirituality. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

Suh, G S (ed) 1988. 한의 이야기 (The Story of Han). Seoul: The Borhee Press.

Suh, J M 1994. 역사속의 그 (The "He" in History). Seoul:한들.

Suh, J W 1992. 초기 한국교회 대부흥 운동의 이해 (The Understanding of the Great Revivalism in the early Korean Church), In Yi, M Y et al. [1986] 1992. 한국 기독교와 민족운동 (The Korean Christianity and the Nationalistic Movement). Seoul: 종로서적.

Suh, K S 1985. 한국 기독교의 새 인식 (The New Recognition of Korean Christianity). Seoul: 대한 기독교 출판사.

Suh, N D 1983. 민중신학의 탐구 (Exploration of Minjung Theology). Seoul: Han-Gil Sa.

.........1988. 민중은 누구인가? (Who is the minjung?), in 한국민중론 (The Study of Korean Minjung). Seoul: 신학연구소.

Sun, H Y 1996. 성직매매에 대하여 (Concerning the Simonism). 신학과 세계. 1996 년 봄호.

The Christian Times (ed) 1993. 한국교회의 허와 실 (The Falsehood and Truth of the Korean Church) (II). 서울: 쿰란 출판사.

The Institute for Korean Church History & The Editing Committee for Church History of North Korea. 1996. A History of North Korean Church. Seoul: Christian Literature Press.

The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989. 한국 기독교의 역사 (A History of Korean Christianity) I. Seoul: 기독교문사

The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1990. 한국 기독교의 역사 (A History of Korean Christianity) II. Seoul: 기독교문사

Theissen, G (tr) Kohl, M 1992. Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology Ethics, and the World of the New Testament. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Theron, P F 1997. The Church as a Paroichia and "Higher Critical" Theological Training. Ned Geref Teologiese Tydskrif, Deel xxxviii nr.3 Sep. 1997, 256-265.

Tillich, Paul 1963. Systematic Theology (Vol. III): Life and the Spirit; History and the Kingdom of God. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Torrance, T F 1999. Royal Priesthood. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Tracy, D 1983. The Foundation of Practical Theology, in Browning, D D (ed). Practical Theology. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Turner, Victor W. 1969. The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. London:

Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Van der Ven, J A 1998. Practical Theology: From Applied to Empirical Theology. *Journal of Emperical Theology* 1/1, 7-77.

Van Gelder, C 1996. Defining the Center – Finding the Boundaries: The Challenge of Re-visioning the church in North America for the Twenty-first Century, in Hunsberger, G R & Van Gelder, C (eds). *The Church between Gospel and Culture: The Emerging Mission in North America.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Van Wyk, A G 1995. From "Applied Theolgy" to "Practical Theolgy". *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 33/Spr, 85-101.

VanGemeren, Willem A (ed) 1997. *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis. Vol.3.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.

Velema W H 1990. *Nieuw Zicht op Gereformeerde Spiritualiteit.* Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok Voorhoeve.

.........1993. Spiritualiteit en Persoonlijk Geestelijk Leven Nu, In Balke, W., van der Bank J. H., Bremmer R. H. (eds). *Spiritualiteit.* Kampen: Uitgeverij de Groot Goudriaan.

Von Rad, G (tr) Barton, Dorothea 1979 [1966]. *Deuteronomy.* London: SCM Press.

Wainwright, Geoffrey 1986. Types of Spirituality, in Jones, C, Wainwright, G and Yarnold, E (eds) 1986. *The Study of Spirituality.* London: SPCK. 592-605.

Walton M 1994. *Marginal Communities: The Ethical Enterprise of the Followers of Jesus.* Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House.

Watts, John D W 1985. *Word Biblical Commentary: Isaiah 1-33.* Waco: Word Books, Publisher.

Webber, E 1986. *The Church in the World: Opposition, Tension, or Transformation?* Grand Rapids: Academy Books.

Webster, Douglas 1992. *Selling Jesus.* Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity Press.

Welker, Michael (tr) Hoffmeyer John F 1994. *God the Spirit.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Wenk, M 2000. *Community-Forming Power: The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts.* Sheffield: Academic Press.

Westerhoff, J 1994. *Spiritual Life: The Foundation for Preaching and the Teaching.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Westermann, Claus (tr) Stalker, David M G 1969. *Isaiah 40-66.* London: SCM Press.

William, N Blair 1946. *Gold in Korea.* New York: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Wink, W 1992. *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a Word of Domination.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

.........1984. *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament (The Powers vol. I).* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

.........1986. *Unmasking the Powers: The Invisible Forces That Determine Human Existence (The Powers vol. II).* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Winquist C E 1980. *Practical Hermeneutics: A Revised Agenda for the Ministry.*

Chicago: Scholar Press.

Yang, M K 1992. Faith and Activities of Early Bible Women. *The Korean Church and History* (vol. 2), 91-109.

Yang, N H 1993. Reformed Social Ethics and Korean Churches. PhD thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary (USA).

Yi, M Y [1985] 1996. 이만열. *한국 기독교사 특강 (An Essay on the History of Korean Christianity)*. Seoul: 성경 읽기사.

.........1992. 한말 기독교인의 민족의식 형성과정 (The Process of the Formation of the Nationalistic Consciousness in Christians during the late Chosun Dynasty), in Yi, M Y et al. [1986] 1992. *한국 기독교와 민족운동 (The Korean Christianity and the Nationalistic Movement)*. Seoul: 종로서적.

.........1997. 3·1 운동과 기독교 (March First Movement and Christianity). *The Korean Church and History (vol. 6)*, 7-20.

.........1998. 한국 기독교 수용사 연구 (A Study on the History of Korean Reception of Protestantism). Seoul: 두레시대.

Yi, M Y et al (eds) 1986 [1982]. *한국기독교와 민족운동 (Korean Christianity and National Movements)*. Seoul: 종로서적.

Yoder, J H 1971. *The Original Revolution*. Scottdale: Herald Press.

.........1972. *The Politics of Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Eerddmans Publishing Company.

.........1979. Response to Scott Paradise Paper "Vision of a Good Society". *Anglican Theological Review 61. January*. 118-126.

.........1984. *The Priestly Kingdom. Social Ethics as Gospel*. Notre Dam: University of Notre Dam Press.

Yoo, B Y 1987.Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology. Frankfuhrt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris: Verlag Peter Lang.

Yoo, H R 1998. 교회의 양적인 성장과 영성의 상관관계 (Correlation between Numerical Church Growth and Spirituality). *장신논단 14 집. 1998*.

한국교회 순교자 기념사업회 1988. *주기철 설교집 (The Sermons of Choo Ki-Chul)*. Seoul: 도서출판 엠마오.