

**A SOCIO-RHETORICAL INTERPRETATION OF
GENESIS 1-3 FROM A KOREAN FEMALE
PERSPECTIVE**

BY

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DECLARATION

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

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Date

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, Gen 1-3 has been interpreted as a text that supports male superiority and female inferiority as the will of God. This dissertation aims to establish a more constructive interpretation one that is more responsible and accountable to the readers of the Korean Presbyterian Church in particular. Consequently, I have dealt with various interpretations of Gen 1-3 from male and female perspectives.

Because the main Korean religions of pre-Christianity (Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism) have been identified as possible major influential elements that would have had an impact on Korean male centred interpretations of Gen 1-3, this study begins by analysing Korean worldviews and their influence on the formation of the theological tradition in the KPC. These elements are then investigated in terms of the significant impact they had upon the interpretation of Gen 1-3 in the KPC and this demonstrates how an individual view of the Scriptures could bring about different results within the KPC itself. An alternative interpretation of Gen 1-3 from a feminist perspective is discussed as part of the solution to promote justice for female readers. Although feminist readings would reduce the oppression of female readers, we analyse how another possibility of oppression, directly opposed to female oppression, could arise.

To avoid another biased interpretation of Gen 1-3 and to establish an interpretation of Gen 1-3 that is more ethically accountable to both genders, an attempt is made to read the text by means of a method that has an interdisciplinary nature in terms of dealing with the text. The socio-rhetorical criticism of Vernon Robbins is chosen and inner, and inter-, ideological and theological textures of Gen 1 are identified.

Although the Creation texts exhibit their cultural connection, a socio-rhetorical reading of Gen 1 is not concerned with a specific order for man and woman in God's creation. Therefore, a sexual distinction based on some ethical status or role is not found. Instead, Gen 1 describes not only the relationship between God and human beings, but also the relationship of human beings to the other orders of creation. The concept of the divine image applied in the biological terms, male and female offers no theological indication

for the present social consequences. Rather it invites us to open ourselves to possible new meanings beyond any cultural boundaries.

Gen 1 within the present context challenges the interpreter as well as the reader to self-critical activity in reading or interpreting the text in his/her own context. This is so because Scripture has allowed diversity, and the text of Gen 1 created a new meaning for the readers of the exilic society as Gen 2-3 did for the readers of the original cultures reflected in the Scriptures. Therefore, the KPC also needs to be challenged to look at the relationship of male and female anew and to be invited to be a partner in restoring the lost half of the dignity of the image of God for humanity. If exile for the Jewish people signified a calling into question of their secure centres of meaning as the people of God, our traditional Christian way of viewing the nature of God and of humankind should equally be called into question in our present context.

OPSOMMING

Genesis 1 is tradisioneel geïnterpreteer as 'n teks wat die meerderwaardigheid van mans en die minderwaardigheid van vroue ondersteun as die wil van God. Hierdie proefskrif het ten doel om 'n meer konstruktiewe interpretasie daar te stel. 'n Interpretasie wat meer verantwoordelik en verantwoordbaar teenoor die lesers is, veral binne die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerk (KPK). Gevolglik het ek aandag gegee aan verkeie interpretasies van Genesis 1-3. Interpretasies vanuit manlike sowel as vroulike perspektiewe.

Aangesien die belangrikste Koreaanse religieë van die pre-Christen tydperk (Sjamanisme, Boeddhisme, Confucianisme) geïdentifiseer is as moontlik belangrike, invloederyke elemente wat 'n invloed gehad het op die manlik gesentreerde interpretasie van Genesis 1-3, begin hierdie studie met die analisering van Koreaanse wêreldbeelde en die invloed daarvan op die formasie van die teologiese tradisie binne die KPK. Hierdie elemente word dan ondersoek in terme van die belangrike impak wat dit gehad het op die interpretasie van Genesis 1-3 binne die KPK en dit demonstreer hoe 'n individuele beskouing van die Skrif verskillende resultate binne die KPK self teweeg kan bring. 'n Alternatiewe interpretasie van Genesis 1-3, vanuit 'n feministiese perspektief, word bespreek as deel van die oplossing om geregtigheid vir vroue lesers te bevorder. Hoewel 'n feministiese lees die onderdrukking van vroue lesers sal verminder, word ook geanaliseer hoe 'n ander moontlikheid van onderdrukking, direk gekant teen die vroulike onderdrukking, kan ontstaan.

Ten einde nog 'n bevooroordeelde interpretasie van Genesis 1-3 te vermy en om 'n interpretasie daar te stel wat meer eties verantwoordbaar is vir beide geslagte, word 'n poging aangewend om die teks te lees by wyse van 'n metode wat inter-dissiplinêr van aard is in die interpretasie van die teks. Die sosio-retoriese kritiek van Vernon Robbins word gekies en 'n intra-, inter-, ideologiese en teologiese tekstuur van Genesis 1 word geïdentifiseer.

Hoewel die skeppingstekste hulle kulturele verbintenis ten toon stel, setel die belang van 'n sosio-retoriese lees van Gen 1 nie by 'n bepaalde orde vir man en vrou in God se skepping. Om hierdie rede word 'n geslagtelike onderskeid, gebasseer op etiese status of rol, nie in die teks gevind nie. Eerder, Genesis 1 beskryf nie net die verhouding tussen

God en mense nie, maar ook die verhouding van menslike wesens tot die ander ordes van die skepping. Die konsep van die goddelike beeld, toegepas in biologiese terme, bied manlik en vroulik geen teologiese aanduiding vir die huidige sosiale gevolge nie. Eerder, dit nooi ons uit om onself te open vir moontlike, nuwe betekenis, wat verby enige kulturele betekenis strek.

Binne die eietydse konteks daag Genesis 1 die interpreteerder sowel as die leser uit tot selfkritiese aktiwiteit in die lees of interpretasie van die teks binne sy / haar eie konteks. Dit is so weens die feit dat die Skrif ruimte laat vir diversiteit en weens die feit dat Genesis 1 nuwe betekenis geskep het vir die lesers binne die eksiliese gemeenskap, soos wat Genesis 2-3 gedoen het vir lesers van die oorspronklike kulture soos gereflekteer in die geskrifte. Om hierdie rede behoort die KPK ook uitgedaag te word om opnuut ondersoek in te stel na die verhouding tussen man en vrou en om uitgenooi te word as vennoot in die proses om die verlore helfte van die waardigheid van die beeld van God vir die mensdom te herstel. Indien die ballingskap vir die Joodse volk dui op 'n bevraagtekening van hulle veilige sentrums van betekenis as die volk van God, behoort ons tradisionele Christelike beskouing van die aard van God en van die mensdom op soortgelyke wyse bevraagteken te word binne ons eietydse konteks.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	The Anchor Bible Dictionary
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Pritchard, J B (ed) 1950)
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCE	Before the Common Era
BDB	F. Brown, S. R Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
BHS	Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BibRev	Bible Review
BJRL	Bulletin of the Johns Rylands University Library
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
ExpTim	The Expository Times
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IBS	Irish Biblical Studies
Int	Interpretation
IRM	International Review of Mission(s)
ITC	International Theological Commentary
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRT	Journal of Reformed Theology

JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JTSA	Journal of Theology for South Africa
KPC	Korean Presbyterian Church
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
PTR	Presbyterian Theological Review
RB	Revue Bibilque
RQ	Restoration Quarterly
RSR	Religious Studies Review
RTR	Reformed Theological Review
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SCM	Studies in the Christian Movement
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
TD	Theological Digest
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, ed. G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren
TJ	Trinity Journal
TS	Theological Studies
TToday	Theology Today
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

There has been a growing acknowledgement among biblical scholars that presuppositions and specific interests shape one's reading of Scripture. Throughout the history of Christian tradition, the story of the creation and fall of human beings in Gen 1-3 has been used as the proof-text for divine approval to oppress and degrade women. In this passage along with other passages in the New Testament, woman is viewed as being created after man, out of man's rib as his helper, and subjected to her husband – all as the result of God's punishment for her disobedience to God. Therefore, women are inferior to men (Trible 1978:73).

On the basis of this interpretation, women, being inferior to men, were historically prohibited from being ordained or taking part in leading the churches in the history of Christianity. Instead they were to serve men and be subject to them.

Affirming that the Bible has been used to legitimise racial division, sexism, and cultural imperialism throughout history, feminist theologians in contemporary theology have raised the issue of the equality of men and women and at the same time questioned the validity of androcentric interpretations of biblical texts. They posit that, because the exegesis of the texts in the Bible has in the past been done mostly by male scholars, male identity and male experience have therefore formed the principal focus. Consequently, such male centred interpretation has served to preserve men's unique exercise of power and authority in ecclesial contexts. Such patriarchal readings of the Scriptures cannot, therefore, take proper account of female readers who predominate in most churches in the Third World.

1.2 Problem statement

Although the Scriptures ascribe equal value to women and to men (Gen 1:26-28), the traditional exegetes in church history have come to contradictory conclusions in their interpretations by defining the place of women (Gen 2:18, 20-22; 3:6, 16) according to

distorted human cultural systems which practically insist that women are to be subject to men due to the former's inequality. These contradictory conclusions can also be well detected in the writings of the Korean church historians (Park, Y K 1992:184-186; Min 1993:469; Conn 1967:155).

In the Korean Presbyterian Church, interpretations of texts supporting the silence of women in the church in 1Cor. 11:7-9; 14:34 and 1Tim 2:11-14 are taken as a fixed and unchangeable truth. The place of women has been defined accordingly (Yang 1997:172-179). The main tool used for legitimising this male centred interpretation of the subordination of women to men is the claim that the latter's assurance is based on the divine, infallible and true word of God (Park, Y K 1992:184-186).

At this point D Patte (1995:81) argues that the claim of power and authority by evangelical fundamentalists for the Scriptures is actually a claim of authority for their own interpretation and for themselves. He also points out that the problem with evangelical fundamentalists is not their conviction of the authority of Scripture, but rather their implicit claim to the absolutisation of their experience in their exegesis. As a result this absolutisation of a single true meaning of the text has led to silence or the rejection of the legitimacy of different interpretations. This in turn is unethical or inequitable to other readers who find greater significance in another dimension of the text.

Patte (1995:40-73) continually contends that the critical exegetes who have used a different hermeneutical methodology for the reading of a text fall into the same difficulties without any exception either, since there is no value-free interpretation. In fact, critical exegetes are accustomed to admitting that their pre-understanding of the world, based on their gender and social context, predetermines the nature of their methodologies and standards. While ascertaining such presuppositions, critical exegetes still tend to claim that they offer strictly objective interpretations of texts and events. As a matter of fact, such a one-dimensional reading of a text could absolutise the text and may even lead to the oppression of marginalised groups.

An ethical principle of biblical interpretation suggests that a male centred reading of a text cannot be a valid reading if it is not accountable to female readers in the KPC, in

which 70% of believers are female (Kang 1999:61). Therefore, one may question: How did this male centred reading of the Bible come into being in the Korean Presbyterian Church? And how can a Korean interpretation of Genesis 1-3 be accountable to all Korean readers?

Moreover, demonstrating what causes the existence of this androcentric reading of the Bible in the Korean Presbyterian Church is no easy matter, owing to the diversity of the interpreters' hidden pre-understanding. This pre-understanding may contain "religious beliefs, social issues, philosophical trends, ecclesiastical affiliation, nationality, favourite motifs or ideas, even the scholars' dependence on their teachers or scholarly milieu" (Jonsson 1988: 210). Thus, clarifying the particular pre-understanding that has operated in the case of the Korean interpretation of Gen 1-3, is essential. Consequently, the individual questions that will be researched are the following:

1. What causes and influences the Korean male centred interpretation of Gen 1-3?
2. What interpretation would be considered to be accountable to female readers?
3. How could one establish a female reading of Gen 1-3 that enhances a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of the Bible?

1.3 Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this study is to contribute a female perspective to an existing patriarchal understanding of the creation of man and woman in Korean theology. It will show how a female interpretation could help to recover a better understanding of the creation of man and woman in Gen 1-3.

In order to reach the aim, the following objectives will have to be attained:

1. To study the cultural milieu and its impact on the Korean theological tradition.

2. To study Korean interpretations of the text in various sources and evaluate what the possible presuppositions behind those interpretations are.
3. To reach a more constructive interpretation added by a female perspective on the text in order to promote justice for those who have been oppressed by a patriarchal reading of the text in question.

1.4 Hypothesis

Traditional interpretations of Gen 1-3 articulate a view of human origins, human nature, and the relationship of male and female. Virtually, a tradition of interpretation was established that made this text foundational for statements concerning woman's nature, her personal roles, and relationships to religious authority and this has left a painful and debilitating legacy in the church. In the same way, the interpretation of Genesis 1-3 has been of essential importance in the KPC in understanding woman's nature and her role in respect of church authority. This understanding continues to exercise a powerful influence on the life of women.

Therefore, the basic hypothesis is:

- (1) That Korean interpretations of Genesis 1-3 are male centred and that this gender bias is due to the religious and theological background of Korean Christianity (influence of Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism).
- (2) That a reading of Gen 1-3 more accountable to females could be achieved by adhering to Daniel Patte's suggested ethics of interpretation
- (3) That a female perspective on Genesis 1-3 could contribute to a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of that text.

1.5 Methodology

To answer or demonstrate the above questions and hypothesis, a historical and comparative study of Korean Christianity's religious and theological past will be utilised. This will entail a comparison of the respective worldviews in Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism, as well as the comparison of the conservative and liberal theological traditions in Korean Christianity. The interpretation of the creation of humankind in Korean biblical commentaries will receive special attention to demonstrate the influence of the existing religious worldviews on the theological traditions.

Feminist readings of Gen 1-3 will be analysed for their accountability. Feminist hermeneutics holds the experience of women as a point of departure and sees all history up to the present as a history of the oppression of women by men. Feminist interpretations of the Bible vary inasmuch as they are linked to one or more of the literary, historical, sociological and ideological critical methods.

In order to achieve a more responsible and accountable reading of Gen 1-3, a multidimensional reading of the text is essential. Therefore, I have chosen a method that has an interdisciplinary nature in terms of dealing with the text. The reason for this choice is that, over the centuries, Gen 1-3 has been read by means of a variety of methods in terms of diachronic and synchronic reading. In the practice of such a diversity of methods there has been a tendency, particularly among the male theologians, to claim that their own interpretations are universal, because they have endeavoured to establish the single true meaning of the text. However, such an exclusive claim has been criticised and challenged by the realisation that it is impossible to avoid certain presuppositions when performing exegesis. Since then, there has been an attempt to develop an integrational approach in biblical interpretation. Given the dilemma of the available variety of exegetical methodologies and exclusive exegetical

practices, a discussion towards a multidimensional exegetical approach was begun in the 1980s¹.

Investigating previous attempts at various exegetical methods and approaches, L C Jonker (1996) suggests an adapted communication model as a multidimensional exegesis. According to him (Jonker 1996:35), multidimensional exegesis does not entail merely integrating existing methodologies into a new methodology, since such an integrational exegesis would only add one more to the number of already existing methodologies that could then provide yet another opportunity of making exclusive claims. For Jonker (1996:323-325), multidimensional exegesis, therefore, should be a complemented methodology in terms of insights not only from the diachronical but also from the synchronical aspects of reading the Bible.

In his proposal for an adapted communication model, “the principle of a pluralism of exegetical methodologies is accepted” (Jonker 1996:315). The basic constitution of this model comprises the three basic elements of the communication process, that is, sender (author(s)), medium (text) and receiver (exegete/reader). The interaction takes place between sender-medium and medium-receiver not only in diachronical terms, but also in synchronical terms².

The theological meaning of the text is also discovered in this model through the interaction of text and reader. So the text is recognised theologically and Christian faith is taken as a theological presupposition. A sound textual basis for exegetical activities is also striven for, since it is recognised that critical methodology and Christian faith are not exclusive entities. Critical methodology determines what the text meant in its original setting while theological interpretation describes what it means, that is, makes proposals about how the text should be understood and used so that its present meaning

¹ Jonker (1996:40-43) begins his investigation with the rise of new methodologies, such as structural analysis and psychoanalysis that challenged the traditional historical-critical methodology. According to him, the first attempt at an alternative methodology took place at the second congress of the “Association catholique française pour l’étude de la Bible” in 1969 and the second attempt was undertaken with the support of the Form Criticism Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature from 1971 to 1975.

² For a more extensive discussion of this theory, refer to Part IV Chapter 6 of the work of Jonker (1996).

may be faithful to its original one. It is, therefore, simply assumed that what God says now in the Bible does not necessarily correspond imitatively to what it meant.

Vernon Robbins's "socio-rhetorical criticism" is an excellent example of how Jonker's model can be used in the praxis of biblical interpretation. Socio-rhetorical criticism is multidimensional in nature and integrates new resources and practices of interpretation. Attempting to bring together practices of interpretation that are often used in isolation from one another, Robbins (1996b:2) describes the text as "a thickly textured tapestry". For him a text contains complex patterns and images, like an intricately woven tapestry. The traditional way of looking at only one aspect of the text will not enable the interpreter to bring out the multiple textures in a text (Robbins 1996b:4). Therefore, utilising such a methodology could facilitate the exegete in making more accountable decisions.

According to Robbins (1996b:1-2), socio-rhetorical criticism is "an approach to literature that focuses on values, convictions, and beliefs both in the texts we read and in the world in which we live". The approach invites the interpreter to adapt five different angles to explore multiple textures within texts: 1) inner texture; 2) intertexture; 3) social and cultural texture; 4) ideological texture; 5) sacred texture. I will briefly describe each angle.

Inner texture

According to Robbins (1996b:3), inner texture concerns aspects like the repetition of particular words and meanings in the text, the creation of beginnings and endings, alternation of speech and storytelling, particular ways in which the author presents the arguments, and the particular feel or aesthetic of the text. To analyse each aspect of inner texture, six kinds of inner texture could be discovered in the inner texture itself. Robbins (1996b:7) identifies them thus: repetitive, progressive texture (which deals with repetition of words and phrases); opening-middle-closing texture; narrational texture (which introduces the characters of the text); argumentative texture (reveals how the author persuades the readers of the text); sensory-aesthetic texture and pattern (in what manner the text evokes or embodies the range of senses).

Intertexture

Intertexture focuses on the interaction of the inner text with “outside” material and physical “objects”, historical events, texts, customs, values, roles, institutions, and systems since a major goal of intertextual analysis is to discover “the nature and result of processes of configuration and reconfiguration of phenomena in the world outside of the text” (Robbins 1996b:40). To achieve this discovery, Robbins includes not only Hebrew biblical texts, but also all the literature of the Mediterranean world based on his understanding that a meaning of the language in the text is related to other texts.

The analysis of intertexture offers a framework of four arenas to explore its spectrum: oral-scribal; cultural; social, and historical intertexture. Oral-scribal intertexture concerns the way in which the words of one text are reconfigured in other texts: recitation, recontextualisation, reconfiguration, narrative amplification, and thematic elaboration (1996b:40-58). Cultural intertexture relates to symbolic worlds that particular communities of discourse nurture with special nuances and emphases (Robbins 1996a:115). Cultural intertexture appears through “reference or allusion and echo” of other texts in various cultures (1996b:58). Reference is the occurrence of a word, phrase or clause that refers to a personage or tradition known to people in a culture while echo occurs when a word or phrase evokes a cultural tradition (Robbins 1996a:110). Social intertexture reveals when the discourse refers to information that is generally available to people of that time. Therefore, it presupposes that the discourse reminds one of images of social reality that every member of that society could recognise. According to Robbins (1996b:62), commonly shared social knowledge in the society in the Mediterranean world had four categorisations of social knowledge: social role (soldier, shepherd, slave, athlete) or social identity (Greek, Roman, Jew); social institution (empire, synagogue, trade workers’ association, household); social code (e.g., honour, hospitality); and social relationship (patron, friend, enemy, kin). Historical intertexture concerns events that have occurred at specific times in specific locations. Thus social and cultural phenomena are integral to historical events (Robbins 1996b:63).

Social-cultural texture

The analysis of social and cultural texture relies heavily on social and anthropological theory in order to explore the nature of the social and cultural voices in the text. The social and cultural texture of a text is based on specific social topics, common social and cultural topics, and the final cultural categories (Robbins 1996b:74).

Specific topics reveal the religious responses to the world in the text's discourse and, therefore, the interpreter is asked to locate the stance of the text according to a typology of seven major response of religious discourse to the world. They are: conversionist (the world is corrupted because the human being is corrupted), revolutionist (the destruction of the world will save people), introversionist (isolating oneself from the world because it is evil), Gnostic-manipulationist (salvation in the world possible with the transformed set of relationships), thaumaturgical (salvation with supernatural help), reformist (social structures of the world are corrupted), and utopian (reconstruct the entire social world) (Robbins 1996b:72-74). Common social and cultural topics in the text display the overall social and cultural knowledge of the context in which people live. To know such cultural systems and institutions that are the media of exchange in the discourse helps to avoid ethnocentric and anachronistic interpretation. Final cultural categories identify dominant culture, subculture, counterculture, contraculture and liminal culture. According to their cultural location, people present their propositions, reasons, and arguments both to themselves and to other people.

Ideological texture

Ideological texture concerns the biases, opinions, preferences and stereotypes of a particular writer and a particular reader (Robbins 1996b:95). Robbins accepts Davis' notion of ideology as "an integrated system of beliefs, assumptions, and values that reflects the needs and interests of a group or class at a particular time in history" (1996b:96). According to this definition, all positions of the interpreter reflect a particular ideology and consequently, people are the primary interest of ideological analysis and texts then become the "secondary subject" (Robbins 1996b:95). For this

reason, the primary issue of ideological analysis is the social, cultural and individual location and perspectives of writers and readers. Analysis of ideological texture begins first with analysis and interpretation of the writer and the reader, secondly with other people's interpretation of a text, and lastly with the text itself.

Sacred texture

Sacred texture is found in any religious tradition. It exists in "communication about gods, holy persons, spirit beings, divine history, human redemption, human commitment, religious community and ethics" (Robbins 1996b:4). This texture is interrelated deeply with the inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, and ideological texture of a text. Therefore, to acquire a fuller understanding of the meanings and meaning-effects of this texture, it has to be analysed and interpreted in the context of an understanding of the other four textures. Robbins (1996b:130) describes analysis of this texture as "a way of systematically probing dynamics across a spectrum of relationships between the humans and the divine".

Evaluation and Conclusion

Socio-rhetorical criticism integrates different disciplines in a fully inclusive way. In Robbins' methodology, not only the rhetorical, ideological, social and cultural aspects of the texts are brought together, but also the historical development of the text is taken into consideration in its dialogue with other texts. Therefore, utilising such a comprehensive approach could benefit the interpreter a great deal. However, such an inclusive approach could also become a hindrance to achieving viability of analysis of the text, as Botha rightly points out. According to Botha (1998:59), Robbins' model could be very difficult to utilise for any text of any length since it requires so many repeated readings of the particular text. Robbins (1996b:2) also says that one or two aspects of a text are to be decided by an interpreter when it is not possible to use all of the resources of socio-rhetorical criticism in one interpretation. Therefore I will modify his model in utilising it.

In adapting Robbins' model (named "socio-rhetorical criticism") for the analysis of Gen 1-3, emphasis will be given to Gen 1 as Gen 2-3 falls into the intertexture. Furthermore,

modifications will have to be made in my textual analysis because of the nature of this text. Firstly, while analysing intertexture, social intertexture will not be included because of the absence of any directly active human agents, which results in the lack of social and cultural texture. According to Robbins (1996b:71-72), social and cultural texture aims to understand the social and cultural world of the person(s) in the text, since this can only be perceived through the appearance of different characters in the text. Gen 1 depicts God as the only main character together with an invisible omniscient narrator the transcendent creator over the whole world whose being and action are not bound by any systems of this world. God is the only main character together with an invisible omniscient narrator. Secondly, sacred texture is theological texture since Robbins talks about the realm of theology and, therefore, needs to be adapted differently. Although Robbins gives a list of divine characters and attributes in this texture, how the theology of the text of those characters has functioned in the believing community is not considered.

In the hermeneutical view, theology describes the content of texts which relate to God. However, the creation of theological meaning is a product of the interaction of text and reader and, therefore, any restatement or elucidation of a text's theology is a combination of the theology of the text and that of the reader. In other words, theological interpretation is the right application of what the text meant historically and thus determines what it means to the readers of the present day. This has been shown through the particular historical context of the Jewish Exile, during which Gen 1 was retold and the communal self-understanding of the Jewish exiles was moulded accordingly. Therefore, if Gen 1 is to function appropriately in ecclesiastical circles, and that of the Korean church in particular, in the present day, its reinterpretation is unavoidable³.

³ To the Korean believing community, the Bible has been the authoritative word of God inspired by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, reading the scriptures to encounter the true God is very significant in the KPC. According to a Korean theologian, Moon-Jang Lee at the University of Edinburgh, Koreans' reading of the sacred text aims at an awakening and transformation through knowing the subject. Therefore, the immersion of a reader into the object of learning takes place in the Asian believers' process of learning religious truth. They immerse themselves not to obtain theoretical knowledge, but to internalise and personify the object through awakening and orthoproxis (Lee, M J 1999:271).

1.6 Overview of the study

This study has seven chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction that depicts the background, problem, aim and objectives, hypothesis and the methodology.

Chapters 2-3 describe Korean worldviews, a possible influential element in Korean theology and the impact on the theological tradition in the Korean Presbyterian Church. Chapter 4 demonstrates the impacts of Chapter 2 and 3 on the interpretation of Gen 1-3 within two theological traditions of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

Chapter 5 investigates alternative readings with a female perspective.

Chapter 6 applies the method of socio-rhetorical criticism in a reading of Gen 1-3 and discusses various dimensions of the text. Ethical and theological sensitivity is demonstrated in this reading.

Chapter 7 contains the conclusion.

2. Korean Worldviews: a possible influential element in Korean theology.

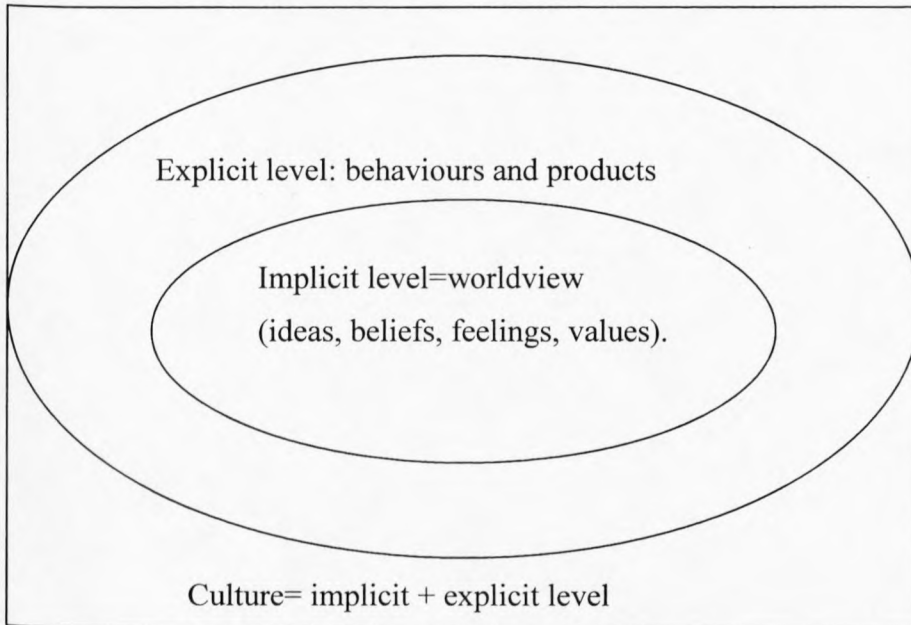
This chapter focuses on analysing Korean worldviews that are considered to have been major sources of influence in forming Korean theology. In introducing the concept of a 'worldview', I will investigate the worldviews of three dominant religions in Korea: Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Amongst many religions these three were dominant religions in Korean history before the arrival of Christianity.

2.1 Worldview in general

Every human being acquires a worldview from the culture in which he or she is born and reared. Worldviews are conceptualised in different ways: "pattern" (Benedict 1934), "cognitive maps" (Tolman 1948), "forms of life" (Wittgenstein 1953), "style" (Kroeber 1957), "symbols" (Geertz 1973), "religion and ideology" (Smart 1983), "framework" (Kammer 1988), "structured assumptions" (Kraft 1979; Craffert 1997), "integrated systems" (Hiebert 1985), "maps" (Bradshaw 1993), "beliefs" (Helve 1995), "the harmonious picture" (Du Toit 1997) and so forth.

2.1.1 Definitions of a worldview

Kraft (1979:20) defines a worldview as "the culturally structured assumptions, values and commitments underlying a people's perception of reality and therefore influences in a foundational way each person's perception of the world". According to Hiebert (1985:30), a worldview is hard to detect since such more or less integrated systems of ideas, feelings, and values lie below the surface of manifest culture. For this reason, worldview is often compared to the invisible mental maps by means of which people think and guide their lives. Because a worldview provides interpretations of reality that lie behind an individual's beliefs acquired from culture, it is usually shared by a group of people (Hiebert 1985:30; Rogers 1995:157). The diagram below indicates how the worldview is related to the culture in which we live.



I define worldview as a set of core beliefs that form a central framework for explaining reality and the practices that shape a person's approach to the most important issues in life. A worldview helps an individual to explain his/her relationship to God or gods and fellow human beings, to assess the meaning of events, and to justify his/her actions.

2.1.2 Functions of a worldview

Worldviews function in a few ways to help the people of a given culture to conceptualise their whole reality: Firstly, a worldview serves to provide an explanation for the systems of human beliefs and values, and the social institutions within which people live. Secondly, a worldview provides a sense of emotional security, satisfaction and stability. Thirdly, it provides a frame of evaluation for the norms of society so that one can judge what is right and wrong about behaviours and choices accordingly (Kraft 1989:184-193; 1996: 58-63). Having one's worldview confronted on a religious level thus causes confusion and disagreements with those who challenge it. Disagreements may sometimes lead to conflicts of such severity that a decision has to be made between two worldviews, particularly if the religious component of the worldview is applied ideologically (Rogers 1995:5-6). Therefore, in general, the more intense the commitment of groups or individuals to their basic assumptions or beliefs, the less

likely they are to change their worldviews (Kraft 1989:191). In fact they tend to resist adopting new ideas unless they are able to accede that there are obvious internal contradictions in their assumptions or beliefs that are untenable.

However, worldviews themselves do change. Internal contradictions are also found because worldviews expand as human beings grow. Thus worldviews are living entities that develop according to the basic needs of people and could also be replaced with others when they fail to meet those needs. Although human beings are not consciously aware of them, their worldviews constantly reinforce and perpetuate their basic beliefs and assumptions.

2.1.3 Elements of a worldview

According to Kammer (1988:54), “a worldview contains our general assumptions about the ultimate powers that determine existence, our fundamental understandings of the world in which we live, and our beliefs about human nature”. Redfield (1957:90) observes that there are about seventy-five elements common to the worldviews of all cultures, such as: super-nature, the ideas of self, family, relationships, man, nature, time, history, cause of evil and good, birth, death and so forth. But he concludes that all worldviews could probably be related to the elements of one triangle: man, nature, and gods or super-nature (Redfield 1957:90).

Hence, it is observed that worldviews are related to our beliefs or assumptions about human nature, the world in which we live and the supernatural powers that determine our existence. In point of fact, the essentials of most religions are related to the elements of this triangle. This fact is well described by the philosopher of religion Ninian Smart (1983:7) thus: “the study of religion explores the systems of beliefs which mobilize ideas, feelings and values of human beings... the nature of God and his/her relationship to human beings as well as to the rest of creation are the essential element of the ideological dimension”.

It would, therefore, be appropriate to investigate these three elements as manifested in the Korean worldview of the major Korean religions: concept of God or god, of nature, and of the human being. Bearing in mind what has been mentioned above, I will now

turn to an analysis of the essential elements affecting Korean ways of thought in the pre-Christian faiths of Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

2.2 Korean worldviews⁴

Korea has a long history with a rich religious background. The dominant religions such as Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism existed side by side from the very early days in Korean society and have exerted a profound influence in shaping and forming the lives of Korean men and women. In such a society with multiple cultures, various worldviews have developed, which makes it difficult to distinguish one single Korean worldview. Therefore, providing a brief background of traditional religions in Korea may assist in understanding the various Korean worldviews that are subsumed in Korean Christianity.

2.2.1 Korean worldviews in the dominant religions

2.2.1.1 Shamanism

It is agreed that Korea was a Shamanistic nation from the very beginning of its establishment in 2333 B.C. (Kim, G 1999:55). Shamanism has been the traditional religion of the Korean people, long before Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity were introduced into Korea. Shamanism was practised mainly by men and women who were oppressed, poor and socially marginalised in Korea and it still coexists with Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, owing to its characteristic of tolerating other religions.

Koreans from the Neolithic period held not only animistic, but also Shamanistic beliefs. This is well observed by Joe (1972:42) when he writes that “Animism and Shamanism constitute the intractable core of the Korean religious mind.” Because of this blend, the general definition of Shamanism cannot be suitably applied to Korean Shamanism.

⁴ Since the ways in which people see the world appear to be so numerous in the context of religious diversity in anyone given time, there is no such single, defined Korean worldview.

Instead, the above two terms will be defined according to the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Hastings 1908)⁵ as follows:

Animism is “the belief in the existence of spiritual beings, some attached to bodies of which they constitute the real personality (souls), others without necessarily any connection with a determinate body (spirits)” (Hastings 1908:535). Shamanism is “a primitive religion of polytheism or polydemonism with strong roots in nature worship, and generally with a supreme god over all” (Hastings 1920:441).

Korean Shamanism with its Animistic character propounds the belief that there are gods, demons and ancestral spirits in the invisible world that affect the daily lives of people. These spirits or gods are viewed as occupying a hierarchical order and, consequently, they have different responsibilities to perform regarding the affairs of human beings. Some spirits were believed to be good, bringing good fortune upon mankind, and others to be bad, bringing misfortune (Lee 1984:7). According to Chung (1997:33-34), values upheld by Shamanism such as “physical health, material abundance and good fortune here and now” form part of Korean popular Christianity: “By accommodating themselves to this dominant religious proclivity for affirming the values of this world, Korean churches have unwittingly, and sometimes deliberately, adopted shamanistic practices.”

In Shamanism, human beings are closely affected by the spirits: they are both vulnerable and fragile beings who need protection from these unseen evil powers in the world. Thus, neither man nor woman is the centre of existence in the universe. In fact, the sole and most important purpose of human beings is to serve the most powerful being, *Cheonjisinmyong* or God-Light of Heaven and Earth, the supreme god who can be called upon, usually in time of trouble. *Hananim* or Heavenly God, the god of wider constituency, is interchangeable in function with *Cheonjisinmyong*. Whereas *Cheonjisinmyong* is invoked more often for supplication, *Hananim* is regarded as the supreme god that presides over the affairs of heaven and earth and the unseen world

⁵ This definition is still commonly used by Koreans in recent writings, i.e. articles and dissertations etc (Cf. Sun 1992).

(Joe 1972:44). Thus, the most superior spirit, *Hananim*, is viewed as ruling over the thousand things in heaven and earth, including human beings. This supreme God can be turned to for human protection and well-being. This term *Hananim* was taken over by early Christian missionaries and used in teaching to Koreans to mean only God who created the heaven and earth and everything in it.

The central idea of Shamanism is to establish the means of access to the supernatural world through the Shaman who exercises certain priestly functions on behalf of a human group. According to the myth of origin, in the beginning, the shamans were female. People believed that the female shamans had great psychic powers. However, they wore a man's robe in performing the rituals to call upon the gods. The Shaman's robes were made of iron by a magical smith who wrought a psychic power in them. Because of this collaboration, the shaman and the smith shared their earnings. This magical smith later desired more profit, and from him developed the male Shamans (Clark 1961:182). A female shaman is called *Mootang* and a male shaman is named *Paksoo* in Korean and they are the central figures in mediating with the gods to gain peace and blessings, as well as deliverance from all troubles in life. In Korea today, *Mootangs* greatly outnumber *Paksoos* (Sun 1992:86).

A female shaman is perceived as having three basic functions: priestess, healer, and diviner (Kim, G 1999:56). As priestess, she is perceived to have direct intercourse with the spirits, and actual access to the spirit world. Her main power is related to healing and divination while she is in contact with the supernatural world. Rituals are performed to cure the ill, comfort lost ones and drive out evil spirits. A magic incantation and an exorcism are performed and sacrifices are also offered in order to reconcile the spirits and human beings.

This form of Shamanism was practised throughout the period of the two dynasties (A.D. 935-1910)⁶ by most Koreans, particularly by the oppressed, poor and socially marginalised. Women constituted the majority of devotees since they became the

⁶ The Koryu Dynasty (A.D. 935-1391) utilised Buddhism as an official religion while the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) adopted Confucianism as a state religion.

objects of severe oppression under the state religion that was practised mainly by the man of the ruling classes. Being an indigenous religion with a complex religious phenomenon, Shamanism has made a profound impact on the social, economic and political realms in Korea and is manifested in many different ways within Christianity. For example, ministers are viewed as the ones who are closer to God. As a result they were called on to pray for earthly blessings.

2.2.1.2 Buddhism

Buddhism originated in India and was first introduced into Korea in A.D.372 through a Chinese monk, Soonto, who brought books, images and relics relating to the origins of the religion. It was during the era of the “Three Kingdom period” (Kogoryu, Bcikei, Silla from A.D. 57 to A.D. 935) that Korean recorded history began with Buddhism (Lee 1984: 59-60). Since the “Three Kingdoms” were always at war with one another for territorial expansion, each kingdom sought closer ties with neighbouring countries. Therefore, the adoption of any foreign religion was done on a political basis with much competition from the other kingdoms (Joe 1972:121).

The Golden Age of Buddhism came only during the reign of the Koryu Dynasty, beginning in A.D. 935. Buddhism became the only religion favoured by the state to such an extent that one king decreed to his successor concerning the protection of the Buddhist doctrine and the establishment of an annual Buddhist festival (Joe 1972:193; Lee 1984:132-133). Furthermore, during the reign of this Dynasty the other religions, such as Shamanism and Confucianism, were persecuted. Thus Buddhism was used by the ruling classes to govern the people (Radio Korea 1995: 71-72).

The most basic teachings in Buddhism are the “Four Noble Truths”. According to these “Four Noble Truths”, all life itself is suffering. This suffering comes from human desire. Therefore, to stop the suffering it is necessary to get rid of desire. The abandonment of desire can be achieved by following the Eight-Fold Path: Right views, Right aspirations, Right speech, Right conduct, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness, Right rapture. Buddhism’s ultimate goal is to achieve Nirvana, which is a state of mental peace, but also a state of nothingness, that is, the state of eternal being. When a person reaches this state, he or she then becomes a Buddha (Joe 1972:113).

However, the Buddhism adopted by Koreans was Mahayana Buddhism mixed with Shamanistic characteristics. This Mahayana Buddhism accepts the concepts of paradise, hell, and retribution. This paradise, an identical concept to Nirvana, is attained through the personal good deeds or help given by some compassionate Bodhisattvas. In this Buddhism there are also many different supernatural gods in the celestial regions. These celestial gods are believed to protect and help human beings, responding to their pleas for the blessings of heaven as well as earth. Among these Buddhas created by human imagination, Bodhisattvas are the ones who answer the prayers of the believers. The most prominent Bodhisattvas are named *Bosal*, *Miruk* and *Amida* in Korean (Joe 1972: 115-116).

A Bodhisattva (*Bosal* in Korean) is “the one who, having built up imponderable reservoirs of merits enough to entitle him to the full status of Buddha, indefinitely postponed his entrance to Nirvana in order to help suffering humanity” (Joe 1972:115). Bodhisattva Maitreya (*Miruk* in Korean) is a saviour who will come at the appropriate time to deliver believers from the sufferings in this world. Amida is the saviour Buddha who helps a person in times of danger or physical pain. This god also ensures the admission into paradise of the one who calls upon his name at the moment of dying. As this Buddhist pantheon receives different entreaties from the believers and answers them, people offer petitions and prayers to *Bodhisattva*, not only for blessings in this world but also for a better life in the next.

Occasionally, in a temple or in private homes, devotees hold prayers for particular petitions right through the day and night without ceasing, continuously for seven to thirty days. Originally, the Buddhist form of prayers are also read formally in the palace as well as in the street for the edification of the populace and to bring blessings upon the people. Funerals, accompanied by a prayer, are also performed by the priests. The Prayers to the spirits of ancestors are also offered as Buddhists worship them.

Magical acts as well as fortune-telling are also practised. In fact, there are books that give directions on how to make the various charms that are believed to provide protection against evil spirits and diseases, and to give believers a peaceful life in all their human relationships. These charms are carried by men, women and children in

wallets and belts for protection against evil spirits. Korean Buddhism has thus exerted a profound influence on the Korean lifestyle.

In Buddhism none of the realities in the visible world has any substance (An, J S 1995:98). The world, therefore, exists as a result of multiple causes and conditions. At the same time the world is a contributing cause to its own effect (*Karma*) that necessitates the round of transmigration. What the world is now is the effect of previous causes. What it will be will be the effect of what it is now. Thus the theory of *Karma* binds humanity to the universe.

In the same way, a person is what he is in this existence owing to his being in past existences. What a person is now will in part determine the form of his next existence, owing to the law of karma. Therefore, there is no escape from this law of cause and effect. All the phenomena in the world and the world itself are impermanent. Nothing, including the world and humanity, has its own separate and distinct existence. They are completely insubstantial. Therefore, a person's destiny is in his own hands in that he can break the law of *Karma*. A great number of good works, such as giving alms to monks and donating money to build temples, are required to break that karma. By obeying the teachings of the monks, many women believers gave offerings and alms and also contributed to the building of temples through their labour and donations. This way of thinking continues in Korean Christianity. For example, God's blessing is understood as a response to good works such as prayers and offerings for building churches. Furthermore, the church also imposes "Pharisaic tithing in a spirit reminiscent of Buddhist belief in Karma without realizing this" (Chung 1997:34).

Because of the hereditary nature of the government positions in Korean history, each government, such as the three kingdoms and the Koryu dynasty, restricted the ruling elite to members from a few clans. These family factions were constantly vying for power, which eventually weakened the central government. Consequently, the institution of state religion came to an end (A.D. 1392) when the state was replaced by another power.

2.2.1.3 Neo-Confucianism

Although Confucianism was introduced into Korea in A.D. 651, its expansion was very slow. Confucianism came into full flower only when the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) adopted it as a state religion, hoping that it would save the country from the Buddhist faith which had become corrupted by the preceding dynasty. Confucianism focuses on the ideal society by exercising the Confucian practical system. It is believed that a harmonious life- achieved by maintaining the sacredness of the five obligations in human relationship- would lead to a peaceful social order. Confucianism was imposed as the sole ideology for the nation from the outset.

The Confucianism of the Yi Dynasty is known as Neo-Confucianism (Lee 1984:166). This Neo-Confucianism is a mixture of Confucian and Buddhist thought and the philosophy of Taosim⁷ and differs evidently in many ways from what Confucius taught. The Neo-Confucianists considered the Confucian Analets (Non uh), the Mencius (Maengja), Doctrine of the Mean (the Chung Young), and the Great Learning (Daehak) as the most important texts of learning and they are named "The Four Books". The Yi dynasty introduced the Four Books, along with Chu His's commentary on them, in "every level of education, from the children of the base class, to the various kinds of private and state schools, to the curriculum of the royal prince" (Seo 1992:264). Furthermore, they were used to select the elite scholars who would govern the country. For this reason, Confucianism attracted mainly men and the elite and was used by the ruling and upper classes to control the lower classes, particularly women who were regarded as the lowest in the Yi Dynasty (Lee 1984:217). Likewise, the Bible in Korean Christianity became the main textbook from the earliest theological education as text chapter will demonstrate.

According to Neo-Confucianism, the universe consists of two inseparable components: *li*⁸ and *ki*. *Li* is the Supreme Ultimate Principle or intentional force (Chung 1997:6)

⁷ Taoism is not included in this study because it was not one of the dominant religions in Korea.

⁸ *Li* is also conceived as the will of heaven and the *Tao*, or as an all pervasive principle.

while *ki* is matter or material force⁹ (An 1995:149-150). Neo-Confucianists believe that if a thing exists, a principle definitely exists in that thing. According to this belief, it is understood that the *li* existed first in the metaphysical realm of the unchangeable before the *ki* existed in the physical realm of change (Lee 1979:78). Therefore, these two components are not separable, since the *ki* acts upon the *li*¹⁰. As *ki* moves, the two forces or energies of *yin*¹¹ (the negative energy) and *yang*¹² (the positive energy) are produced¹³. The pure form of *yang* is heaven, whereas the earth is the pure form of *yin*. Thus, heaven and earth are the prototypes of yang and yin elements (Lee 1979:78). When the *yin* and the *yang* are joined, everything in the earth is produced. For example, the primary elements, that is wood, metal, fire, water and earth were created through the interaction of *yin* and *yang* (Joe 1972:107). Thus, although *yin* and *yang* are diametrically opposed in character, they are equally essential for the existence of the universe. From this *yin-yang* theory, theories of human nature, political ethics and personal conduct have also been developed.

In Neo-Confucianism, the *li* is an innate quality that is always good and unchangeable, and consequently there is no distinction of good and evil in it (Kim 1977:50). On the contrary, the *ki* is not always good since it generates change. There is thus a distinction of good and evil in *ki*.

Owing to the innateness of *li* in all beings, everything in heaven and earth, and the myriad items in the universe become “what they ought to be” (Joe 1972:250). In fact, there is no basic difference between human beings and other objects since all humans are the products of heaven and earth. Fundamentally human beings are the same as these other objects because of the general immanence of *li* in them. The only difference between them occurs after the union of the *li* and *ki*. Thus, human beings are identified as being one with the universe (An 1995:140-150).

⁹ There were two views in this regard. One held that *li* is identical with *ki* and the other that the two are different components that make up the universe.

¹⁰ The question of priority, that is, which one of these two components “rides” on the other was a matter of controversy among the Yi dynasty thinkers.

¹¹ The negative force stands for female: coldness, inactivity, softness etc.

¹² The positive force represents male: heat, activity, hardness etc.

¹³ When *ki* moves it becomes yang while it becomes yin when it ceases.

It is thought that humans are good due to the innateness of the *li* in their nature. What makes one person different, though, from another is his physical endowment of *ki*, which contains his *li*. Therefore a perfect man is a sage who is conscious of the will of Heaven (*li*) and endeavours to possess the original state of *li*, the Heavenly nature. The original state of the Heavenly nature can be attained only through obeying the will of Heaven¹⁴ and conducting oneself and relating to others accordingly.

The code of proper conduct is found in the Five Virtues: Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Sincerity. These 'Five Virtues' constitute the essence of Neo-Confucianism and were expressed to fulfil the five human relationships, which are: father and son, with a greater emphasis on the son's filial piety; monarch and subject, emphasising the subject's loyalty; husband and wife, emphasising the wife's obedience; elder brother and younger brother, emphasising the latter's respect; and friend and friend with the emphasis on mutual sincerity (Young 1994:42). Therefore, filial piety to a father, pledging loyalty to a monarch, respect to older ones and a wife's obedience to her husband were very important.

However, the filial piety promoted by Confucianism meant first of all piety for the country of its origin, and this bred a spirit of toadyism toward China (Seo 1992:266). Neo-Confucianism suppressed the spirit of originality to the extent that even new interpretations of its own "Four Books" were not allowed. Neo-Confucianism as a system was intolerant and quick to suppress all other teachings (Lee 1984:166).

Such suppression is also manifested very clearly in Korean Christianity. Since the Bible and teaching on it from the early missionaries were regarded as sacrosanct, different views from the first teaching were condemned as heretical. They were, therefore, not tolerated, resulting in the division of the Korean Church as it will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

¹⁴ The will of Heaven is to accept one's social status (Joe 1972:250-255).

Since family relations were viewed as basic to human social relationships, the woman's position was important in the family and every woman had to fulfill her heaven-given tasks. The tasks given to women were: first to obey her father as a child, her husband as a married woman and her son as a widow. There were seven grounds for divorce: disobedience to the husband's parents, failure to bear a male child, promiscuity, jealousy (towards concubines of her husband), having an incurable disease, talking too much and stealing. Guarding her chastity also meant more than guarding her personal integrity since it was related to possessing a heart of honour (Lee-Park 1994:30). It is said that chaste widows who lost their husband before they had reached the age of 30 and who remained chaste until the age of 50 were rewarded officially (Lee-Park 1994:31). In this regard Neo-Confucianism was "an intolerant doctrine which rejects all other teachings" (Lee 1984:166) but stressed only unequal relationships in society as the fundamental ethical standard. Similarly, woman's obedience to minister's teaching in the church and woman's chastity to husbands (although husbands were sometimes not faithful in marital relationship) were stressed and encouraged in the Korean Church. This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

In Korean Neo-Confucianism, certain religious characteristics originated from the extension filial piety (Yoo 1987:15). Various sacrifices were performed and offered, for example, to Confucius, to Heaven and Earth, and to Ancestors on the occasion of national calamities of various kinds. There was a range of accompanying worship ceremonies, when sacrifices and supplications were performed at different shrines. Among these ceremonies the ancestral worship was the most essential sacrifice, since filial duty was the highest virtue in Confucianism (Chung 1997:7).

According to Ancestor worship, Koreans believe that every person has three souls (Clark 1961:113). It is believed that one soul remains in the corpse and enters into the grave at the funeral, the other goes into the prepared tablet¹⁵, and the last one goes to the realm of paradise or hell as taught by Buddhists. The rituals of Ancestor worship are

¹⁵ Immediately after the death of a person, a small paper, three inches by eight (8cm by 20cm), folded in a certain way and bearing the name of the deceased was taken and pasted on the wall to temporarily receive one of the three spirits of the departed. Then messengers were sent out far into the forest to find a chestnut tree in some place where the sound of the crowing of a cock has never been heard. The whole tree was cut down and the tablet was made and the name of the deceased was written on it. (Clark 1961:113)

performed in front of the grave or in the home with ancestral tablets. The existence of ancestral spirits in the grave as well as in the tablet is believed to such an extent that the spirits are regarded as coming and staying with the living for the duration of the ritual and then returning to the grave. For Koreans, ancestor worship was, therefore, considered idol worship when they converted into Christianity. For that reason, when attempts were made to compel Korean Christians to do obeisance to Shinto-shrine, they resisted to the extent to their death as the Korean Church history demonstrates in the next chapter.

2.2.2 Summary and Conclusion

A worldview is related to our beliefs or assumptions about the world in which we live. Amongst various elements in worldview, the core elements are the supernatural world or gods, human kind, and nature, which are contained implicitly in all religions. According to Smart (1983:1-55), a worldview analysis must form the basis of interpreting all religions, since religious beliefs mobilise the ideas, feelings and values of human beings and these are all found in the study of religion.

Korea has a rich religious background. Its history includes the dominant religions of Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Shamanism was the traditional religion, indigenous to Korean society. Buddhism and Confucianism, in contrast, were appropriated by Korean society from China during the period of the Three Kingdoms (Kogoryu, Beckchei, and Silla from A.D. 57 to A.D. 935).

According to Korean Shamanism, spirits or gods which are stronger than men are all present in heaven and on earth. The spirits or gods have a hierarchical order and, consequently, they have different responsibilities to perform regarding the affairs of human beings. The most superior god, *Hananim*, is viewed as the one who rules over the thousand things in heaven and earth, including human beings. This supreme God can be turned to for human protection and well-being. Therefore, to serve the most powerful being is important. This same term has been used by Korean Christianity but has been modified so it is used in a monotheistic sense.

Buddhism being the state religion (during the period of the three Kingdoms, (A.D. 57 to A.D. 935) as well as the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 935-1392), it served as the means by which the ruling and upper classes could dominate the lower classes. According to Korean Buddhism, there are numerous supernatural gods in the celestial regions. These celestial gods are believed to protect and help human beings by responding to their pleas for heaven and earth to be blessed. All the phenomena in the world and the world itself are temporary; nothing, neither the world nor humans, has its own separate and distinct existence. Their existence is without substance; the existence of the human being is determined by the form of his past existence, according to the law of karma, the law of cause and effect. A person's destiny is therefore in his/her own hands. The law of *Karma* has to be broken.

Confucianism, the state religion of the Yi dynasty, in contrast attracted mostly men and the elite. They developed particular characteristics that made a clear distinction between the ruling class and the lower classes. According to Confucianism, *li*, the ultimate principle, is an innate, intentional force in the universe, which rides *ki*, the material force. Nature came into being through the interaction of two *kis*, the *yin* and the *yang*. The understanding is that human beings are essentially good, due to the innateness of the *li* in their nature. What makes one person different from another, is his physical endowment of *ki* which contains his *li*. A perfect man is, therefore, a sage who is conscious of the will of Heaven (*li*). The will of Heaven is that one has to accept one's social status (Joe 1972:250-255). Additionally, a man had to pledge loyalty to his superior and a wife also had to be loyal and obedient to her husband. Piety to one's origins had to be strictly honoured. These were all very important virtues that had to be observed. Honouring original forms is also strongly manifested in Korean Christianity. As it will be shown in the next chapter, Korean believers made an every effort to keep the Christianity introduced through early missionaries.

In terms of these Korean religions, there is a tendency for Koreans to believe in a supreme god. Believing in a supreme God is the foundation of all of the above religious systems. Pleasing the high god is important: a supreme god for Shamanism, Bodhisattvas for Buddhism and the supreme Ultimate Principle for Neo-Confucianism. Nature was and is considered not only to possess a spirit, but also to be the result of a certain law or principle. Human beings are considered to be a part of nature, yet

sufficiently vulnerable to need protection from the evil powers prevalent in nature. Therefore, not only harmony with nature, but also keeping the order in society was considered to be very important.

Given such diversity within religious societies, it was inevitable that various Korean worldviews have developed in accordance with each religion. Furthermore, these different religions are still practised side by side within present Korean society. Therefore, it is difficult to define and distinguish any single Korean worldview. I believe that the various worldviews from this rich religious background have influenced Korean Christianity. I will consequently investigate how these views have been manifested in the formation of theological traditions in the Korean Church. My investigation into the Korean church will be limited to the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC), since it is the largest denomination in Korea¹⁶. Keeping in mind the above exposition of the diverse religious orientations of Koreans, we now turn to the next investigation.

¹⁶ C D Gwak (2000:117) provides some statistics of Korean Christianity: Christians form 26.3% of the total population, among which are: Protestants 19.7%, Roman Catholics 6.6%. Buddhists form 23.2%, Confucianists 0.5%, Other religionists 0.82%, Non-religionists 49.3%. According to this record, the Presbyterian is the largest denomination, occupying 70% in the Korean Church.

3. The impact of Korean Worldviews on theological tradition in the Korean Presbyterian Church (KPC)

Chapter 2 examined different elements of Korean worldviews as manifested in the main religions of Korea. This chapter investigates how the influence of these different but intermingled Korean worldviews has shaped theological tradition in the KPC.

Two different theological traditions are found in the KPC: the liberal and the conservative. Historical research into the Korean church unanimously indicates that the division between the liberal and the conservative theological traditions started in the 1930s (Kim 1956; Park, Y K 1992; Conn 1966-1968). The two terms, “liberal” and “conservative”, need to be defined here. In the Korean context, liberals are those who reject the fundamentalist approach to the Bible, but accept historical criticism as the means of exegesis. In contrast to the liberals, conservatives are those who believe the whole Bible to be the inspired word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Therefore, all parts of the Bible are equally true as written by the original authors and all parts are what God intended His people to have.

3.1 The initial development of a conservative theological tradition

Various Presbyterian missionary societies coexisted in Korea right from the early days of the KPC: the Northern branch of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America (PCUSA); the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church, United States (PCUS); the Canadian Presbyterian; and the Australian Presbyterian (Park, Y K 1992: 63-64).

The PCUSA entered Korea in 1884 and the PCUS in 1892. The Australian Presbyterians started working in 1889 and the Canadians followed in 1898. These missionary societies worked together in harmony although each mission organisation had conservatives and liberals within its ranks.

However, this peaceful environment did not last long as the KPC faced a crucial moment in history. It is necessary to look at how missionaries affected the development of theological traditions for many years in the KPC.

3.1.1 Origin of the conservative tradition

The state of the Korean church in its early years is described as being conservative. Conn (1966:26) unhesitatingly says that history must give credit to the Presbyterian missionaries who brought their faith to the country.

From the early years of the Korean church the missionaries were almost the only guides who provided theological training for future leaders. In the beginning, theological training took the form of a Winter Theological Class. It was only in 1901 that a five year course of study leading to graduation was adopted (Clark 1961:186-188).

The course started with the first two students in 1900 but, as early as 1907, 172 students were enrolled. This was the year that the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang was formally established under the administration of the Presbyterian Council, which represented the four missionary bodies.

According to Conn (1966:26), by 1909 forty foreign missionaries of different theological backgrounds were sent to Korea from seven different North American seminaries. Princeton Theological Seminary sent sixteen, McCormick Theological Seminary eleven, San Anselmo Theological Seminary four and the Union Theological Seminary of New York three.

Amongst them were S.A. Moffett, W.L. Swallen, C.A. Clark, W.D. Reynolds, W.C. Eerdman, J.C. Crane, S.L. Robert and F.E. Hamilton who were the most actively involved in fostering leadership for many years and became very influential in theological education (Park, Y K 1992:66).

These missionaries, being men of the Puritan and Calvinistic tradition, cultivated an evangelical, conservative way of thinking in their theological training (Conn 1966:26-

27). They are the ones who established Pyungyang Seminary and contributed to the formulation of the conservative Korean theology (Park 1992:70). The role they played in the KPC was very significant for the future of theological education, and therefore, it is necessary to investigate briefly the theological backgrounds of the most influential persons.

3.1.1.1 Role of foreign educators in the Korean theological tradition

Dr Samuel Moffett was elected as President of Pyungyang Seminary in 1907 and served until 1924. He received his theological training at McCormick Seminary. He influenced Pyungyang Seminary profoundly through his counselling and personal leadership. According to the historian Kim (1956:173), Moffett as a Calvinist was a man of strong convictions, a conservative in the true sense of the word. His preface to Mark in a Korean commentary series clearly reveals his conservative point of view (Conn 1966:36):

The reader and students have a right to know the point of view of the authors, for though one tries to be impartial in the setting forth of the truth, one's point of view always colors whatever is written. The point of view in this commentary is that which we commonly call 'conservative'. The writers of this commentary believe the whole Bible to be the inspired Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice. They do not believe that some parts of the Bible are the Word of God, while some parts of the Bible are of more value than others, but all are equally true as written by the original authors, and that all parts are what God wanted His people to have... They also believe that the system of truth taught in the Bible is well summarised in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms of the Presbyterian Churches. These standards constitute the creed of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, and the authors of this commentary believe in this creed because they believe it is taught in the Word of God... The authors believe that the Bible completely sustains the articles of this creed. While there are passages in the Bible which, if taken also, would seem to contradict parts of this system, these passages are always found to have an interpretation which harmonises with the other teaching of Scripture and which supports our Westminster Standard.

William L. Swallen was sent to Korea the year following his graduation at McCormick Seminary and served in Korea for more than 40 years. He was very gifted musically and contributed to the development of Korean hymnbooks. Theologically, he was very conservative and also believed that the whole Bible is the inspired, infallible Word of God and, therefore, it is perfectly reliable in all matters. His influence was not limited to his teaching at Pyungyang Seminary only, but went further to the extension learning programme. He was the only missionary who stayed on in Korea after all the other missionaries left owing to the Shinto shrine issue (Park 1992:77).

Charles Allen Clark was also from McCormick Seminary and began to teach at Pyungyang Seminary in 1908. He strongly influenced the theological formulation of the conservative church in Korea. During his time as missionary he wrote fifty volumes in Korean and six works in English. These writings had a great impact on theological education in Korea. In his commentaries a fundamentalism is clearly displayed, although he seems to be aware of problems of textual criticism and of modernist approaches to those problems. He also viewed the church as a spiritual organisation that is not at all related to politics.

William D. Reynolds was from Union Seminary in Virginia. He served in Korea for forty-five years as an itinerant evangelist, Bible translator, seminary professor and author of many books. From the time of his appointment to the chair of Systematic Theology in 1924 his influence became evident, as shown in his writings regarding the indigenous ministry of Korea: "Ground him thoroughly in the inerrant Word and in the cardinal facts and truths of Christianity." (*The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3, May, 1896: 201) Thus he was conservative, holding the conviction that the Bible is the inspired Word of God. Reynolds also held the verbal inspiration of the Bible as he rejected the mechanic inspiration. In 1937 he was succeeded by J.C. Crane from the same mission, PCUSA, who also held a conservative view of the Bible.

S.L. Robert came to Korea in 1907 after graduating from Princeton Seminary. In 1925 he succeeded Moffett as the second principal of Pyungyang Seminary. Thereafter, more graduates from Princeton started joining the school and the trends in Korean theological education became even more conservative. Viewing the word of God, he believed the

organic inspiration of the Bible but limited the infallibility and inerrancy of the Bible to the manuscripts.

W.C. Eerdman was also from Princeton. He came to teach at Pyungyang Seminary in 1925. He also made a significant contribution to the formulation of conservative theology in the KPC through his many books and articles in *The Presbyterian Theological Review (Shin-Hak-Gee-Nam)*¹⁷ which appeared in 1918. As he held the views of a conservative, he also believed that the Word of God is accurate not only scientifically, but also historically.

F.E. Hamilton arrived in Korea with the PCUSA in 1920, after studying at Princeton under Machen who was the professor of apologetics at that time. As he served in Pyungyang Seminary for sixteen years he exerted a profound influence on the students. He wrote books and articles in order to defend the authority of the Bible according to his conviction that the Bible possesses almost the same validity as the original manuscripts. The few errors made in the process of transmitting, therefore, do not influence the faithfulness of the content of the Bible.

To summarise, all these educators contributed to the formulation of the conservative theology of the KPC. They believed in the organic and verbal-plenary inspiration of the Bible, just as they rejected the partial and mechanic inspiration. Interestingly, some of them seemed to limit the absolute infallibility and inerrancy of the word of God to the original manuscripts. In a way they accepted the possibility of mistakes in the copies of the Bible.

3.1.1.2 Role of the nationals¹⁸

After studying under the foreign missionaries in Korea, some Korean students were sent to America to further their studies. Among them was Hyung Nong Pak who became the

¹⁷ This was the instrument of Pyungyang Seminary for informing and educating the young church. New Western thought and other theological views were conveyed mainly through this journal.

¹⁸ Although most of the national students as well as ministers were conservative, it is difficult to trace their thought due to the lack of materials. In fact only a few left their theological thought in writing. For this reason, only a representative of each group is chosen.

Korean representative of the conservative group. A Korean theologian, Sin, describes H.N. Pak as “the guard of conservatism and the master who formulated a theology in the Korean church. If there had been no Dr. Pak in the Korean church, we would have been weeded out by the liberal theology instead of bearing the fruit of the Calvinistic theology planted in the Korean church by the early missionaries” (quoted in Park, Y K 1992:199).

H.N. Pak went to study at Princeton in the early 1920s and was influenced by the work of J.G. Machen and C.W. Hodge. After Princeton he went to Louisville Theological Seminary for further study and obtained his degree at Louisville. He came back to Korea and started teaching at Pyungyang Seminary in 1930. As he taught at Pyungyang he began to see the growing strength of liberalism in Korea, especially regarding the authority of the Bible. In his article in *Shin-Hak-Gee-Nam* (1964:8), his concern is shown clearly:

I looked through several religious magazines and translations and found that various kinds of liberal theological thought had been freely published. Higher criticism of the Bible and its errancy were stressed. Comments rejecting the virgin birth of Christ, his deity, his substitutionary atonement, the Second coming, and rewards and punishments in the next world, were much set forth in many directions. Among them were even found sentences reproaching the orthodox men of the Korean church...

His theology was the uncompromising theology of the conservative, based on the absolute authority of the Bible. He firmly believed the plenary-verbal inspiration of the Bible (Han 1996:114). Through his writings he defended as accurate the scientific as well as historical facts in the Bible. He especially challenged and opposed the articles concerning the higher criticism of the Bible and its errancy. The person he opposed the most was Chai Choon Kim, who was the main force of the liberal group and this resulted in frequent conflict between Pak and Kim.

3.1.2 Influence of doctrine

3.1.2.1 The authority of the Bible

The prominence of the authority of the Bible is well revealed in an overall strategy that the early missionaries set for the evangelisation of Korea when they adopted the Nevius-plan, that is, three self-formulas (self-support, self-government and self-propagation) in 1890. According to Clark, “the Nevius methods were not merely a system of self-support and refusal to pay subsidies: their real core was in the Bible study system, which encouraged every Christian to study his Bible...” (quoted in Park 1992:113).

This statement by Clark clearly shows that in the Nevius system, studying the word of God was the centre of the three self-formulas. With their strong conviction of the conservative view of the Bible, it was an ideal principle for the early missionaries to apply the Nevius plan to theological education in the Korean Church. The Bible became the main textbook for the church as well as for theological training at the seminary. The basis of doctrine adopted by Pyungyang Seminary in 1920 shows the missionaries’ clear direction for a native ministry as follows:

Sincerely accepting the Bible as the inspired Word of God and the foundation of all conduct, it is the purpose of this Seminary to train men for the Gospel ministry who shall truly believe, adequately understand, cordially love, and clearly expound the Holy Scriptures and earnestly endeavor to propagate in its fullness and simplicity the Gospel redemption therein set forth.

It is its purpose to train men for the duties of the pastorate, men who will be deeply conscious of their spiritual, moral, intellectual, and social responsibilities, as true ambassadors of Christ, watchful undershepherds, feeding and leading the flock, wise winners of souls for Christ, and skilful builders of the Holy Temple in the Lord. It is its purpose to inculcate and encourage in its students the true spirit of evangelism and personal responsibility which shall lead to untiring effort for the evangelisation of their own and other peoples and the firm establishment of the Church of Christ in these lands.

(Kim 1960:54).

Thus theological educators as well as students in Korea believed that the whole Bible was the sole infallible rule of faith and practice. They also believed that the system of truth taught in the Bible is well summarised in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Creed of the Presbyterian Church. This creed was the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in India and it was adopted for “the fledgling Korean body” (Conn 1966:31) by the Presbytery meeting of the Korean Church in 1907. In this creed, twelve articles of a strong Calvinistic nature are set forth as an expression of Reformed doctrine. The first article goes thus: “The Scripture of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and duty” (Clark 1961:326).

Hence, from the very beginning, the early Korean Church viewed the Bible as the absolute word of God without any error and when this view was challenged, major conflicts arose in the KPC.

3.1.2.2 Rights of man and woman in the church.

The conservative theological tradition in the KPC asserts that the rights of men and women in the church are not the same. This attitude is clearly shown by the response of the General Assembly of the KPC to an article entitled “ To the Presbyterian General Assembly” that appeared in “*KIDOK SHINMUN*”¹⁹ on 22 August 1934. According to the author, minister C.B. Kim:

Paul’s comment on women keeping silent in the church was not an absolute unchangeable eternal truth. The rights of women in the church should therefore be reconsidered... In the Korean Methodist Church with a similar duration of existence, there is neither discrimination nor prejudice between man and woman in all the meetings in the church. As a result, an ordained woman occupies a higher position in the church organisation. Our Presbyterian Church, however, still does not grant women the right to be an elder or a deacon in the church. Instead, the

¹⁹ A Korean Christian Newspaper issued by the General Assembly of the KPC.

Presbyterian Church has officially made a Form of Government that discriminates against women and prevents their rise... In doing so, capable women in the KPC will not need to move to another church where the rights of women are recognised.

(*KIDOK SHINMUN*: No. 976, August 1934, *my translation*).

Thus C. H. Kim proposed a different view on the rights of women in the church.

A response from a representative of the KPC to this proposal appeared in the same newspaper as follows:

The reason for the impossibility of a woman to be an ordained minister or elder is that apostles, elders and deacons in the Bible are all men... When God created human beings, man was created first and woman second. The position given to each of them was also different. Man is the ruler and woman is the assistant ... if women are allowed to work like men, who can take their place in bearing and bringing up a child? ...

(*KIDOK SHINMUN*: No. 977, August, 1934, *my translation*)

The issue of the rights of women in the church brought about a theological debate in the KPC and finally the General Assembly of the KPC had to intervene in the matter.

However, the General Assembly of the KPC also interpreted this debate as a challenge to the basic authority of the Bible and responded as follows:

In the Bible, it is clear that the rights of women in the church are not granted completely. A minister who approves the present-day rise of agitation for women's rights through a free interpretation of the Bible according to worldly trends, is one with those who teach the destructive higher criticism of the Bible. That attitude is a very grave insult to the spirit of the Bible and its authority. Therefore, such church leaders should be excluded from the fellowship of our church according to the Form of Government, Chapter 6, Section 42-3.

(Kim 1956:184 *my translation*)

Thus the equality of women was officially denied in the KPC and the place of women in the church was defined on the basis of a literal understanding of the Bible.

In addition to this statement, H N Park wrote in *KIDOK SHINMUN* on 16, 23 and 30 October 1935 again giving two reasons for the impossibility of woman's ordination at. The first reason lies in the order of creation. In the creation of humanity, God created man first and woman second. Thus, woman is created to be a helper, subordinated to man. It is impossible for woman to teach and lead a congregation in which men are present. The second reason is that woman sinned first. Paul also confirms this. This suggests that women by nature lack intelligence or the discernment needed to teach men.

This interpretation of Scripture threw some prominent women in the church into a state of confusion, which later caused them distress and anger (Yang 1997:174). At the beginning, missionaries and ministers in the KPC taught that women were created equal to men in God's image. The effect of their teachings brought to women such joy and freedom that led them to an increased devotion in their worship in the church. The contradictory information that their position and responsibility in the church were not equal to those of men confused them. Additional confusion arose when this was related to human rights. I therefore pose the question: Do they mean that there is a hierarchy in equal status?

3.1.2.3 Other religions : The worship of the Shinto-shrine

At the beginning of Korean church history, many believers in Christianity were martyred owing to their refusal to participate in ancestor worship (Min 1993:89-112). Worshipping ancestors at shrines or graves and tablets was a very important aspect of the other Korean religions: Korean Shamanism, Korean Buddhism and Korean Confucianism. It was believed that the spirits of the ancestors dwelt in the shrines or the tablets and graves in order to bestow blessings as well as curses. Therefore, Korean Christians viewed this form of obeisance at any shrines or graves and tablets as equivalent to worshipping another god.

Consequently, the Korean Christian understanding of other religions was manifested clearly when the worship of the Shinto shrine²⁰ was imposed on the Korean churches. Under the Japanese rule the Korean national church was forced to bow to the emperor's picture as well as toward the imperial palace in Japan, to take a part in special ceremonies at shrines, and to offer prayers to the dead (Kim, Y J 1992:107-118).

In response to this matter, the conservatives firmly believed that obeisance to Shinto was not an act of patriotism but an act of religious worship (Park, Y K 1992:272). This conviction is shown clearly in the admonition of the Korean ministers to the missionaries at the leader's meeting in 1936:

We know that the Shinto shrine worship is to worship the dead souls as a god. Therefore, to pay obeisance to the Shinto shrine is to violate the commandment of God. We also know that the Korean Church will be persecuted and many of us as well as our people will not be able bear the resulting persecution from that matter. However we would like to ask you to help us to keep the faith of the Church firmly although you face difficulties.

(Cited in Kim 1992:206. *My translation*).

The conservatives understood that the worship of the Shinto shrine is a form of idol worship which violates the Ten Commandments in the Bible (Kim, Y J 1992:17). Therefore, believers were admonished to resist paying obeisance at all cost and as the

²⁰ Shinto is a kind of cosmology expressed in various folklores and mythologies and explains the origin of Japan and its people. The object of worship, '*kami*' is a concept 'god' or 'gods'. In its early form, this *kami* represents the spirit of the rivers or mountains. Later, as the imperial family of the *Tenno* clan became dominant, beginning in the 7th century B.C., the sun goddess became the highest deity and was worshipped as the ancestor-goddess of the imperial family. In 1868, through the Meiji restoration, the imperial regime was restored upon the abdication of the feudal 'Bakuhu' government, and the modernisation of Japan began. Shintoism was adopted as a state religion to strengthen the authority of the imperial regime. The emperor was regarded as the living incarnation of the sun goddess and the manifestation of the Absolute (Lee, K S 1966:21). According to the Meiji constitution, the imperial family was regarded as consisting of rulers of the nation from the beginning to ages eternal (Art.1), while the Emperor was "sacred and inviolable" (Art 3). The sovereign was described as the symbol of the infallibility of the Imperial authority. In its extreme, Emperor worship led to the popular belief that the Emperor was, by divine authority, the ruler of the universe. The idea was officially supported by the government and ultimately led to the conviction that Japan was destined to rule over the whole world (quoted in Seo 1992: 223).

result of their resistance many leaders as well as believers were martyred (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1990: 331-338).

3.2 The initial development of a liberal theological tradition

3.2.1 Origin of the liberal tradition

Park (1992:162) writes that the source of Christian liberalism in Korea can also be traced to the missionaries, as well as to secular modern education and some Koreans who were educated overseas.

3.2.1.1 Role of foreign educators in the theological tradition

From the beginning of the establishment of the Presbyterian mission in Korea, theological divergence seems to have existed among the different mission boards. This was quite obvious, especially between the Presbyterian Church USA and the Presbyterian Church of Canada. These tendencies are well observed by Chun (1955:82):

From 1898 to 1907 especially, two outstanding tendencies revealed themselves in all the Presbyterian Councils in Korea. Theology was narrow and administration broad. To protect a narrow theology the Council had to exclude those more liberal workers from voicing their opinions. Among the liberal workers who were denied a vote on theological matters were doctors, educators and women.... Although the Canadian Presbyterians were more liberal, they were also readier to compromise, and the narrow and more adamant point of view always carried the floor.

Although the Canadian Presbyterians were liberal in their theological thinking, they experienced hardly any problems in working under a conservative leadership owing to their willingness to compromise.

However, this picture changed when the Presbyterian Church of Canada merged in 1927 with the Canadian Congregational and Methodist churches to form the United Church of Canada. This Canadian mission appointed a new chairman, William Scott.

Thereafter, the direction of the mission began to change and the inevitable struggle between the different theological positions of the conservatives and liberals began to surface.

Scott was liberal in his thinking and it was unavoidable that his liberal theological thought should be reflected in the theological education in Korea. A Church historian, Park, describes Scott's influence on the Korean Church as follows:

Scott moved into Hamheung after becoming the chairman. Two Koreans, after studying in America, joined him in the theological training. Thus liberalism had its beginning. From these as the centre, the conservative-liberal split could be clearly seen. Quite a number of pastors followed the theological position of the United Church of Canada.

(Park, Y K 1992:173. *My translation*).

However, the Presbyterian Mission did not stop working with the Canadian Mission and the existence of the former caused a really serious problem for the Korean General Assembly, especially with regard to the view of the Bible. Kim (1956: 186-187) again describes one occasion as follows:

In the Spring of 1929 at the special course for 20 full-time evangelists in Hamheung Bible Institute, Scott's Bible interpretation was noticed to be unlike that of the previous missionaries. Seeing that he was quite liberal, one of them asked if there are historical errors in the Bible. Scott replied that there are many historical errors in the Bible. Scott's critical interpretation of Scripture was considered modernist by the students and was opposed by them...

However, such a different view of the Bible began to be accepted readily by a few students as well as by some Koreans who were educated overseas.

3.2.1.2 Role of nationals²¹

During the long years of Korea's annexation (1910-1945), Korean students turned to Japan for their overseas education. By 1930 there were a great number of Korean students at different colleges and universities in Japan.

Commentators depict that period of the Japanese Church as having been under the strong influence of liberalism, in contrast with Korea. According to Yasul Furuya, "Barth has been a kind of theological pope in the Japanese church for a long time, for over thirty years. Unlike the situation in America, for instance, where Barth has been considered one of the top theologians of this century, in Japan Barth has been regarded as the ONLY theologian." (Quoted in Conn 1967:143).

Koreans trained in Japan started returning to Korea in the 1930s. Because of World War II, the trained foreign missionary personnel of the KPC began to decrease. Consequently, a group of well-trained Koreans gradually started taking over the leadership of the educational institutes as well as the churches and seminaries (Chun 1955:149). The main figure among them was Chai Choon Kim who had a good relationship with the Canadian missionaries (Kim 1956:190).

C.C. Kim studied at Aoyama College in Japan and went to Princeton for further study. He relates his first experience of his study at Princeton thus:

In Princeton I was faced with an antithetical atmosphere. At that time Professor Machen was teaching there and the cold war of theological ideas was violent but the general atmosphere of that school was still pure conservatism... I could learn the so-called Fundamentalism and feel it in my existence. In this way I was stimulated and felt that I had a new perspective by measuring the theological direction from the liberalism of Japan and from Princeton.

(Quoted in Conn 1967:149)

²¹ See previous footnote of 3.1.1.2

After one year of studying at Princeton, Kim moved to the Western Seminary in 1929 and returned to Korea after obtaining his degree in 1932. He became a Bible teacher in one of the church-related schools. He also became a regular contributor to *The Theological Review of the Pyungyang Seminary*. However, his controversial view that the Bible was not verbally inspired neither historically nor scientifically, was quickly noticed in the KPC (Park, Y K 1992:177-182). His writings eventually encountered direct theological opposition especially from the representative of the conservative force, Hyung Nong Pak.

3.2.2 Influence of doctrine

3.2.2.1 The authority of the Bible

Korean liberalism was built on a theological position that differed in particular regarding the authority of the Bible (Park, Y K 1992:149-161; Conn 1966:136-178; Kim, Y J 1992). Although the liberal theologians believed that the Bible is the Word of God, they rejected the inspiration of the Bible itself. Therefore the virgin birth of Christ, his deity, his substitutionary atonement, the second coming, and the rewards and punishments in the next world were denied (Park, Y K 1992:168-169)

According to C.C. Kim, the verbal inspiration of the Bible is not biblical, but is only equivalent to Shamanistic thought. Therefore, the method of higher criticism in the interpretation of the Bible is needed to confirm the scientific as well as historical truths in the Bible. These liberal ideas constituted a theological perspective sharply at odds with the conservatives.

Thus the liberals viewed the Bible as not having the absolute authority. This meant that the Bible offered neither historical facts nor normative value to the doctrines that had been organised into creeds. Han, a Professor of church history at the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, writes thus: "Creeds were in turn only man's attempt to express his religious experience in the best thought and language at his command" (Han 1996:551).

The impact of this view of the Bible was seen very clearly in the early KPC when the issue of a minister's denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was laid on the table of the General Assembly of the KPC. This issue posed such a threat that the KPC was almost divided. Consequently, the KPC condemned any minister who denied the Mosaic authorship of Genesis. Moreover, the right to be a minister of the church could also be denied according to Section one of the Church Confession of Faith in the creed (Kim 1956:184).

3.2.2.2 Rights of man and woman in the church

Since the liberals hold a different view of the Bible, their view of man and woman was also different from that of the conservatives. In the light of historical criticism, C.B. Kim interpreted that Paul's comment on this passage "a mere instruction of a local church and custom of two thousand years ago, it is not an absolute unchangeable eternal truth" (*KIDOK SHINMUN* 22 August 1934). Later, Y.K. Cho's interpretation was that Paul had a specific church discipline in mind when he mentioned the excessive action of women believers who were freed from the dominance of men over women (*KIDOK SHINMUN* 4 December 1935).

Thus Kim and Cho attempted to challenge the literal view regarding women's position in the church. For them, the rights of women were equal to those of men in the church. They also believed that to prohibit women from being involved in various church activities was not right. This way of reading the passages about women in the Bible caused a serious problem in the KPC.

3.2.2.3 Other religions : The worship of the Shinto shrine

The liberals could not, however, avoid the challenge of the worship of the Shinto shrine as well as of the emperor's picture. The Japanese insisted that the act of obeisance was just a demonstration of patriotism to the Japanese Empire.

The liberals' response to this matter was somewhat different from the conservatives'. The former interpreted it as a political, not a religious, matter. Their decision on this

issue was to accept the statement of the Japanese government that this was a mere sign of demonstrating patriotism and loyalty to the Japanese Empire. Through this different view or value judgement of their faith they were able to avoid the severe persecution imposed on the rest of the Korean Church. However, this compromise of their faith became a stumbling block for the unity of the KPC soon after.

3.3 Disunity and division in the KPC

The first main dissension that had arisen in the KPC concerned the view of the authority of the Bible. The conservatives understood the Bible to be the inspired, infallible word of God. In contrast, for the liberals the Bible, being a literary document, was fallible. Upon these basic understandings of the Bible, both parties applied their individual understanding of the Bible to the religious issues they faced in life under the Japanese rule. The outcomes of these two different approaches resulted in conflicts in the community of believers.

3.3.1 Disunity in the KPC

According to the church historians in Korea (Y.S. Kim; Y.G. Park; Y.J. Kim; K.B. Min), the main cause for the disunity in the KPC was based on the understanding of the Bible and its application to the Shinto shrine controversy, which came to the surface very clearly in 1938. Consequently, 1938 is regarded as the watershed in the development of these two obviously different theological points of view in the KPC.

In many aspects, the Korean church obeyed the Shinto ideology imposed on it, but the KPC refused doing obeisance at the shrines. In 1938 Japan refused to tolerate the KPC's attitude any longer and ordered the General Assembly to do obeisance at shrines before any religious meeting was held. Owing to this severe pressure inflicted on the KPC, 17 Presbyteries out of 23 gave in to the Japanese order in that year, between February to September. The 27th General Assembly of the church was also held in February 1938, under the supervision of Japanese police, in order for the motion made by the Japanese to be passed officially. Before the meeting of that Assembly, each delegate as well as all the missionaries was summoned and threatened by the Japanese, in case of church intervention. The motion passed at the Assembly of the church read:

Resolved that obeisance at shrines is not a religious act and is not in conflict with Christian teaching. It should be performed as a matter of first importance thus maintaining the patriotic zeal of the imperial subjects

(Conn 1967: 167-168).

Under the influence of the Japanese favoured Moderator and Vice-Moderator, the motion was passed. Protesters who opposed were subdued by Japanese police and after the meeting 23 representatives of the Assembly were immediately forced to go to the shrines. The Moderator issued a letter to the KPC :

...refusal to participate in obeisance at the shrines would not only be scorn the decision of the General Assembly, but do a regretful act that is in opposition to the will of the Lord... If in the face of these serious conditions there are any who still on account of old customs hesitate, they absolutely cannot be regarded as citizens, or as members of the church, and from the standpoint of the church also these contrary parties and elements must be disciplined

(Conn 1967:168).

In 1939 the Japanese government passed a new law to control all church bodies and doctrine and material concerns. As the result, non-cooperating ministers were imprisoned because they believed that obeisance at Shrines was an act of religious worship and was against Christian teaching. Of those imprisoned, 50 were martyred, which destroyed the conservative leadership. However, the liberals adjusted Christian doctrine to fall in with the secular Japanese culture, and held that the Shinto shrine worship was a mere patriotic act. This pro-shrine obeisance group now became part of a government-controlled union church.

The Japanese government prohibited the teaching of Exodus, and the prophetic books mentioning the kingdom of God. Since Koreans adhered to the authority of the Bible, prophetic passages were interpreted literally and they believed the kingdom of God to be futuristic. They also viewed that history is governed by the strife between God and Satan. The kingdom of God also did not belong to this world, according to John 18:36, but was governed by Jesus Christ who would come from above.

This futuristic concept of the kingdom of God flourished rapidly throughout the Korean church and exerted great influence during the Japanese rule. According to Lee (1966:172-174), this eschatological expectation and personal commitment to Christ's kingship played a significant role in the Christian resistance to Shinto in Korea. Thus under the Japanese control, any passages in the Bible that refer to Jesus as the king or Lord, as well as to the Second Coming of Christ were ordered to be eliminated since they were incompatible with emperor worship.

Due to Japanese pressure, the Pyungyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary's fall opening in 1938 was also postponed. Any missionaries from the Northern Presbyterian Mission U.S.A. who refused Shinto obeisance, had to leave, thus finally leading to the Seminary being closed down in 1941.

Meanwhile, Chai Choon Kim took the initiative in setting up a new seminary for the southern majority. After one year's preparation, the Chosun Theological Seminary (the present 'Han-Kuk' Theological Seminary) was founded exclusively by Koreans in April 1940. In order to please Japanese authorities, several graduates from Japanese seminaries were included. Members were determined to remove the foreign influence of missionaries and to set a new direction in declaring that "they are opposed to the verbal inspiration theory which reverses the policy of the previous Seminary completely" (Kang, W Y 1961:123f).

Thus under the Japanese rule, all the Korean churches with a conservative leadership experienced considerable confusion. Until liberation in 1945, the Japanese scheme of amalgamation of the Korean church as one national church tolerated only those obeying the demands in the Korean Church.

3.3.2 Division of the KPC

Before the liberation from Japan in 1945, the authority of the Bible and the Shinto shrine controversy divided the church. After the liberation, instead of the conflict diminishing, it became more severe, which eventually led to the division of the KPC. The issue that arose this time was the cleansing of the church. The root of the conflict

was still related to a basic theological question in the KPC: how to deal with ministers, people and seminary leaders who took part in Shinto worship.

Although a united action²² was impossible, two groups of previously imprisoned church leaders took similar cleansing actions. As they announced the rehabilitation principles of the church, they met with strong opposition from the moderator who had approved the shrine worship at the General Assembly in 1938. Therefore, even the Presbytery was faced with a serious crisis of division. One party denied the necessity of rehabilitation completely and the other was absolutely set on it. In the midst of this crisis, the problem of rehabilitation was left unresolved. Instead, without sufficient study of the doctrinal issues, Chosun Seminary with its very controversial leader Chai Choon Kim was accredited as the Assembly's only official theological training institute at the General Assembly²³ in 1946. This decision caused another major struggle in the KPC which accentuated the necessity for reform.

The anxious anti-Shinto worship and liberation leaders had difficulty accepting the recognition of Chosun Seminary where a liberal approach was upheld and compromise over shrine worship was accepted. They also considered that the present church leaders exerted themselves only to achieve personal power instead of striving for the church's rehabilitation and repentance. For these reasons they desired a theological institution that resembled the old Pyungyang Seminary. Koryu Seminary (Kosin), associated with "the spirit of the martyrs" (Conn 1968:136) was established in 1946 under the Kyungsang Province Presbytery. Fifty-three students enrolled and the first temporary president was Yun Sun Park, who studied under Machen as well as under Van Til at Westminster Seminary. The Presbytery appointed Hyung Nong Pak, who was in Manchuria, as the official president. This institution quickly became a centre for the conservatives in the church.

Division continued at the General Assembly in 1947 as a strong protest against liberal theology and higher criticism was voiced by 51 students enrolled at Chosun Seminary.

²² Unfortunately, the 38th parallel was demarcated as the boundary between the North, governed by the Soviet Union, and the South, governed by the U.S.A.

²³ The 38th parallel barred access to the Northern Presbytery.

They requested an investigation into that teaching. The Committee appointed by the General Assembly investigated the leader of the institute and presented a report of questions and answers regarding his denial of the infallibility of Scripture. This report greatly concerned conservative leadership in the KPC, especially Hyung Nong Pak who was still in the Manchuria Seminary. This event persuaded him to return to Korea and he took up presidency of the Koryu Seminary in 1947.

His presence drew over 31 students from Chosun Seminary. At this stage, hoping to receive full support from the whole KPC, Pak tried to persuade the Koryu Seminary to join the General Assembly. However, the Seminary decided to remain independent of the General Assembly. Although this group wanted to be sincere in maintaining the conservative theology and reforming the church, their excessive determination for repentance discouraged nationwide support. H. N. Pak pleaded with the leaders of this group to exercise moderation.

Before the General Assembly of 1948, H.N. Pak attended a meeting held for conservative leaders. At that meeting the establishment of a conservative seminary under the auspices of the General Assembly became an issue among the leaders who were hesitant to support Chosun, at which liberal theology was taught, or Koryu Seminary, which had no official Assembly recognition.

In 1948 C.C. Kim's unacceptable teachings at Chosun Seminary were again reported. The General Assembly recommended the expulsion of Kim and presented a list of seven alternative men to the Chosun Seminary. However, Chosun Seminary rejected this action and continued its teaching under C.C. Kim. The Assembly then resolved to open a new seminary which would be recognised by the Assembly. H.N. Pak was appointed president and he immediately resigned from the Koryu Seminary. The General Assembly also announced that they would not recommend any students to attend the Koryu Seminary.

Meanwhile the Kyungsang Province Presbytery met to discuss the recognition of their Seminary by the General Assembly. This meeting resulted in the danger of division within the Presbytery itself, rather than solving the problems over the issue they had been confronting concerning the reform of the church. Within the Presbytery there were

three separate groups: supporters of Koryu Seminary, liberals who opposed repentance of any sort, and those who feared the independent status of Koryu seminary from the Assembly, but opposed the liberal character of Chosun Seminary too.

Since the General Assembly was not able to recognise and support two seminaries financially, at the meeting of 1949 a merger was proposed at the meeting of 1949 with seven principles as guidelines (Kim, Y S 1956:247)²⁴. However, this proposal was not accepted by Chosun seminary and so was not implemented.

In 1950 at the General Assembly two issues again arose that caused considerable debate. They were the infallibility of the Bible and matters concerning the Koryu group. An action for discipline was taken against those who did not hold the infallibility of the Bible but without any practical steps being taken, while the Assembly applied stronger practical action against the Koryu group. The Assembly dropped that Presbytery, which sincerely sought the rehabilitation of the church. These unfair actions evoked outrage even from the leaders who advocated moderation. In the midst of this chaos the Korean War took place which made the reform of the church even more difficult.

The General Assembly of 1951 met to deal with the unresolved issues. The recognition of two seminaries was withdrawn, whilst a new Seminary under the General Assembly was to be opened, associated with H.N. Pak. The new Seminary was opened in Taegu in September 1951 and its theological direction was that of the former Pyungyang Seminary²⁵. An illegal Presbytery was created in the place of the dissolved one.

²⁴ 1. Theological education to be basically evangelical and in accordance with the Creed of the Korean Presbyterian Church. 2. All employees of both seminaries to resign. 3. The board to be made up of members approved by the Assembly, and decisions to be by an affirmative vote of 3/4 of the members present. 4. The president and faculty to be chosen by the board; the president to be chosen from among the older Korean ministers, the professors, and three Northern Presbyterian missionaries, two Southern Presbyterian missionaries, one each from the United Church of Canada Mission and the Australian Presbyterian Mission. The important courses to be entrusted to missionaries and others to Korean ministers. 5. The name and constitution to be decided by the board. 6. Rules governing students of both institutions to be revised. 7. The property and furnishings of both institutions to be unconditionally given up (Kim, Y S. 1956:247, my translation).

²⁵ This seminary was divided again later into two (presently, one is named Presbyterian Theological College and Seminary (Tonghab) and the other is Chong-Shin College and Seminary (Hapdong)). This division was caused because of international matters in 1959. Between 1952 and 1959 a struggle raged within the Assembly relating to the relationship between the NAE (National Association of Evangelicals) and WCC (World Council of Churches).

However the dissolved presbytery continued to send delegates to the General Assembly in the years following. These delegates were refused attendance for three years and were obliged to form another assembly. In September 1952 they decided to set up their own assembly after three weeks of prayer for self-examination and self-judgement over the whole matter in the light of God's word.

In 1952 the main General Assembly meeting was held with 67 newly added delegates. They came from the North in order to keep their faith during the war. This Assembly dealt with the matter of Chosun Seminary, which had opened its doors under the new name of Han-Kuk, and its president. The motion for expelling its president C.C. Kim was again passed and the Assembly asked churches not to appoint any graduates from this Seminary. This confrontation led to a definite split in the KPC. The supporters of Chosun Seminary and the Kyunggi Province Presbytery, at which C.C. Kim held his membership, decided to break away from the conservative camp of the KPC. In 1954 they founded a new Assembly by taking a new name, the Presbyterian church of the Republic of Korea (*Kijang*). This group is considered as liberal.

Thus, the division took place as a result of the different views on the infallibility of Scripture and led to mutual antagonism and recrimination. It is undeniable that both views were based on preferred worldviews that had been influenced by the Koreans' foreign education or educators.

3.4 After division: the further development of a theological tradition in the KPC

During the 1930s the theological concern of the KPC had been the issue of the view of the Bible and its application to the Shinto shrine issue. However this matter came to an end as the liberals withdrew. Since then two distinct traditions of theological development have emerged in the KPC.

3.4.1 The conservative theological tradition

Despite the division in the KPC, a short reunion took place between the Koryu (Koshin) and the Hapdong²⁶ groups in 1960 but it did not last long. However, a significant number of the Koshin group remained in the Hapdong group after the second split. The latter enlarged group then developed into the largest Presbyterian denomination, but sadly broke up again into various groups around 1980.

3.4.1.1 Role of foreign educators in the theological tradition

During the Shinto shrine controversy, most of the foreign educators, being missionaries, were forced to leave due to their resistance to the Shinto shrine worship. Therefore, there were hardly any foreign educators left when the main seminaries were established in the KPC.

Although direct involvement was not experienced as before, indirect foreign influence on theological education in the KPC continued as Korean conservatives pursued their further theological education overseas and engaged in the theological battle against the liberals in the KPC. Simultaneously this kind of battle raged in Western countries, particularly in America. The result of this struggle caused division in many churches and seminaries, especially in America. The further outcome of this struggle can be seen in the formation of various organisations such as NAE²⁷, ETS²⁸, WEF²⁹.

Because the conservatives in the KPC continually kept up their fight against the liberals, they also organised KNAE in 1952 and became a member of WEF in 1955. Foreign

²⁶ See foot note 25.

²⁷ National Association of Evangelicals was founded by the conservatives in the USA who held the fundamentalist view of the Creed in the traditional faith. They were against the WCC and KNCC movement.

²⁸ Apart from initial differences, the reformed believers, Armenians, and Dispensationalists organised themselves and founded the Evangelical Theological Society in 1949. They teamed up under the same theological persuasion which holds the view of the absolute authority of the Bible.

²⁹ World Evangelical Fellowship which resulted from the evangelical movement against the WCC and was founded in 1952

influence on the Korean conservative circle continued even further as can be seen in the formation of KETS in 1972.

3.4.1.2 Role of nationals

As the conservatives in the KPC faced the ecumenical movement with an indigenisation theology, their commitment to keeping their confessional orthodoxy in accordance with the early missionaries became stronger. They had always to be alert to any modern methods of hermeneutics, i.e. contextual and social hermeneutics, in theological education. This overprotected view of the Word of God became intolerable when it was used subjectively in the power struggle amongst themselves. Thus various divisions in the conservative group became unavoidable.

However, the novice Korean scholars who went overseas for further study started coming back. Not only did they recognise the extreme fundamentalist spirit shown by their seniors but also the extreme, destructive indigenisation theology intermingled with Korean traditional religions that endangered the uniqueness of Christianity. Therefore, those who had been challenged by the evangelical movement in the USA came together in Korea, despite the barrier of different denominations, and founded the Korea Evangelical Theological Society (KETS) in 1972 (Park 1998:96-99). They also established the journal named "The Bible and Theology" in 1983.

In order to overcome not only the extreme fundamentalism and destructive indigenisation theology, KETS endeavoured to identify an evangelical theology based on the infallible word of God and also asked the KPC to pay greater attention to the problem of social justice:

Evangelism does not exclude social justice. Endeavouring to implement social justice can contribute to evangelism and evangelism can be an action strengthening social justice... Therefore, it is not a compromise to practise it as the evangelicals cultivated social ethics.

(The Bible and Theology Vol 8 :46-47 *my translation*)

Thus KETS played a very significant role, not only in formulating Korean evangelical theology, but also in setting some practical guidelines and directions for the KPC.

3.4.1.3 The authority of the Bible

Much of the division resulted from the critical hermeneutical approach to the interpretation of the Bible. Although there was no specific heated debate amongst the conservatives as there had been in 1930s, the view on the authority of the Bible was still the main ground on which further divisions took place.

Thus the problem of divisions amongst the conservatives resembles an endless battle resulting from their particular views of the Bible. Actually, their views of the Bible became subjective and the process of division repeated itself over and over within their ranks. It is said that by 1987 the conservative group of the KPC had fragmented into about 105 denominations (Oh 1995:272). However, the conservatives should have realised that their true motivation was not defending the authority of the Bible, but the desire for personal power.

3.4.1.4 Rights of man and woman in the church

The differing views of the Bible between the conservatives and the liberals were further evidenced in a lack of interest in the rights of men and women in the church, which became apparent after the division in the KPC. According to a Professor C P Hong (1990:199) from Hapshin seminary, woman's silence at the church is not a cultural mandate but the mandate of the order of Creation in Gen 2. This is further demonstrated through *KIDOK SHINMUN*, the newspaper of the conservatives, in which the ordination of women in the KPC is still an intensely debated issue (No. 1305-1306, July, 2000). It is recorded that ordaining a woman is not biblical, according to 1 Timothy 2:8-15 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-36.

Thus, the inequality of women in the KPC is still entrenched in the hierarchical system as "an eternal truth", as attested in *KIDOK SHINMUN* No. 1305, July, 2000. The conservatives believe that "it is clear in the Bible that the rights of women in the

church, that is, ordination, are not granted completely” (*KIDOK SHINMUN*: No. 977, August, 1934).

As a result, the issue of ordination defines the place of Christian women in every area of life, while ordination is used to elevate men to their position. Eventually, the literal interpretation of the Scriptures has resulted in denying the personhood of women and in hindering their personal growth within the conservative Christian community, causing many of their gifts, talents, and abilities to be lost to the kingdom of God and to the world. Most women were kept at the fringes of the KPC.

3.4.1.5 Other religions : mission

As any further possible divisions came to an end, the Great Commission³⁰ became the main concern of each denomination. Territorial extension and church growth became the main focus of each denomination. A spirit of competition was manifested and every individual believer became an agent of church growth. To bring new members into the church was a holy duty. Mission³¹, as the preaching of the Gospel and the planting of the church, was the general theological trend in this circle. Mission was understood as God’s invitation to his people (the church) to participate in the Kingdom of God. The chief purpose of the Christian mission of the church is to “proclaim Jesus Christ as divine and only Saviour and persuade men or the heathen to become His disciples and responsible members of His church”(Jun 1978:64).

Although Korean Christians faced an unstable political situation with an unjust, corrupt government, the matter of social justice and their responsibility toward it were ignored because of their attitude toward church-state relations. According to this attitude, based on their interpretation of the Bible, the church and the state were not related. Consequently, the conservatives ignored the injustices perpetrated by the government on the people (*Minjung*). In fact, the conservatives even supported the government with

³⁰ Mission was understood as evangelism, that is, preaching the gospel and church expansion based on the Great Commission to make disciples in Mat 28:18-20. “The evangelisation of the world in this generation” became the slogan for the world mission in the 19th Century (Bosch 1994:409).

³¹ Two terms, “evangelism” and “mission” have been used interchangeably in the Korean Church.

a literal interpretation of Romans 13, holding that that commandment was unconditional. They believed that to make disciples according to the Great Commission was the main purpose of the Christian mission of the church. As a result, several mammoth campaigns for national evangelisation were organised by the conservative leaders while the liberal leaders were imprisoned because of their resistance to the injustices of the ruling government. The meetings of the conservatives were even supported by the unjust government.

This massive movement for evangelisation exerted a major impact on the growth of the Korean church. The growth of the Korean churches created a vision for world evangelisation, which was carried out with great passion. According to Jun (1995:38), there are about 4,500 Korean missionaries involved in world evangelisation. Thus Korea became one of the main countries sending missionaries in the field.

This intense missionary involvement clearly led to an attitude of being the chosen ones to bring people into the church. The “crusade-mentality” (Oosterom 1990:79) towards other religions was obvious. For the conservatives, other religions and people were often heathen and inferior. Accordingly, the conservatives often attacked the liberals on the matter of dealing with indigenisation theology, which was based on the liberal understanding of mission as *Missio Dei*³². According to the conservatives, the liberal hermeneutic approach to indigenisation theology is wrong, since it is based on the historical criticism of the Bible, which is a Western method, relying on Western philosophical presuppositions. Therefore, the liberal indigenisation theology, that is ‘Minjung’ theology, was regarded as only a combination of the traditional religions in Korea and Western theology. ‘Minjung’ theology was understood as a mere syncretism that sought linkage between Christianity and traditional Korean thought.

³² The ecumenical idea of “*Missio Dei*” first surfaced at the Willingen Conference of the IMC in 1952. The concept of Mission was understood as being derived from the very nature of God (Bosch 1991:390). This idea was opposed to the classical idea that the church is at the centre of missionary activities.

3.4.2 The liberal theological tradition

The liberal side was freer in theological thought and endeavoured to free themselves from the slavery of Western theology. In their attempt to de-theologise the Western influence on Korean Christianity, they believed that a genuine indigenisation theology could be formed on Korean soil only when there was sufficient understanding of Korean history as well as of Korean culture, which included Korean religions of the past.

3.4.2.1 Role of foreign educators in the theological tradition

Secular theology, liberation theology and black theology started being introduced into Korea in the late 1960s. Of these, liberation theology influenced the liberals most (Kim, Y J 1992:277). A theology of liberation emerged from a context of poverty in Latin America in the early 1970s. Due to systemic injustice, the majority of Latin American people lived in extreme poverty. Upheavals protesting against this unjust system occurred even within the Roman Catholic Church, which mainly served the dominant classes.

Soon this theological movement spread and became a multifaceted phenomenon which also manifested itself in Black, Hispanic, Amerindian and feminist theologies. This widespread liberation theology ultimately came in the wake of the Second Vatican Council and the World Council of Churches.

As the Roman Catholic Church began to participate in social welfare for the oppressed according to the declaration of Vatican II, the WCC also took the serious step of participating in the total liberation of the oppressed. At the Bangkok conference of 1973, the WCC decided to support the work of the Third World Christian liberation groups for economic justice, political freedom and cultural renewal through the mission of God. Thus the concept of *Missio Dei* was introduced (Bangkok Conference 1973: 199-200).

Liberation theology also had a great impact upon the liberals who sought an indigenisation of Korean theology. With the support of the WCC, Korean theologians

who strove for indigenisation theology in the context of social and political oppression were able to develop a Korean theology. Minjung theology came into being in Korea.

3.4.2.2 Role of nationals

As the liberals believed that the Christianity planted in Korea was a Christianity coloured by the West, they wanted to remove the slavish adherence to the theology that had been introduced by the conservative foreign missionaries. With a newly introduced liberation theology, the liberal group started searching for an identity for the Korean church. As the result of this search on the grounds of the past, 'Minjung' theology was born during the regime of harsh military government. The term Minjung literally means people (*min*) and mass (*jung*). Thus, the Minjung is equated with the majority of people who are oppressed, exploited and despised, not only politically but also socially.

The major theme of Minjung theology is the Minjung who experiences *Han*, intense inner suffering. Minjung theologians regard the Minjung to be the people of God and innocent and sinless (Lee 1988:10-13). Accordingly, the Minjung is the subject of God's salvation history (Kim 1983:349). For them, sin is a social, historical entity and therefore does not belong to personal but socio-political categories. The Minjung's experiences of suffering (*Han*), caused by the injustice of the ruling group, are as sacred and holy as the biblical stories so *Han* becomes the point of departure in doing Minjung theology.

Minjung theology is meant to be an indigenous theology of the Minjung. In fact, the Bible is full of stories of Minjung, i.e., Moses and especially Jesus, who was the friend of the Minjung and their representative. Therefore the task of Minjung theology is to find Jesus in the present in order to bear witness to the work of God through the life of the Minjung's struggle since Jesus, being poor and oppressed, committed himself to the Minjung's life situation and died with the Minjung as well. Therefore, salvation only comes from identifying with the Minjung through suffering and dying. Moreover, the Minjung is Christ, the Saviour of the world, because they carry out the Jesus-event, the event of the liberation. Thus they bear the messianic role (Kim 1991:213).

For the Korean Minjung theologians, the concept of *Missio Dei* was also important as they interpreted it from the social dimension of the gospel as the liberation of oppressed people. By saying this they stressed the importance of the Holy Spirit. They believed that the Father does not surpass the Son, but the Son surpasses the Father. In the same way the Son does not surpass the Spirit, but it is the Spirit who surpasses the Son and the Father (Lee 1988:13). It is the Holy Spirit who moves the hearts and minds of people to carry out the work of justice and liberation for the poor or oppressed. Therefore, the Christian church should not be speculative and immersed in dogma, but active in the lives of people. The biblical tradition that excludes the world is that of Western orthodox theology. Therefore, the fusion of the biblical tradition and the Korean historical tradition of the liberation of the oppressed should be achieved through the concept of *Missio Dei*.

The combination of these two traditions was found in urban missions as Korean liberal churches, motivated by the Minjung theologians, began to participate in the struggle for social justice. As a result of their participation some leaders were tortured, imprisoned and isolated by the government.

3.4.2.3 The authority of the Bible

'Minjung' theologians view the Bible as the record of histories of the Minjung and therefore they insist that the Bible needs to be interpreted in a Korean context if the dualistic view of Western Christianity is to be overcome (Seo 1983: 371-372). So Minjung theologians take the Bible seriously on account of the experience and history of oppressed people; they re-read it in order to understand the Minjung of the Bible. These theologians also made a thorough study of Minjung history, culture and socio-economic events as portrayed in the Bible (Seo 1983:366-370)

According to the originator of Minjung theology, the history of the Minjung can be clarified through the approach of socio-economic history. In this way their consciousness, their aspirations and their spirit of corporation will be also seen (Song 1997:492-504).

Biblical history is the story of God's dealing with God's people (the Minjung). It is the story of the people who responded to their God, not the history of the political powers. Thus to the Minjung theologians, the Bible is only the socio-historical record of the activities of the Minjung of that time.

3.4.2.4 Rights of man and woman in the church

According to the Minjung theologians, the Minjung are the people or the masses who are "oppressed politically, exploited economically, alienated socially, and kept uneducated in cultural and intellectual matters" (Mun 1985:1). As a result of the injustice of the ruling group, the Minjung experiences *Han*.

It is recognised that *Han* is a symbol of woman who experienced abuse as well as maltreatment under the Confucian hierarchical system (Kim 1991:188). Owing to her low social position in the social system, woman is filled with *Han* and so she experiences *Han* much more intensely. In this way, *Han* conveys the view on the Minjung and woman becomes the minjung of the Minjung.

However, in Minjung theology, although woman's *Han* is used as a point of departure, ironically, women's stories are scarcely found. This shows that, even in Minjung theology, the *Han* of women is not uncovered but only used. Indeed, the concept of a human being as an individual created in the image of God cannot be found in the collective term Minjung. This may be another way of oppression for women if the term Minjung is used mainly for man's story. Therefore, the rights of women are considered to be secondary even within this group.

3.4.2.5 Other religions : mission

'Minjung' (people) theology is rooted in the evangelisation efforts aimed at poor factory workers in a destroyed and divided Korea during the 1950s. During the sixties and seventies, a movement for the restoration of industrial workers' rights and social justice gradually emerged as a result of the encounter of Minjung, evangelists and the Bible.

This liberation movement brought about a rediscovery and reinterpretation of the biblical message of liberation. The Bible was re-read from the perspective of the life and experience of the *Minjung*. It was precisely the *Minjung* who had been chosen by God as participants in mission. Mission, after all, is *Missio Dei* and God is the ultimate subject of mission. From the very beginning, it has been God's will to bring salvation to the *Minjung*. Mission, therefore, is not so much an activity of persons, but a confession of God's mission activities in history and a consciousness that all people as humans are called and chosen to participate in his holy work. God's mission in history is not the same as the spreading of a particular religion, such as Christianity; it is rather an endeavour to redeem, liberate, restore and renew all creation. In reality God forges a history with all creation, with every people, nation and culture. Therefore, every religion also contains some truth or revelation (Suh 1983:150-156)

Thus the aim of mission amongst the Korean liberal theologians was to bring about social justice, that is, the liberation of people (the *Minjung*) to justice, love, shalom, and the integrity of creation. To this end the church should participate in the life and suffering of the oppressed and exploited. As a result of their participation in the struggle against the unjust system, many from the liberation movement were imprisoned and tortured.

Although this group constituted one of the smaller Korean Presbyterian denominations, their thought had considerable influence on students as well as ministers who struggled with the corrupt government. These theologians are quite well-known in the international ecumenical circles, particularly through their introduction of 'Minjung' theology. This denomination became a strong supporter of the national and international ecumenical bodies as it aimed to be part of the worldwide church and also to perform a key function by breaking new ground and creating new theological perspectives in the Korean National Council of Churches.

3.4.3 Summary and Conclusion

Two different theological traditions exist in the KPC: the conservatives and the liberals. The development of these two traditions is based on their views of the Bible. According to Korean church history, the conservatives believe that the Bible is the inspired word of

God without any error, while the liberals hold the view that the Bible is not infallible and therefore does not hold absolute authority.

These two different perspectives within the KPC eventually brought about division and ensuing hostility. On the basis of these different views of the Bible, issues such as the rights of women in the church and the worship of the Shinto shrine were understood differently. Regarding the issue of the rights of women in the church, the liberals argued that the rights of women should be granted within and by the church because certain customs mentioned in the Scriptures are the mere instructions of the local church. The conservatives on the other hand, argued that man and woman do not have equal rights in the church because God gave each a different position: Man is to be the ruler and the woman his assistant; according to the order of their creation. The rights of women in the church are therefore not the same as those of men. This interpretation of Scripture brought much distress and anger to some prominent women in the church (Yang 1997:174).

On the issue of the Shinto shrine, the conservatives were able to resist the obeisance to the Shinto shrine that was imposed on them, with their intensified solidarity and sense of identity based on the absolute authoritative word of God. Thus, their shared view on the new belief system provided them with psychological support and guided their actions as Christians in society in that crucial time. Indeed their shared worldview played a major role in defining their Christian community.

The liberals, in contrast, responded differently to the conservatives since they hold the view that the Bible was no longer the infallible word of God because it contains no indisputable facts of history, geography and astronomy in the Bible. Furthermore, there was no normative value to religious doctrines; doctrines were only human attempts to express human religious experience (Jang 1997:198-199). Therefore, they regarded the act of obeisance to the Shinto shrine as an act of patriotism.

These two different views were opposed to each other and eventually led to divisions within the community. Since the division, these two parties, liberal and conservative, in the KPC have developed different theological traditions according to their views on

Scripture. Their different views of Scripture are manifested in the process of shaping and developing theological traditions that demonstrate the worldviews they hold.

The views that the conservatives and the liberals hold regarding the Bible are inherited from the teaching of different foreign educators (missionaries). The way the Korean Christians endeavoured to keep the teachings of their masters in its original form reminds us of the filial respect accorded to the original form of belief, which is embedded in Korean Confucianism, as described in the previous chapter. A form of proper conduct that Confucian scholars were obliged to observe was filial piety to the origin of their learning. A new interpretation of the four books of Confucianism was intolerable. In addition to that, a disciple's loyalty to the master was expected in that religion.

Different views of the Bible also have different implications for an understanding of human beings and their relationship to the world. For the conservatives, although man and woman are equally created in God's image, woman may not be equal in all aspects. Any form of worshipping a spirit or gods would be considered idol worship because the conservatives firmly believed that the God of the Bible is the only sovereign creator. For the liberals, human beings created in the divine image are equal and therefore women's rights to be involved in all activities in the church should be granted. To do obeisance to the Shinto-shrine was merely a sign of patriotism to the Japanese empire. These beliefs also exhibit the liberals' deep attachment to the source of their education.

Since the division of the KPC, each theological tradition has developed further and taken root according to their firm belief in Scripture. As a result, the place and position of women in the conservative tradition of the KPC still remains unchanged and unchallenged while the other party has granted women rights in the church although they are still marginalised in practice. Keeping these two theological traditions in mind, we now turn to see what influence they bear on the interpreter in a reading of Gen 1-3.

4. The impact of theological traditions of the KPC on biblical interpretation: Genesis 1-3 as a case study

According to our observation in the previous chapter, both theological traditions were based on the teachings of their teachers. Out of filial piety, both of them accepted their teaching without much critical consideration. This resulted in a divided faith community. The criterion for the division of the KPC was the view of the Bible as expressed in the Reformed doctrine: the Bible is the inspired word of God, the only infallible rule of faith. In terms of this reformed view of the Bible, liberals and conservatives were distinguished (Park, Y K 1992:201-203) and different theological traditions developed accordingly.

The two different theological positions are clearly demonstrated in their exegetical writings. Barr (1999:56) is of the opinion that commentaries explicitly reveal the commentator's theology well. Professor Kim, J W at Chong-shin seminary (1995:129) also supports the opinion that exegetical writings are the foundation of theology. Therefore, in this chapter we will investigate some commentaries and their respective main derived theological writings from two different theological traditions and see how each theological tradition, moulded by Korean worldviews, influences interpreters in their reading of biblical texts, particularly the creation accounts of Gen 1-3.

The works of Yune-Sun Park and Jung-Joon Kim have been chosen for the investigation of each theological tradition. The bases for my choices are: that J J Kim became a successor of C C Kim (C K Kim 1981:683), while Park filled the position of H N Pak after the division of the KPC³³. Secondly, Park introduced a biblical theology based on Calvinism while Kim introduced Von Rad's theology into the KPC. They, therefore, became the founders of each theological tradition respectively. Thirdly, they were contemporaries, and their work on the creation narratives reflects explicitly their own theological positions according to the particular theological traditions of the KPC. In addition to these two, I also include exegetical works of the present biblical scholars from each tradition to fill in the gaps, where the works of Park and Kim are unable to

³³ Chapter 3 deals with these two prominent figures.

provide sufficient detail. Special attention is given to problematic passages like Gen 1:26-28; 2:8-25 and 3:6, 16 since the understanding of the creation of humankind in the KPC is our focus.

4.1 Interpretations of Genesis 1-3 according to the conservative theological tradition of the KPC

Believing that the Bible is the “supreme doctrinal authority in faith and morals, divine in origin and consequently infallible” (E W Kim 1975:114), the conservatives adopted the method for their interpretation of the Bible that supported their own theological position.

During the time of the division, the KPC was still young and had very few theologians who were well equipped to do exegetical studies, such as writing Korean commentaries on the Bible. Amongst them, Y S Park was the one who introduced exegetical study and completed the commentary on the entire Bible in 1979. His commentary on the entire Bible appeared because of the concern for the further education of the Korean ministers in the Korean Church. In fact, not only his writings, but also his life influenced many ministers, students and believers in the KPC in many ways. His theology became the foundation of Korean theology in the conservative group and is still influential in the KPC³⁴. Therefore it would be appropriate to investigate mainly Y S Park’s commentary. Other writings will be used such as J W Kim’s (1995:125-166), when differences are found.

³⁴ His influence is very well shown through writings and commentaries which began to emerge in the late 1980s. They are: G D Bang (1987:13-117), S K Lee (1988: 1-48), S T Sohn (1993:5-71), J Y Lee (1995: 5-144), J W Kim (1995:125-166), C S Yang (1998:4-118), J A Park (1999: 3-129), J J Choe (2000:1-169). In their writings, the author of the Pentateuch is Moses and so their chapters are arranged systematically or thematically under the titles of Creation, humankind, family, the Fall and so on. Most of these writers understand that the concept of the image of God still lies in the spiritual aspect, righteousness and true holiness. Accordingly, woman is also created in God’s image and therefore men and women are equal in their human rights. However, function and position of women are not the same as men since the purpose of woman’s creation is to assist man as a helpmate. Such an understanding of Gen 1-3 is very similar to Y S Park’s, which indicates their efforts to maintain a theological identity as conservatives.

4.1.1 Yune-Sun Park (1905-1988)

In 1968 the first Korean commentary on Genesis appeared. It was written by Y S Park who was the most prominent and representative theologian in the conservative group. He is regarded as having introduced and laid the cornerstone for exegetical study in the KPC (Hong 1989:198).

4.1.1.1 Life and Work³⁵

Dr Y S Park graduated from Pyung-Yang Seminary in 1933 and studied further at Westminster Theological Seminary where he earned a Th M under J. Gresham Machen in 1936. In 1954 he was honoured with a D D by Faith Theological Seminary and also became a recipient of an honorary doctorate at Westminster's Jubilee in 1979.

Dr Park was president of the Hap Dong Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Suwon from 1980 to 1988. He had taught there until the last days of his life. Formerly he had been president and taught New Testament, Biblical hermeneutics and critique of Eastern philosophy at the Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary (Chong-Shin) in Seoul from 1963 until his retirement in 1974 (1992:145). Prior to that he had also been president and had taught New Testament, Exegetical theology, Systematic theology, Biblical theology, and Biblical language (Park 1992: 97) at the Korea Theological Seminary in Pusan (Ko-Shin) from 1946 to 1960. While teaching at the seminaries, he also pastored several congregations in Pusan and Seoul.

Dr Park was the author of a 20-volume commentary in Korean on the entire Bible, the first of its kind. It was the result of 40 years' of hard work. After his death, a Korean theologian wrote about him and his work as follows:

He bequeathed to us a major work. Even though the Korean church has a history of only 100 years, one Korean theologian has already completed an entire commentary in Korean on the whole Bible. This is an accomplishment not often

³⁵ This information is derived mainly from Park's autobiography "Obsessed with His word" in 1992.

found in the world. In this sense, we could consider him as one of the great theologians in the world.

(Han 1996:172, *my translation*)

Park firmly believed that not only a revival, but also the development of a sound faith, in the Korean church is possible only through the exegesis of the Bible based on the Reformed tradition, that is, the theology of Calvin. Indeed, he showed deep concern for the lack of biblical interpretation based on Calvinism in the KPC (Park 1968:10-11; 1992:99). It was against this background that his 20-volume commentary was written.

Although his works are strongly exegetical in content, they also possess a strong homiletical flavour. Actually his works include 1000 sermons at the end of appropriate chapters. Park (1992:197) firmly believed that corruption in the church is related deeply to the ignorance of the church leaders, that is, ministers of the word of God. This suggests that his main concern and goal for his commentaries was teaching God's word to the whole Korean Church to equip the ministers of the KPC.

Of the commentary on the entire Bible, *Genesis* was first published in 1968 and reprinted in 1979. *Biblical theology* was written in 1971 and in 1992 his autobiography *Obsessed with His Word* was published. Apart from his books, he also wrote numerous articles for the theological journal *The Presbyterian Review*. Amongst those is *Exegetical history in the Korean Church* written in 1968.

4.1.1.2 Hermeneutical Principles

Park claims that to exercise the right theology it has to be based on the principles of Reformed theology, that is, Calvinism. According to Calvinistic scholars, the Bible is the very word of God and is witnessed by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, "Scripture should be interpreted by Scripture" (Meeter 1990:22). Such exegetical principles for interpretation of the scriptures are thoroughly biblical. Therefore, the whole system of Calvinism, which is built on the fundamental principles of the infallibility of Scripture and the sovereignty of God, was adopted by Park as the basis of his main exegetical

principles for the interpretation of Scripture (Park 1992:199-213). He explains his firm belief in this regard as follows:

Scripture is itself the internal witness that testifies to its authority. Therefore any further authoritative record is not necessary to witness to the authority of the Bible. Scripture is the Word of God and therefore it should be interpreted by the Word of God. As the heart of man cannot be interpreted by the mind of the beast, the thought of God cannot be interpreted by the thought of man.

(Park 1992: 9, *my translation*)

Owing to his conviction to Calvinism, studying the writings of Calvinistic scholars became important to him. In his autobiography Park writes (1992:75): "Since two amongst three Calvinist theologians are Dutch (Kuyper and Bavinck), I had to teach myself Dutch while studying at Westminster Seminary so that I could understand the theological systems of Kuyper and Bavinck..." In his commentary on Genesis, the works of Calvin and Bavinck are mainly quoted.

Dealing with a problematic passage in his exegetical study, Park seems to be aware of Calvin's motto of "Nothing contrary to the Word of God, but the Word of God." According to Meeter (1930: 86), Calvin often preferred to let a mystery remain a mystery rather than to offer a solution for which there was no basis in Scripture. Likewise, Park also often leaves the passages³⁶ that he believes are beyond his understanding. He writes: "If the interpreter cannot fathom the meaning himself, he should just leave it alone, because the text was not just given to him but to the church as a whole. The succeeding generations in the church will be able to find out the deep meaning which he was not able to." (quoted in Seo 1992:365).

Prayer and faith also play a very important role in his exegesis. In his autobiography, he writes that he meditated in the presence of God (Park 1992:150-151) whenever he met

³⁶ A good example of this is seen in dealing with the terms "image" and "likeness" of God in his exegesis of Gen 1. Here it seems to me that he omits any comment when he believes that he does not have sufficient understanding.

difficult passages for interpretation. He also confesses how “sweet truth, the deeper meaning of the text” (Park 1992:161) came to him while he was praying. Regarding the faith he writes in the Introduction to his commentary on Genesis thus:

It is said in Heb 11:3 that “By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things which are visible.” We have never witnessed God’s work of creation. But there is a more certain way to know it, which is the way of faith. It is dangerous to rest belief on the basis of physical witnessing. The most important facts and truths lie beyond the realm of our experience ... we believe in the creation because we trust the word of God. That trust yields sweet happiness and peace in the hearts of believers.

(Park 1979:66, *my translation*)

Consequently, as he believes that Scripture is the ultimate basis from which to lead a person to the knowledge of God and his redemptive works in the world, the Bible becomes the sourcebook and presents the eternal principles according to which we order our lives and view history (1968:13; Park 1992:199-200). He also chooses the *modus operandi* of harmonisation to treat not only the Old Testament, but also the New Testament. For example, when faced with an obscure passage in the Old Testament, Park (1979:84) cites the New Testament to clarify that passage. Thus the harmonisation of the Old Testament with the New Testament also comes to him naturally (Han 1996:193-194). Seo (1992:370), however, is of the opinion that the richness of each book is lost in such a harmonisation.

Thus the infallibility of the Bible was the criterion for exercising the right theology. This principle is based on the assumption that the Bible, being the word of God, is inspired and therefore authoritative. For this reason, “*sacra Scriptura sui ipsius interpres est* (Scripture should be interpreted by its own light)”. Since this hermeneutical principle became the overriding one in Park’s entire commentary of the Bible, the chief emphasis was on the historicity of the text in practising exegesis. (Park 1968:10). He also accentuated the unity, not only of individual sections of the text, but of the Bible as a whole.

4.1.1.3 Park's Methodology

Woudstra (1992: 196) confirms that Calvin was very much aware of grammatical and historical matters in his writings. It is evident in his commentaries that Calvin investigated the historical and geographical setting, the customs and institutional circumstances which he believed to be determinative for the author's situation. In his letter to Grynaeus after completing the commentary on Romans, Calvin writes that it is almost the only duty of the exegete to make truly understandable the meaning of the writer whom he is explaining (Kraus 1992:7).

Park, in writing on exegetical study, is also clearly following the lead of Calvin by expressing the necessity to study historical and grammatical aspects. According to Park, the Korean church was not able to carry out sufficiently the reformer's principle of "interpreting Scripture by Scripture" because of its inadequacy in not using the historical-grammatical approach to interpret the biblical texts. For that reason, he believes that the historical grammatical method will enable the Korean Church to achieve the principle of interpreting Scripture by Scripture and thus bring maturity to the Korean church (Park 1968:11).

The historical-grammatical approach relates the text to its historical aspect and, therefore, attempts to interpret the text historically. The text is explained in terms of its contemporary background. Any information that may help to clarify the text is considered important. Consequently, the geography and archaeology of the land of the text is important. It is also essential to know the relevant original languages and their grammar well in order to understand the text linguistically and so come closer to the events recorded in the text. Thus the focus in practical exegesis is very much on the original meanings of words.

As Park (1979:90) employs the "historical-grammatical approach" in his commentaries, he places strong emphasis on the original words, their meanings and their occurrences in other passages in the Bible. He claims that an exegete would be helped to understand the Bible by studying the historical and geographical background and the customs expressed in the Bible because such knowledge of the authors of the Bible has been reflected in their writings (Park 1968:11; 1992:202). However, he does not mean the

consideration of the historical context and background out of which that the text was formed but rather what is occurring in the text. He believes that even the secular information referred to by the authors of the Bible is chosen under the inspiration of God (Park 1992:202).

Owing to his hermeneutical principle, Park ignores a process of development of the text in his interpretation of Genesis (1979). For him, the text originated from one author at a particular time. Consequently the Creation story in Genesis is also regarded as a real event in history and everything described in the Bible also happened literally. For him, Moses is the author of the Pentateuch and internal evidence to support Moses' authorship is found throughout the Bible. Some sample texts are Ex 24:4; Deut 31:9, 24-26, Mk 8:4; 19:7-8, Mk 1:44; 7:10; 10:3, 5; 12:26; Lk 5:14; 16:29, 31; 24:44; John 1:17; 5:46-47; 7:19 etc. As a result, any religious historical background of the Pentateuch from the historical critical studies is not taken into account at all and scholars (i.e. Barth and von Rad) who attempted to interpret Genesis with the method of historical criticism are heavily criticised. For Park, the creation account is the history of an actual event for all times and all situations and thus has a universal meaning because God's word says so (Park 1979:88-91).

This tendency of ignoring the higher criticism in biblical exegesis is well detected in the writings of the conservative scholars after him, such as S K Lee 1988; C C Park 1990; J Y Lee 1995; Kim 1995; Yang 1998; Choe 2000. As a matter of fact, most of these exegetes do not even provide an introduction, but start a chapter by chapter study without any division, instead listing chapters under doctrinal themes.

Bearing in mind the method and hermeneutical principle that Park employs, we now turn to his reading of Gen 1-3.

4.1.1.4 Park's reading of Genesis 1-3

Unlike the English translation such as New Revised Standard Version, New American Standard Bible, New International Version, and New King James Version, the Korean Bible³⁷ translates אָדָם as well as the pronoun "him" as equivalent of an individual human being. As a result of this translation, Y.S. Park interpreted אָדָם as "human being" (1979:83) so that the problem experienced in the English translation, does not exist in the Korean context.

In Park's view, humankind was neither a male nor female infant at creation. Rather, they were created as adults through whom the world could be developed. To assert his understanding Park cited Herman Bavinck's words as follows:

De wereld werd niet geschapen in den toestand van zuivere potentie, als een chaos of nevelmassa, maar als een kosmos, en de mensch werd daarin geplaatst niet als een hulpeloos wicht, maar als man en vrouw; alleen van zulk een gereede kon de ontwikkeling uitgaan.

(abstract from original author Park 1979:84)

Regarding the text of Gen 1:26-27, Park interestingly does neither offer any explanation of the original words for "image" and "likeness" and their meanings, nor of the usage of the prepositions. Although he seems to be aware of the aged debate on the words like, אִם and אֵל, אִלֵּם and דְמוּת, he left centuries' old debate on the meaning of God's image and his likeness in male and female form without any explanation. Such a silence from Park on this passage makes us wonder: if these words were a mystery for him should they remain as a mystery? Or did he rather choose to leave the matter to the succeeding generations in the church who would later be able to find out the meaning which he was not able to do originally?

However, Park did understand that the fact that God created humankind in his image refers to humankind being created to know God. It is the divine image that makes

³⁷ In the Korean Church, only one Korean translation of the Bible is officially accepted and used.

humankind different from the animals. He thinks that the image of God lies in the realm of the spiritual aspect such as "righteousness and true holiness" as expressed in Ephesians 4:23 (Park 1979: 84). Other scholars after him think that this image indicates the totality of the human being, that is, the rational, ethical and religious and emotional aspects (Lee 1988:26). Thus the functional image of God is neglected in most writings in the conservative tradition.

However, there are a few writers who view the image of God as representative of God on earth (Gweon, H S 1993: 79, Kim 1995:134). According to Prof. Kim at Chong-Shin College and Seminary (1995:134), "although Gen 1 does not give a clear theological definition of what the image of God means, we know that humankind is God's representative and his agent because God put humankind in the position to rule the other creatures. The concept of a person in the image of God corresponds to the king as the image of God in the Ancient Near East."

The king being an image of the god, namely royal ideology, first appeared in the work of H Hehn in 1915 and later in the studies on Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts by H Wildberger and W H Schmidt (Westermann 1984:151-152). According to their studies, "the king can be described as an image of the god, and the images as the representatives and caretakers of the divinity" (Westermann 1984:151). In taking up this discovery by several scholars, the person in Gen 1:26f has been explained to be representative of God.

In addition to royal ideology, Kim points out that many early Church Fathers denied the equal creation of woman in God's image. A good example of one of these would be the reformer Calvin who made an unnecessary addition in his commentary by saying that "the woman also, though in the second degree, was created in the image of God" (Calvin 1975:129). For Kim, man cannot be a human being without woman because God intended to make humankind out of both man and woman. Since Gen 1 clearly says that male and female are created in the same way, they are the same and equal in their relationship to each other. Therefore, woman is a representative of God equally with man (Kim 1995:135-137).

Park understands that the command to humankind of fertility and dominion is a task from God. The purpose of the dominion of humankind over nature, however, is not to exploit nature but to bring nature to glorify God. In so doing, humankind will also be able to know God and glorify him. However, humankind will neither serve nature nor be bound by nature because of their knowledge of God, which is obtained through their governing nature. Instead, this knowledge will enable humankind not only to glorify God, but also to walk closer to Him. This way of interpreting the position of human beings in relation to nature liberated many Koreans who lived in fear of nature because of their shamanistic background.

However, other scholars like Kim (1995:137) and Lee (1988:28), understand that fertility and dominion are God's blessing and command given to both man and woman. The essence of God's blessing is to help humankind to fill the earth through marriage and govern all things in it. Kim (1995:137) believes that even in God's blessing, the equality between man and woman is clearly emphasized.

Translating תולדות as a "history", Park understood this second record to be an extension of the first. The second creation tells the history of what happened on earth after the creation of the universe. Therefore, it is not a different document from Gen 1:1-2:3 (Park 1979:93). However Lee's understanding is different from Park's. Lee sees that תולדות has been used to divide a book in Genesis; תולדות is a genealogy that concludes Gen 1:1-2:3 (Lee 1988:33). Nevertheless he does not accept the division made by a documentary theory.

Conservative Korean theologians view the second record of creation as the continuation of the first record, but with different perspective (Park 1979:93; S K Lee 1988:33; J Y Lee 1995: 50-60). In this record, God forms man from the dust of the ground and gives him life by breathing into his nostrils. Then God puts him in the Garden of Eden, the beauty of which is well described. Within these beautiful surroundings, woman's creation is depicted.

Here, הָאָדָם is understood as the first human being, created in Gen 1:26. Park thinks that God created the body of that person in Gen 2, whereas Gen 1:26 expresses the creation of that person's soul (Park 1979:93). He is of the opinion that Calvin also explains this

word as if God is forming man's body out of dust, which was omitted in Genesis (Calvin 1975:111).

Then, God sees that it is not good for the person to live alone. So God declares that he will make עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ for אָדָם. The word עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ has been used to support woman's subordination and is still used to define woman's place and function in the KPC (*KIDOK SHINMUN* : No 1305, July, 2000).

Park is silent on the issue of woman as עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ. However, S K Lee understands עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ as a helpmate suitable for man (Lee 1988:38). According to him, animals cannot be man's partner, so God made woman physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually to be a suitable helper for man. Therefore woman's highest value is realised when she helps man (Bang 1987: 110; J Y Lee 1995:120).

J W Kim (1995:138-139) questions the correctness of this traditional interpretation of the term עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ as "helpmate" and its usage for the subordination of woman in church history. For him, the verb עֵזַר in Hebrew usually indicates military aid (Ezekiel 30:8, 32:21; Isa 30:7, 31:3) and is often used to express divine military assistance to Israel (2Chron 28:23, 12:19, 14:10, 26:7,13, 25:8; Ps 46:5, 79:9). The noun עֵזֶר is used 19 times in the Old Testament, but it is mainly used for God's help of the weak. To help someone does not necessarily imply that the helper is stronger than the helped, but simply indicates that the latter's strength is inadequate by itself. Equally, Gen 2 emphasises the fact that man alone cannot live as a perfect person. Therefore the term "help" in Gen 2 is not just assistance in the procreation of children but the mutual support that companionship provides (Kim 1995:138-139). The following text demonstrates the fact that Adam could not find his perfect עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ among the land animals, which do not match him either physically or spiritually. Thus Kim insists that עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ should be understood as "a helper corresponding to man" and the preposition כְּנֶגְדּוֹ as "equal and adequate to him" so that woman's place can be reconsidered.

In Calvin's commentary (1975:129-132), woman is portrayed as a secondary creation since she is created from the rib of man. Unlike the reading of Calvin, Park's view is that the creation of woman out of man's rib is rather significant in three ways: firstly, it indicates that God created a spouse to be one in flesh with Adam; secondly, although

their roles are different, they are equal in human rights; thirdly, just as the rib, which is situated at the centre of our body, is well cared for, so Adam should love and care for his spouse (Park 1979:99).

According to other Korean commentators, the creation of woman out of man's rib depicts the relation of man and wife. In quoting Matthew Henry's expression, Lee (1988: 40) describes woman to be "not made out of his head to top him, not out of his feet to be trampled upon by him, but out of his side to be equal with him, under his arm to be protected, and near his heart to be loved".

Kim (1995:42) also thinks that the creation of woman out of a rib of man depicts the relation of man and wife based on equality and complementarity. According to Kim, in Sumerian, rib is "*ti*" and life is "*till*" the sound of which are similar to each other and which also indicates some distant connection between these two words. Woman created out of man's rib implies that she is to be his true companion who consequently, supplies what was missing for his perfect happiness. The exclamation of man that "This is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called woman, for out of Man this one was taken" proves well the complementary relationship of man and woman on an equal footing in their humanity. For Kim, anyone who attempts to use the text, to prove woman's subordination to man is, therefore, going beyond the intention of the text (Kim 1995:142). Thus Kim's understanding of Gen 1:26-31 is the first attempt in conservative circles to allude to woman's distorted place in church history.

In the KPC, Genesis 3 has been viewed as the record of original sin and in consequence to its descent upon the whole of creation. Woman is described as disobeying God who commanded her not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Woman not only ate the fruit, but also gave some to her husband. Thus she became the initiator who brought sin into the world (Park 1979: 106; Lee 1988:43).

According to Park, woman's pain during childbirth and her subordination to man and man's dominion over her are the consequences of the fall of the first man and woman. He writes: "If woman had not sinned, she would have brought forth a child without pain and also she would not have been subordinated to her husband." (Park 1979:107) In his view, although woman suffers more, the door for salvation is open to her through

childbearing. Thus he cites 1 Tim 2:15 “women will be saved through childbearing” (Park 1979:108,113). However, he does not give any indication whether equality of woman is restored and man’s dominion over her is removed after she has borne children.

Man is also punished with hard labour as well as death, that is physical death. Therefore, he has to be constantly aware of his fragility while exercising his dominion over the whole of creation. Despite this, the image of God in him is not lost although it is marred (Park 1979:108,113). In saying so, Park (1979:109) seems to define that only man carries the image of God after the fall. He also thinks that man is more responsible for the fall since he listened to woman more, rather than to God. This understanding may come from Park’s cultural religious background³⁸ before Christianity.

Kim (1995:146) sees that woman’s desire for man and man’s dominion over woman is the consequence of the fall. Therefore, woman’s submission to man should not be understood as the norm for marital relationship since woman was created to be the perfect partner for man. Furthermore, the subordination of woman to man came only after the fall.

4.1.2 Observation and Evaluation

One of the most characteristic features of Park’s exegesis is grounded upon the doctrine of the Bible: the Bible is authoritative, inspired and inerrant because the Bible itself says so. Therefore, every portion of the entire Bible, in his experience, speaks to him of God and brings to him a living experience of God in Jesus Christ. Owing to this firm belief, the Reformed theology (Calvinism) was the criterion for exercising the right theology. Hence, all textual data are forced into the framework of this theology. Consequently, no particular attention was paid to authorship, dating, readership, historical background and literary genres.

³⁸ Under the system of Confucianism, a man was the head of the household and therefore responsible in all respects.

Accordingly, the author of the Pentateuch is Moses. Park finds evidence for this from the testimony of Jesus and from other parts of the Old Testament. As a result, the traditional assumption in critical biblical scholarship that Gen 1-3 comprises two sources is rejected. For Park, source-criticism developed by Wellhausen is only an unproved hypothesis. Therefore, he severely criticises the writings of critical scholars like Eichhorn, Von Rad, and Dillmann (Park 1979:28-91). Consequently not only the debate on authorship of Genesis in traditional scholarship, but also the possibility of two creation stories in Genesis 1-3, is not considered in his writings.

For him, the historicity of the text is not questioned but proved by the faith of an interpreter. Park (1979:66) argues that creation cannot be understood or believed through theoretical systems; this is only possible through faith alone as the word of God says in Hebrew 11:3. Therefore, creation happened literally. With respect to relationship in the creation of man and woman, they are viewed as equal in their creation although their functions differ. For this understanding, I would like to pose the question of what human rights may mean for Park: Could a person choose her/his role freely according to her/his capability? Or is a role prescribed according to one's gender?

According to the American Heritage College Dictionary (1997:464, 662), "human rights" are "the basic rights and freedom of all human beings, often held to include the right to life and liberty, freedom of thought and expression, and equality before the law". The dictionary also defines "equality" as "the state or quality of being equal" and "equal" is "having the same quantity, measure, or value as another".

Calvinism was the centre of the whole structure of Park's theology. This led him to be neither active in expressing his own thought, nor positive in employing any critical method in his works. Therefore, the gap between the times in the Bible and the modern era was disregarded and his distinctive knowledge of the original words was not used sufficiently in reading the scriptures. Consequently, these attitudes not only led him to be uncritical in his acceptance of the writings of Calvinistic scholars, but also limited him in developing his own theology. According to Surburg (1975:278), the historical-grammatical method emerged from the context of Western European Christianity and was developed in relation to the allegorical method which dominated the church at that time.

Relatively similar problems appeared in the history of the Korean Church. During the Japanese invasion particularly, allegorical and dispensational interpretations were practised and became the controlling method of biblical interpretation in the KPC (Conn 1966:53). Within such a historical background, to establish a conservative theology based on Scripture in the KPC was essential. Park's emphasis on faith based on the relationship between God and human beings helped to overcome the blind faith of many people fostered through prominent teaching based on dispensationalism in the KPC. Faith for him was dynamic rather and had a relational sense which comes from a living experience of the God of Scripture in the midst of all the ambiguities, temptations, and struggles of life. And the power of God is found in this vital faith grounded on Scripture. Hence, Park's contribution is very significant in such a context.

After Park, the writings of other conservatives still indicate more or less the same stand in their understanding of Gen 1-3 (Bang 1987:13-117; S K Lee 1988: 1-48; Sohn 1993:5-71; J Y Lee 1995: 5-144; Yang 1998:4-118; C A Park 1999: 3-129; Choe 2000:1-169). This phenomenon shows us how sincere they are in employing the reformer's principle of *sola scriptura* and *sola fide* in their interpretation. As a matter of fact, the conservative theological tradition in the KPC has been identical with Calvinism, a legacy of the first missionaries in Korea. Therefore, it is fairly obvious to see that an understanding of the masters based on an ecclesiastical affiliation played a very important role for Korean interpretations of the Bible in the KPC. Under the system of Confucianism, the disciples were expected to honour their masters and to keep their teachings since it was one of the five virtues. To question what they were taught was unthinkable.

Interestingly, although Kim, who also holds the inerrancy of the Bible, employed the same grammatical historical approach in reading the Bible, his interpretation of woman's creation differs from other conservatives. In his interpretation, woman is "different but equal and not inferior but complementary" (J W Kim 1995:140). Therefore, woman is not a mere helpmate but a helper corresponding to man on an equal footing. Emphasising the equality and complementarity of woman, he points out how the Korean understanding of women being presumably inferior to men have been influenced by Korean culture based on Confucianism, which regards women as inferior to men. This culture placed women under men and imposed seclusion from society on

women's lives. Thus there is an attempt by Kim to elevate woman's dignity or position by avoiding a heated debate on the issue regarding woman's place in the KPC. However, I think the issue of woman's subordination in the KPC will not be resolved easily unless the church recognises that at least an understanding of the text can improve when we immerse ourselves in its history, even though the authority of the text may not be found in the world of the writers.

4.2 Interpretations of Gen 1-3 according to the liberal theological tradition of the KPC

The liberals believe that the conservative Korean theology introduced by missionaries in the KPC is another form of spiritual colonialism. For them, the Bible is not infallible since it contains factual errors. Influenced by German scholars, Korean liberals insist that the Bible is a book of religious testimony and therefore it is to be treated on its own terms, not as a scientific manual (C S Park 1993:60-61). Consequently, the literal interpretation of the Bible is replaced by historical critical interpretation and attempts are made to develop an own distinctive theological tradition in the KPC.

In this group, Jung-Joon Kim is prominent as the Old Testament scholar who introduced Von Rad's theology into the Korean Church in 1973. The work of von Rad played a very important role in Old Testament studies in Korea and it can therefore be said that Old Testament theological studies in Korea began with the theology of Von Rad (Kim 1989:8). Although there is no single commentary written by Kim, he made a major contribution to the publication of the Korean version of Von Rad's Genesis commentary in 1981. The motive for publishing this commentary is stated in the preface:

...We are publishing this commentary not only to help a great number of Korean Christians who hope to understand Scripture correctly through a crucial commentary which entail details of the Scriptures... Our area of focus is to correct Korean churches in which topical preaching dominates although claims are made that they recognise the authority of Scripture. What really happens though is that Scripture is actually neglected. The word of God must be preached correctly in the Korean Church...

(Korea Theological Study Institute 1981:5, *my translation*)

This preface shows not only the influence of Von Rad's theology in the work of J J Kim as well as in other scholars in the liberal theological tradition, but also an exclusive claim for the correct interpretation of Scripture through historical critical methods.

4.2.1 Jung-Joon Kim (1914-1981)

When questioned whether he had his own theology, J J Kim answered 'No'. He considered himself to be merely the introducer of Western theology, particularly Von Rad's (Kim 1981:677). Accordingly, he endeavoured to find the meaning of faith in Korean history in relation to the history of Israel.

4.2.1.1 Life and Work³⁹

J J Kim was born into a devout Christian family in 1914 and graduated from the Aoyama College in Japan in 1943. This college was a branch of Union Seminary, New York. After graduating, he taught for a few years at Chosun Seminary (presently HanShin Theological Seminary) in Korea. In 1952 he went to Canada for further studies. In 1953, he received a B D from Immanuel University in Canada. He also obtained a Th M from Toronto University in 1954. In 1961 he earned a Ph D at Edinburgh University in Scotland. During his time in Scotland he also went to Germany and studied for one semester under Von Rad. This experience prompted him to introduce Von Rad's theology into the Korean Church.

Kim served at Chosun Seminary from 1949 to 1958, 1961 to 1962 and 1970 to 1976 as a professor and as the president. From 1963 to 1970, he served at the theological faculty of YeonSee University as a professor and as the president. While teaching at the seminaries, he also ministered to congregations in Seoul.

³⁹ This information comes from "Trends of Korean theological thought I" by S H Han 1996. Seoul: Jang-Shin College and Seminary Press.

For 30 years he taught mainly the Old Testament. At that time, an unjust military government ruled. During this period, he practised his faith by public prayer and preaching as a means of protest against the unjust government. In this manner, he called for the restoration of democracy and civil liberty. He professed his allegiance with people who were suffering oppression under the military government.

Numerous articles and books, including translations, were written by him which later appeared as J J Kim's series (I-VII) after his death. His first writing on Genesis appeared in 1978, entitled "A theological understanding of the Garden of Eden narrative" and "Humankind manifested in J's creation narrative" was written in 1979.

4.2.1.2 Hermeneutical Principles

Von Rad bases his work upon the work of both Wellhausen and Gunkel (Von Rad 1962:3) with respect to the document hypothesis. In his own biblical studies, Kim also accepts the document as the only hypothesis. The document hypothesis assumes that Genesis results from the composition of three distinct literary sources: (1) Yahwistic or Jahwistic (J) source (10/9th century); Elohist (E) source (9/8th century); (3) Priestly (P) source (6/5th century). According to Kim, Genesis 1-3 is a part of the Hexateuch and the Genesis creation accounts consist of two narratives. Kim (1979:7) believes that two separate literary traditions lie behind Gen 1-3: the Priestly (P) narrative in Gen 1:1-2:4a and the Yahwistic (J) account in Gen 2:4b-3:24.

Kim is of the opinion that the biblical texts underwent a long process of development, being reworked as they were retold within the framework of new circumstances. According to Kim (1989:471), Genesis arose through the preservation of successive traditions that grew up in various areas in oral form. Such stories transmitted over a long period were appropriately used within every new environment until they were finally written down.

Kim attempts to interpret Gen 1-3 in relation to the history of Israel. This approach acknowledges that the transmission processes in ancient Israel were guided by the statement of their faith in terms of their history. Therefore, Kim understands that the history of Israel is "salvation history" since their history bears witness to Yahweh's

great redemptive deeds among his people, Israel. For this reason the purpose of the description of history had always been a faith declaration concerning Yahweh's covenant with His people.

For Kim, the intention of J's account is not just to convey the information on the creation of the entire world. Rather J intended to teach humankind to have the right relationship with God who created humankind as the supreme part of all creation. Kim assumes that Gen 2-3 was written around 950 B.C by J who was aware of the political tyranny in the sacred community under the reign of Solomon. J was a keeper of his faith tradition and took the traditions of the patriarchy and reinterpreted them in order to restore the sovereignty of God and his kingdom (Kim 1978:139-144; 1979:9-14). In his exegesis, Kim gives J's account much more weight than P's account, because Kim recognises the importance of historical background and attempts to read the specific text from his own particular historical background.

Kim (1989:475) views Gen 1 as a confession of P's faith, in difficult circumstances, that God is the creator of the whole world. He is of the opinion that Gen 1 was written during the period of Israel's captivity in Babylon (550 B. C) when the exiled Jews were faced with the recitation of part of the Babylonian creation epic, Enuma Elish, at the Babylonian New Year festival (Kim 1989:475-478). For this reason, Kim considers that the intention of P's account is to teach the people of Israel exiled in Babylon to keep their faith in God, the creator of the world, just as he also thinks that Gen 1 is recited on the Sabbath day in order to remind the people of Israel of the creator God and their duty to worship him. Therefore, it is wrong to understand Gen 1 to be the literal Word of God with historical infallibility, because the authority does not lie in the word itself, but rather in the fact that God is the creator.

4.2.1.3 Kim's Methodology

Kim (1979:7) employs historical critical approaches (historical criticism) to read biblical texts. This methodology rests on the presupposition that a text can be properly understood when it is related to the historical context in which it originated. Through its concern for the reconstruction of the original text, the method of historical criticism determines the written sources and oral forms and the development of each form for

each unit of tradition. It seeks to understand the process which conveyed the tradition through various stages into the final form and looks for signs of editorial work in the text, signs of linking passages designed to connect distinct pieces, explanatory glosses where an older source contains some obscurities, and material that effectively reconciles contradictory accounts.

Since Kim believes that the text should be analysed in order to determine in which historical circumstances it was written or transmitted, the source and form are defined in his analysis of Gen 1-3. Accordingly, Gen 1 is a Priestly doctrine and its characteristic is testimony, whereas Gen 2-3 is a story and has a didactic aspect. This clarification leads him to enquire as to the intention of the author and his historical and social background. He also believes that it is important to examine the philological meaning in a particular biblical text and its relation to the whole meaning in the text (Kim 1989:470).

Kim (1979:8-10) designates Gen 1 to the P tradition written during the Babylonian exilic period, and Gen 2-3 to the J tradition written during the reign of Solomon. J was used to shape the creation theology of P. According to this designation of date and authorship, the historical background of the text is described and the intention of the author is analysed. For Kim, Gen 1 concerns knowledge about God (theology) while 2 focuses on anthropology with a theological perspective (Kim 1979:9).

4.2.1.4 Kim's reading of Genesis 1-3

Along with other scholars, understands that Gen 1:1-2:4a is a creation narrative from the Priestly document (Kim 1979:7; C W Park 1991:293; E G Kim 1999:278). According to Kim, this text was written during the Babylonian Exile in order to teach God the creator to Israelites living under foreign rule. As the Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Elish*, was recited at the Babylonian New Year festival (Kim 1989:475-478), P felt the necessity to remind the Israelites of their own faith based on God of Israel, the creator of the world and to encourage them to keep the Sabbath instituted by God at the creation, since it was on the Sabbath that the people of Israel worshipped their God, the creator of the world. It was important for P to teach the faith revealed through keeping

the Sabbath to the exiled people who were at the point of forgetting the meaning of the Sabbath day (Kim 1979:8).

Kim views Gen 1:1-2:4a as P's faith confession that bears testimony that Israel's God is the creator of the world who made heaven and earth and all things in them. By his declaration, P de-mythologises all the elements in the Babylonian creation myth. Kim also believes that the creation of humankind is the climax of God's act of creation in P's narrative.

According to Kim, אָדָם in Gen 1:27 is created as the first human being to be the ruler of the created world, and everything in the world was created for humankind (Kim 1979:24-25). However, E G Kim, "the successor of J J Kim" does not think that everything is created for humankind since humankind is also created as part of the living creatures on the land (J W Kim 2000:27). What differentiates humankind from the other creatures though is the task that is entrusted to the former, namely to rule especially over the created world, with great care. For this reason, humankind is positioned between God and the whole creation (E G Kim 1993:32-33).

For J J Kim (1979:24), the concept of the image of God lies in man's reason, his ability to make moral decisions. Thus Kim connects the creation of humankind in the image of God as connected with spiritual and moral values. He also does not concern himself with any discussion of the history of problematic words or interpretations like "us, in, according to, image, likeness". In this he differs from Von Rad (1963: 56-58) who refers to "one-sidedly limit God's image to man's spiritual nature," and gives attention to those terms.

However, E G Kim thinks that the concept of the image of God should be understood in relation to the notion of the task granted to man. Agreeing with Von Rad, he asserts that the text speaks less of the nature of God's image than of its purpose (Von Rad 1963:57; Kim, J J 1978:104). According to Kim, humankind is not created according to its kind as the animals are but is created with a sexual distinction as male and female. The plural pronoun "them" implies the union of man and woman which indicates the image of God. Thus, E G Kim (1993:33) understands that the image of God is expressed in the task granted to humankind and in the union of man and woman.

The task of dominion in the world - especially over the animals - is specially granted to humankind and this absolute task granted to humankind was not destroyed even by the Fall. Humankind created in God's image is a being entrusted with the absolute task of being placed upon the earth as God's representative (E G Kim 1978:107). However, the task given to humankind is not limited only to dominion over the animals as God's vice-regent, but is also extended to the task of co-existence as a social being (E G Kim 1978:106-116; 1993:32-33). Together they rule the world with great care.

According to J J Kim, J's account of the Garden of Eden meant to show the image of God's kingdom and its characteristics. J was a theologian who endeavoured to keep Israel's faith tradition as inherited from their forefathers. J was living the golden age of Israel under Solomon's reign and this state was considered to be God's kingdom on earth. But J found contradictions in that historical reality and could not believe that the kingdom of Solomon reflected God's kingdom as it would be under God's control. In this historical circumstance, J took Israel's old traditions of faith and theologised them into the belief that God's kingdom could come through restoration of the Garden of Eden. For that reason, J's creation narrative starts from the creation of humankind and relates human beings to the natural world as partners (Kim, J J 1978: 141-143).

For J J Kim, J's Eden narrative has the following meanings: (1) It shows Utopia where humankind could be optimally happy. (2) This ideal place originates from God. (3) This paradise is entrusted to man to care for. (4) Within it, humankind rules freely and without restriction. (5) Humankind sinned by doing what was forbidden. (6) As a result, they were punished and were driven out, and finally lost the Garden of Eden (Kim 1989:479).

However, for E G Kim, J's account is the story of Paradise and the Fall and these topics form a part of the primeval story in salvation history. He believes that J is concerned with dealing with the story of the creation of the world soteriologically, whereas P focuses on the creation of the world itself (1993:21-22).

According to J J Kim, אָדָם in Gen 2 was formed out of אֶדְמָה which indicates that the very nature of humankind originated from the dust of the ground. It is this dust that later became the weakness of humankind. For Kim (1979: 24-25), J's intention is, therefore,

to point out that the existence of humankind as well as of the other creatures is subjected to God. Therefore, humankind should be one with nature (1978:143). Here he seems to hold a different view of human relations with nature from that in Gen 1:26 where he states that everything was created for humankind to use (Kim 1979:24).

In contrast, E G Kim describes humankind as part of nature (1999:277) since Adam was just a being who was formed out of the dust. Therefore, the identity of humankind is not divine. So Adam was not a living being until he received Yahweh's breath of life. It was this breath that made Adam to be a person (E G Kim 1993:23; 1999:276) and his purpose was to care for God's creation (E G Kim 1993:25)

J J Kim (1978:138) believes that the term, "a helpmate", indicates woman's position as a helper to her husband in her marriage relationship. However, J did not intend that woman was to be there for her husband's assistance. His intention was rather to point out that man and woman are beings with mutually supportive roles, since one human being without the other is not really a human being. He/she cannot fulfil her/his duty alone. For him, woman was created as his partner and there is no indication of any notion of subordination. They are equal in all aspects and therefore, man cannot represent humankind alone without the other part. The question arises: Does J J Kim mean that unmarried men and women are not complete human beings?

According to E G Kim (1993:27), the word עֵזֶר appears in the Old Testament 21 times. Of these usages 18 serve to point out God as saviour. Adam's helper עֵזֶר, therefore, implies the connotation of being an agent of God's saving act. Therefore it is not right to understand the meaning of עֵזֶר as implying a role either of labour or of bearing children.

The fact that woman is made out of man's rib shows that man was not created as a husband, but as a man first, and in the same way, a woman was not created as a wife, but as a woman first. There is, therefore, equality in the creation of woman and man. Since the unknown redactor J lived in a world where men governed women, J was displeased with the inferior position of woman as subordinate to man. So J intends to teach the readers that it was not God's intention to create man to be a husband and woman to be a wife. Actually there was no such distinction as social beings in God's

order of creation because God created them first to be human beings (J J Kim 1978:137).

E G Kim asserts woman's equality with man in the created order. Accordingly, woman's creation out of man's rib indicates that she is a being who exists with man. They constitute co-humanity (1993:27). Humanity cannot be complete with only one part.

According to J J Kim, Gen 3 does not deal with the origin of sin or evil. J rather intends to describe the nature of sin and shows its reality to the readers of his time since he considers the Garden of Eden in Gen 2 as the original form of God's kingdom. Accordingly, the Garden of Eden symbolises God's kingdom, that is, Utopia. This kingdom was characterised by God's justice and righteousness, which governed humankind as well as all creation (Kim 1978:133). God authorised Solomon to govern Israel, that is his kingdom on earth, and Solomon was supposed to rule Israel according to God's principles and to portray the character of God in his kingdom. Greed and pride introduced a distortion of God's original intent as God's sovereignty disappeared, and human lordship took over in historical reality. The nature of sin is thus described as greed and pride. Human greed and pride eventually lead the individual to challenge the authority of God, which resulted in dehumanisation and the loss of Paradise (Kim 1979:30).

However, E G Kim sees that it was human sin that caused man and woman to blame each other for their irresponsible actions and that this led to the establishing of an unequal relationship between man and woman through God's declaration. Consequently it was also ordained for woman to experience pain in childbirth (E G Kim 1993:38) and from that time on, man also would experience hardship in his labour of tilling the soil. The harmonious relationship between God's creation and God was finally broken.

Thus J J Kim took the historical background of the redactor or author and attempted to explain the story of Eden. For him, because God's kingdom reflected on earth through the chosen people of Israel became an earthly kingdom through the greed and pride of humankind (Solomon), the Garden of Eden narrative is written to show a restored

kingdom of God where humankind and nature are harmonised and united (Kim 1978:143).

4.2.2 Observation and Evaluation

Kim does not shy away from acknowledging his dependence on Von Rad, his master, in his attempts to recover the original intention of the authors of the creation accounts through historical-critical approaches to the text. Accordingly, he defines sources and their dates, and informs his readers concerning the historical situation of the time.

According to Kim, P's account is an author's faith confession that bears testimony in Babylon, that Israel's God is the creator of the world. The author's intention, therefore, is understood to be to remind people in exile of their God whom they were forgetting. As a result the issue of the creation of humanity in God's image is neglected, while more focus is placed on the day of the Sabbath since that was important then for the people of Israel. The image of God, for J J Kim, lies in the spiritual as well as the moral dimension.

With regard to J's account, Kim regards this as the description of the original form of God's kingdom, the Paradise, and how that Paradise was lost by human greed and pride. Through this story, J intends to show the readers under the reign of Solomon that God's kingdom on earth can be reinstated only through restoring God's sovereignty as it was once obeyed.

In Paradise, relationships between human beings with each other (male and female), with God, animals, and so forth, were harmoniously established. The creation of "woman to be a helper for man" is not the intention of the author. Rather, the author's intention lies in a social term signifying equality. However, E G Kim differs from Kim, saying that an unequal relationship between man and woman has been declared by God to be a consequence of sin (E G Kim 1993:38).

I find Kim's reading to be problematic for the following reason. He appears to be certain about a definite dating of the sources that is still being debated. In that debate, scholars

differ on the question of whether the authors of the sources should be regarded merely as collectors and compositors. Accordingly, presuppositions exist that the authors may also have played a role in the processes of collecting, composing, adding and ordering of the final texts. Thus the uncertainty of the dating of the sources has been recognised as a hindrance in and for interpretation.

However, Kim's attempt to read the text in the context of the socio-historical milieu has an advantage. It creates an awareness of the importance, in the interpretation process of considering the original circumstances in which the text was created. But the problem is that it does not make provision for the inclusion of the modern context of the reader in the interpretation process. In the same way, Kim does not include the modern context of the reader in Korea where different religions and their myths exist side by side. The main weakness of his readings is in ignoring that theological meaning of the text could be diverse and divergent in a different social context. This shows that a one-dimensional reading of this kind is also defective.

4.3 Summary and Conclusion

According to the liberal tradition, historical critical examination of Genesis implies that the two accounts, 1:1-2:4a and 2:4b-24 (with chapter 3) belonged to two different sources, the latter to the older source, J (Yahwist, tenth-ninth centuries B.C.) and the former to the later source, P (Priestly Code, sixth-fifth centuries B.C.). Ancient Israel spoke of creation in different ways at different times. It is also recognised that the texts that have come down to us have a long oral tradition, and that the written sources are the final stage of a long process that itself needs to be examined.

The main focus of the liberal tradition was to know the intention of the author(s). Therefore, more focus was placed on the historical background of the texts than on the text itself. As such, the creation narrative of Gen 2-3 is assumed to be the description of the original form of God's kingdom, the Paradise, and how it was lost through human sin, while Gen 1 emphasises keeping the Sabbath during the Babylonian Exile. The image of God is understood in terms of a spiritual quality. Although an equal relationship of human beings with each other (male and female) in Paradise was the author's intention, an unequal relationship between man and woman was declared by

God as a consequence of sin (E G Kim 1993:38). Then, I would pose a question: “What was God’s declaration for woman after Jesus’ coming?”

According to the conservative tradition of the KPC, Scriptures are given a special position of authority and a literal interpretation of the scriptures is also important. Accordingly, the creation account of the Bible is an actual historical event. For this tradition, Gen 1:1-2:3 is related to the creation of the world and humanity, and Gen 2:4-24 is then a more detailed account of the creation of humankind. The notion of the divine image is understood in terms of the essential character of God.

According to this literal interpretation of the conservatives of the KPC, God created male and female in his image. Therefore, man and woman are equal in their human rights but different in roles. For them, equality does not mean equality of role or position and responsibility in society or church, because God required that Eve forfeit her right to rule with Adam due to her sin in the garden. By saying so, they actually claim that there is a hierarchy in not only human rights but also in equality, and consequently, men are more equal than women because of the fall. However, they remain silent about the restoration of the fall that Jesus Christ achieved through the event of the Cross.

Gen 3:16 is understood in terms of a chain of command model of the exercise of authority. As a result, the unequal rights of woman have been considered to be the divine order and, so are unchangeable. Therefore, interpreting the texts in the light of the present goes against the order of God’s creation and is seen as bowing to current secular trends.

As it is observed, in interpreting biblical texts, the work of each scholar in the different theological traditions in the KPC reveals their dependence on their teachers according to their ecclesiastical affiliation. This pre-understanding may be based on their worldview, such as Confucianism. As we have seen above, among the ‘five virtues’ of Neo-Confucianism being loyal to the master and filial respect to its originator were to be observed. As an example of the Confucian virtue of submission to one’s teachers and the originality of their teaching, the leaders in the KPC interpreted and emphasised certain aspects of Gen 1-3 without giving much thought to establishing their own view

of the texts. Instead, they tended to see the creation narrative texts through the interpretive eyes of their teachers who in turn were also influenced by a certain theological tradition. So fixed in their minds are the explanations of a certain theological tradition, that they are hardly aware that the commonly accepted translations and expositions of Gen 1-3 may not accurately or fairly represent the meaning and function of the texts, not only in their original contexts, but also in their modern context. Thus they themselves were insensitive to contextual realities and the realities of women. In so doing, they consequently failed to honour all the dimensions of the text. As a result of this male biased biblical interpretation, Korean female believers were again placed in an inferior position and segregated within the KPC.

Women in the Korean church used to rejoice upon the discovery of their value as human beings when they were introduced to Christianity. Under the social order of Confucianism, women, being inferior, had been subordinated to men, and a woman's highest virtue was considered to be her obedience to man (her father before marriage, her husband after marriage and her son after her husband's death). Now women's virtue lies in their obedience to men in the church, since their heads are still men. The true identities of women were again denied and women were forced to remain invisible once more. This restriction imposed on women again brought about a great deal of resentment and distress as the KPC church history has shown (Yang 1997:167-178).

Therefore, if such an interpretation of the creation texts has promoted anger, anxiety, depression, and relationship difficulties for women in the history of the Korean church, I would question whether we have interpreted the Scriptures in a responsible and accountable way.

According to feminist theologians and biblical scholars, patriarchal and sexist structures and institutions in society resulted in male centred interpretations of the Bible and such interpretations have oppressed and exploited women over the centuries. Tribble (1978:73) summarises such traditional interpretations of the Genesis creation accounts as follows:

A male God creates first man (2:7) and last woman (2:22); first means superior and last means inferior or subordinate.

Woman is created for the sake of man: a helpmate to cure his loneliness (2:18-23).

Contrary to nature, woman comes out of man; she is denied even her natural function of birthing and that function is given to man (2:21-22).

Woman is the rib of man, dependent upon him for life (2:21-22).

Taken out of man (2:23), woman has a derivative, not an autonomous, existence.

Man names woman (2:23), and thus has power over her.

Man leaves his father's family in order to set up, through his wife, another patriarchal unit (2:24).

Woman tempted man to disobey and thus she is responsible for sin in the world (3:6); she is untrustworthy, gullible, and simple-minded.

Woman is cursed by pain in childbirth (3:16); pain in childbirth is a more severe punishment than man's struggles with the soil; it signifies that woman's sin is greater than man's.

Woman's desire for man (3:16) is God's way of keeping her faithful and submissive to her husband.

God gives man the right to rule over woman (3:16).

These traditional interpretations have been challenged as male biased and, therefore, ideological⁴⁰. What were thought to be objective and neutral interpretations were actually biased and intended to benefit the dominant group, in most respects, males. This discovery became a factor that led many theologians to search for an alternative reading strategy of biblical texts. Since then there have been attempts to reinterpret texts, particularly the creation texts, with a renewed reading strategy. The outcome of those readings has brought liberation of women in many ways. I believe that it is necessary to explore how women in other parts of the world have experienced restoration through their new readings of Gen 1-3, which have also helped some Korean women to restore their lost image of God. This investigation continues in the next chapter.

⁴⁰ J B Thompson (1990:7,20) defines the term "ideology" as "meaning in the service of power".

5. The search for alternative biblical interpretation: Feminist interpretations of Genesis 1-3

As traditional interpretations of Gen 1-3 were challenged on the basis of being male biased ideological readings, an alternative reading strategy of the text arose and a new reading of Gen 1-3 with a female perspective attempted to liberate women's place and position. This chapter surveys the history of feminist biblical interpretation and examines feminist interpretations of Gen 1-3 in order to see how alternative interpretations bring different understandings that elevate woman's position.

5.1 The influence of feminist hermeneutics in biblical interpretation

5.1.1 A brief survey of feminist biblical interpretation

Although there has been an attempt to trace feminism as far back as the 15th century, this does not really reflect the starting point. The nature of feminism clearly stems from a more conscious Christian faith (Ruether 1998:5-6). For this reason, most scholars see the 19th century as the starting point of the early "women's-rights movement", which reflects the egalitarian impulse of contemporary feminism (Bass 1982:6-7; Gifford 1985:11-33; Milne 1993:38; Martin 1994:145-160). This survey will, therefore, start with the 19th century, and also focus primarily on the rise of the women's movement in America, since traditionally, the history of Christian feminism is considered to be parallel to that of the American women's rights movement. This movement is and was rooted in the revivalist dedication to a benevolent reform of society. Being by nature conservative and moralistic, evangelicals provided the lead for the participation of women in reform movements, such as abolition, temperance, and various public purity campaigns (Martin 1994:149-150).

5.1.1.1 Feminist biblical interpretations before 1970

Although the term "feminism" was first used in print in a book review in the 27 April, 1895 issue of a British Journal, *The Athenaeum* (Rossi 1988:xiii), the history of

feminism began in the early 19th century, initially with the Women's Liberation Movement in the context of the fight against slavery, and then later based on Scripture developed in the cause towards fighting for equal rights for women in society. The result has been a re-examination of many biblical passages. The dynamic process of interpreting the Scriptures from a feminist perspective has questioned and challenged many of the traditional male interpretations of texts regarding the role of women and their place in the Church and society.

An early champion of women's rights just before the 19th century was Judith Sargent Murray from Massachusetts, a daughter of a prosperous merchant and sea captain. In her article published in "The Massachusetts' Magazine" of March 1790 entitled "On the Equality of the Sexes" (Rossi 1988:16-17), Murray argued that the Creator also gave women the minds as sharp as men's and therefore women had to be granted more educational opportunities. She tried to convince people of the equality of the sexes and of the rights of women to educational opportunities.

However, she soon found that it was not possible to support her argument without providing any biblical evidence. She thus attempted to provide her own interpretation of the Bible. In her view the stories in the Bible were "metaphorical" and therefore she was not convinced of the propriety of employing them in any important debate (Selvidge 1996:141). Nevertheless she decided to use the Bible as a weapon to prove her argument because she realised its acceptance by society.

Murray began with the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2-3 since this was the passage most commonly used against women by male interpreters to depict woman's weak nature. In this way, she pioneered a means by which reinterpretation of the Bible could be done (Milne 1993:40).

Her interpretation was that Adam was influenced by no other motive than "a bare pusillanimous attachment to a woman whereas Eve was motivated by a desire of adorning her mind; a laudable ambition fired her soul and a thirst for knowledge" (Rossi 1988:23-24). Through this interpretation, Murray attempted to prove that woman is not subordinate; but that the woman was and is rather more intelligent than man.

In the 19th century, the Grimke sisters (Angelina and Sarah) and Frances Willard, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, feature prominently. They balanced action with their writings.

The Grimke sisters, Angelina and Sarah, born into a slave owning family in South Carolina, became female abolitionists and began to speak out publicly against slavery in the 1830s. Soon their public speech prompted some orthodox Congregational clergy to condemn such activities. The condemnation appeared in the form of a pastoral letter entitled "The General Association of Massachusetts (Orthodox) to the Churches Under Their Care" in 1837. The letter cited biblical characters such as Eve and Jezebel, and New Testament texts such as 1 Corinthians 11:3-12, 14:34-35; Eph 5:22-24; Timothy 2:9-15; 1 Peter 3:1-7 to support the clergy's perception that the Bible's teaching had been violated. In the eyes of these men, female abolitionists had overstepped the boundary within which God had placed women. Such women were therefore considered to be unnatural and even monstrous (Rossi 1988:305). Although these passages did not relate to slavery, they were used to humiliate the women who were publicly active as abolitionists.

The task of these women was thus subsequently no longer limited to the abolition of slavery only, but also to the establishment of women's rights as such. This became a necessity, because the Bible was the main weapon used not only to support slavery, but also to oppress women. Against this background, the formulation of new female interpretations of Scripture began.

Sarah Grimke's view was that the original Bible was the inspired Word of God, but that all translations were corrupt in view of the fact that they are the work of male translators and male interpreters of the Bible. Accordingly, she believed that these males introduced into Scripture mistaken notions reflective of the cultures in which they lived, and used Scripture to reinforce their own opinions on what normative relationships between males and females should be. As a result, although God did not intend to make woman subordinate to man, the whole concept of the subordination of women was based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the original, inspired biblical texts. She claimed that the Scriptures developed within a specific historical period within a specific time frame, which has to be understood as such, and that interpretation should be practised in the light of that (Rossi 1988:306-318).

Beginning with Genesis, Sarah Grimke argued that the term “man” in creation is a generic term that includes woman. Both were created equally in the image of God and dominion was given to both over every other creature, but not over each other. Man and woman are completely equal with regards to their rights and responsibilities. There is also no implied hierarchy in Scripture. “Woman was given to man as companion, in all respects his equal. She was like himself a free agent, gifted with intellect and endowed with immortality.... able to enter into all his feelings as a moral and responsible being” (Rossi 1988: 306-307). Man’s dominion over his wife after the Fall was also not a command, but a prophecy. It was the result of a struggle for political power over dominion that was prophesied from the beginning. Since man and woman are equal, women should, therefore, be in subjection to God only. The common interpretation of woman as a helpmeet or helpmate to man was therefore refuted by Grimke and the term “companion”, and “co-worker” were used.

In arguing for the equality of woman, various counter-texts from both Testaments have been used as proof-texts towards proving that the biblical texts about women are positive. In this manner, a positive tradition about women was developed, which also became the basis of prominent methods of feminist biblical hermeneutics.

Frances Willard, a Methodist, was not only the first woman president of the Ladies College in Illinois, but also a long-time president of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (Selvidge 1996:152). Many women from this organisation participated in the mass revival meetings and in camp meetings of the Holiness movement in the 1870s. Through these great revival meetings, many women’s lives were touched and Willard herself was converted during one of these meetings (Gifford 1985: 24). Many women were active outside of their homes, being involved in evangelism, as well as addressing moral issues, like abolition, temperance and prostitution (Martin 1994:149). Willard also remained active while working with D.L. Moody

It was in the course of such work that Willard was confronted with the limitations placed on her because of her sex. She experienced conditions similar to those of her predecessors in their fight for women’s rights. Due to this personal experience, and the experience of being assigned a limited role within the church merely because she was a woman, Willard sought biblical sanction towards advocating for an enlarged sphere of

involvement for women. This also implied a role “including suffrage and other political and civil rights, full laity rights within the churches, and the right to preach and be fully ordained” (Willard 1889: 21). She made an appeal to young women to learn biblical languages and to acquire a theological education in order to participate in a critique on the scriptural teaching on women in the light of new scholarship.

Willard believed that the Bible was a revelation from God. She argued that male scholars approached the texts with biases, and questioned the methods employed in their interpretations. Her assessment was based on her understanding of higher biblical criticism and her presuppositions in relation to scientific objectivity. According to her, male interpreters exegeted the scriptures in such a way that Christianity “today imposes the heaviest yoke now worn by women upon that most faithful follower of Him who is her emancipator no less than humanity’s Savior” (Willard 1889: 23). Christianity had consequently become the instrument of women’s subordination contrary to the liberating word for women which once brought them into full equality with men. Male exegetes were, therefore, responsible for the inferior status of women which she insisted was contrary to the message of the Bible (Collins 1985:23-28).

In interpreting the Creation stories, Willard indicated a preference for the second Creation narrative, which for her was better, because woman was presented in it as superior: “If they would be consistent, all ministers who accept the evolutionary theory (and a majority of them seem to have done so) must admit that not only was woman made out of better material than man (which doubtless they will cheerfully grant), but that, coming last in the order of creation, she stands highest of all”. (Willard 1888:37)

Willard drew attention to neglected passages of Scripture that suggested the importance of woman (Willard 1888:41) and proposed a “locus of a theology of liberation for women, the ‘Bible-precept principles’” (Ruether 1982:55). She was confident that the Bible would reveal the highest norms of liberty and equality; Jesus the Emancipator was the central norm by which to judge the Scriptures.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, commonly regarded as a forerunner of feminist biblical criticism, was the editor and author of the first two volumes of a feminist commentary published under the title “The Woman’s Bible” in 1895 and in 1898. Like many

feminist leaders, Stanton's feminist convictions grew out of antislavery activities but she later turned her attention to theology.

Stanton's political career began as an abolitionist and as such she fought especially against biblical interpretations that presented slavery as divinely ordained. On one occasion, her official exclusion from the 1840 convention for the antislavery movement held in London, led her to organise the First Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848 (Gifford 1985:21; Pellauer 1991:6; Selvidge 1996:97). This convention, which demanded equal rights for women, turned out to be her greatest success. Within and against this background, an attempt was made to reinterpret the Bible with women's perspectives.

The Woman's Bible was published only towards the end of her life, creating an upheaval and being condemned by clergymen as "the work of women and the devil" (Stanton 1898:7). In responding to such criticism, Stanton laid the entire blame on biblical research and higher criticism for failing to deal with the position of women in Christian theology. This higher criticism, which became influential in the American Academy in the 1880s, challenged the divine origin of the Bible and the Bible was eventually treated like any other ancient text. Its authority in the matter of women's nature and sphere was called into question (Gifford 1985:22). Stanton was therefore able to call for critical examination of the Bible's role in the degradation of women in Western culture.

According to Stanton, the Bible was a record that not only provided the grounds for the oppression of women but also produced liberty, justice, and equality for the whole human family. The Bible could not, therefore, be accepted or rejected as a whole (Stanton 1895:12-13).

In her readings of Genesis, she pointed out the existence of two contradictory stories of creation as follows: "the Priestly tradition (Gen 1-2:3), where the creation of man and woman is depicted as simultaneous and egalitarian and the Yahwistic tradition (Gen 2:4-3), where woman is presented as a mere afterthought... the only reason for her advent being the solitude of man" (Stanton 1895:20).

Stanton's interpretation was that both sexes in Genesis 1 were created simultaneously. The plural subject in Gen 1:26-28 was clear evidence of the presence of feminine elements in creation. She therefore accepted only the Priestly version: The equal position declared in the first account had to prove more satisfactory to both sexes; created alike in the image of God – the heavenly Mother and Father (Stanton 1895:21). Gen 2 for her was a purposeful later creation, written by some wily writer who, seeing the perfect equality of man and woman in the first chapter, felt it important for the dignity and dominion of man to effect woman's subordination in some way (Stanton 1895:21).

Although Stanton's interpretation inspired many women, it raised two obvious problems. First, her dating of sources is mistaken. That is, the Yahwistic account predates the Priestly account, even though the latter appears first in the Bible. Second, her interpretation of the first person plural pronoun in Genesis 1 as Mother and Father is naïve and problematic. The notion that God takes the form of human sexuality would be foreign and abhorrent to the Priestly writer who avoided any anthropomorphic description.

After "The Woman's Bible", no significant feminist work appeared until the secular publication "Le Deuxieme Sexe" by Simone de Beauvoir in 1949. Condemning the Bible as one of the sources for patriarchy, de Beauvoir believed that the Bible was irredeemably patriarchal. Although she was not a feminist biblical writer, de Beauvoir chose the Yahwistic creation narrative and provided an extensive critique of biblical texts as being negative toward woman. According to de Beauvoir (1957:159-160), Eve was the afterthought of creation after man. Being destined by God for man, she was to rescue Adam from loneliness that He gave her to him. She was thus his helpmate in the order of creation.

As a result of the work of de Beauvoir outside of the domain of religious studies, the question concerning the Bible's role in the degradation of women was raised once again. Accordingly, after having been neglected for more than half a century, the 19th century feminists' issues resurfaced and were developed in North America and in Western Europe in the 1970s.

5.1.1.2 Feminist biblical interpretations after 1970

In the domain of biblical studies, feminist discussions of biblical texts have flourished since the 1970s. With the emergence of feminist theology as a discipline, feminist biblical scholars soon recognised that the traditional theory of interpretation dominated by male scholars was actually neither neutral nor objective. What have been presented as neutral readings, were actually biased interpretations favouring male dominated groups. So-called “legitimate” biblical scholarship has put “man” at the centre of subjectivity and made his position the normative and universal. The historical-critical method controlled by the cultural hegemony of the white male, became the reigning paradigm and the only acceptable academic method for studying the Bible. Consequently women’s perspective was diminished to secondary rank and thus women’s views were not relevant with regard to their participation or interpretation in and of history.

Feminist biblical scholarship questions this universalisation of male experience as normative, and emphasises the need for history to be reconstructed (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983:42). This scholarship also proposes that women’s experiences should likewise be the norm for feminist theology. This has been the norm with respect to males, since male interpreters actually have and still do bring different life experiences to their reading of the biblical texts (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983; Ruether 1983; Russell 1985). Thus the emphasis on feminist hermeneutics developed rapidly during the 1980s and 1990s.

Among the important scholars adhering to this trend are Mary Daly, Letty Russell, Phyllis Trible, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and Rosemary Ruether. Of these, Trible is considered to represent an important landmark for the beginnings of modern feminist biblical criticism.

Trible challenges the assumption of de Beauvoir that the Bible is irredeemably patriarchal. She thinks that biblical interpretations tinged with androcentrism are not actually in the text but are imposed on the text by male interpreters in order to advocate male domination and female subordination. Her interpretation rests on a rereading of the biblical texts in order to recover the positive stories of females.

In her book, "God and the rhetoric of sexuality" published in 1978, Tribble translates אֲדָמָה as "earth creature" and concludes that this earth creature is neither male nor female⁴¹. The sexual distinction, according to her, came only after the creation of woman in Genesis 2:22-23. She also asserts that woman is not an inferior helper but a companion to man. Indeed she is shown at the temptation to be more intelligent and more responsible than man (Tribble 1978: 73-143). Tribble, in turn, does not avoid sexism in her interpretation of woman's superiority (Tribble 1978:113).

Since Tribble's publications, feminist readings of the creation stories have started springing up like mushrooms after the rain, throughout the world.

Mention should be made of the European scene. Since there used to be fewer opportunities for studying theological faculties, feminist theology in Europe entered the scene much later than in North America and developed only in the 1980s. In this development, models from North America were also imported (Ruether 1998:179). Mieke Bal, Fokkeliën Van Dijk-Hemnes, Mary Hayter, Grace Emmerson, Elisabeth Borrensen, and Mary Grey are well-known feminist theologians from Western Europe.

There are other feminists who identify themselves differently within the feminist movement, such as the Womanist group and the Mujeristas.

The Womanist group represents African-American female theologians in North America. The term "womanist" was coined by the poet and novelist, Alice Walker. She describes a womanist as one who is "committed to the survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically for health" (Walker 1983: xi).

In womanist theology, survival is a major issue and became a hermeneutical strategy owing to the African American women's experience of the struggle for survival in the United States. Black women tell their stories of how white men and white women

⁴¹ Tribble interprets Adam as an androgynous being. See her first article "Depatriarchalizing in biblical interpretation" in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 1973.

exploited them in all aspects of life, as they recall similar experiences of their exploitation under slavery at the hand of the white man. Accordingly, white women are also seen to be guilty in view of their participation within the systems of white classism and racism of the oppression of black women. Womanist understanding also includes expressions of the sexism of black men toward black women. The existence of domestic violence, sexual abuse and exploitation of their labour by black men within the black community are not ignored. Within this multi-layered experience of oppression, black women judge the appropriateness of biblical interpretation, theology and ethics. For womanists, the Hebrew God revealed in Genesis is an ambivalent figure. Therefore, black women need to turn to their own experience and to African traditions for additional theological resources (Williams 1993:1-26).

Mujeristas refer to Hispanic-American female theologians in North America. Mujerista theology is based on the liberatory praxis of Hispanic women oppressed by ethnic prejudice, sexism and poverty in the United States. Gathering together for liberative praxis, Hispanic women reflect on questions of faith and survival in daily life. According to Isasi-Doaz (1996:13-34), theological reflection is never separated from "lived liberative praxis" but is an integral part of praxis. Therefore, doing theology as a communal process is important for the Hispanic women's perspective (Isasi-Doaz 1990:267). Both womanists and mujeristas tell their stories of the struggle for survival. In doing so, they relate the stories that liberate them and an effort is made to achieve a positive quality of life, which ensures their survival.

Feminist theology in the Third World⁴², particularly in Korea, arose in relation to liberation theology, which originated from a Latin American theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, in the mid-1960s. Liberation theology later reached African and Asian theologians who founded the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) in 1976.

⁴² According to the definition from EATWOT, "Third World" refers to a whole new group that is emerging beyond the dominant hierarchy, and that is reshaping a new majority (Fabella 1993).

In 1983, a conference was held in Geneva for international dialogue between Third World and First World theologians. Women theologians from Asia, Africa and Latin America proposed establishing a women's Commission within EATWOT so that they could communicate and develop their own feminist theology in their own contexts (Fabella 1993). In 1985 this proposal was accepted and feminist theology in the Third World began to develop.

Using liberation theology, Third World female theologians commonly focus on women's oppression and liberation in doing their theology. Rejecting the authority of the Bible as Holy Scripture, they attempt to discover the liberating elements of their traditions as powerful resources for re-imagining the biblical story. The stories of the liberation of women, as well as other stories drawn from different cultural contexts, are regarded as being as sacred as the biblical stories. They argue that these stories are authenticated by their own lives and not by the divine voice of God (Kwok 1995:14-18; Ruether 1998:241-281; Williams 1993:143-153; Chung 1990b:111-113).

Korean feminist theology began in the early 1980s with the establishment of the Korean Association of Women Theologians. Soon Korean feminist scholars introduced the writings of Western feminist theologians. At the same time they worked side by side with *Minjung* theologians as they recognised that woman is a *minjung* of the *Minjung* (Choi 1998:121-122; Lee 1999: 176-179). Thus the theme of women's liberation from the patriarchal system in society, as well as in the church, became an issue (Chung 1990b:16; S J Chung et al. 1999: 179).

H K Chung argued that Western Christianity constituted yet another source that oppressed women and, therefore, refused to give any authority to the Bible and the Christian tradition of the West. She suggested that the experience of women should be the text: "Asian women theologians should realize that we are the text, and the Bible and tradition of the Christian church are the context of our theology" (Chung 1990b:111). She then focused on popular religiosity and syncretised it within Christianity.

Commonly, female theologians from the Third World believe that Christian theology needs to be reincarnated into their own cultures so that the oppressive heritage of

racism, poverty and gender bias from distorted cultures can be overcome. In doing so they place a specific religion and mix it with Christianity in their own religion, such as Hinduism, Buddhism or Shamanism. For example, Shamanism in Korea is integrated into Christianity in the reading of the biblical texts. As a result, Christianity has been syncretised. Many Christians in Korea who came from a multi-religious background⁴³ consequently experienced problems in defining their specific religious identities. Feminist theology in Korea has, therefore, been rejected (S J Chung et al. 1999: 176-177).

Thus women in Christian communities became aware that the Bible has been a major instrument in maintaining the oppression of a patriarchal structure. With this feminist consciousness, feminist biblical scholars began to reflect on the necessity of some guidelines to respond to and to challenge patriarchal readings. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld (1985:56) suggested some feminist uses of biblical material as follows:

1. Looking to texts about women to counteract famous texts used “against” women.
2. Looking to the Bible generally (not particularly to texts about women) for a theological perspective offering a critique of patriarchy (some may call this a “liberation perspective”).
3. Looking to texts about women to learn from the intersection of history and stories of ancient and modern women living in patriarchal cultures.

⁴³ It should be observed that many Korean believers have multi-religious backgrounds. Before their conversion, they would have been deeply involved in various rituals performed together by Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. After their conversion, however, any kind of rituals or even words related to any of those religions are forbidden.

Based on such suggestions, an enormous amount of literature with a feminist interpretation of the Bible has been published. The outcome of such interpretations are multifaceted and complex, because of the use of complex feminist hermeneutical approaches⁴⁴. It has thus become virtually impossible to take into account all the various works of feminist theologians, particularly regarding Gen 1-3, unless a certain categorisation in feminist interpretation of Scripture is employed.

5.1.2 Feminist biblical interpretation of Gen 1-3

With the awareness of the patriarchal nature of the biblical texts, many feminist scholars have attempted to read the Bible with a new eye, particularly with respect to the creation narratives. As a result, numerous writings, particularly regarding Gen 1-3, have been published. Sakenfeld (1989:161) stated that most of the feminist readings could be categorised under three methods and she defined them as: literary reading, culturally-cued literary reading, and historical critical reading. According to Sakenfeld (1985:56), "feminist interpretations cannot fit neatly within one category since they move from one approach to another according to their purpose and the audience". This indicates that women theologians themselves cannot be regarded as simplified individual feminists embodying just one of these feminist approaches. Their approaches are not actually mutually exclusive, but used in combination, although their readings can be classified. Bearing this reality in mind, we will look at some feminist readings of Gen 1-3 using different methods. Three main writers, Tribble, Lanser and Bird, are chosen since they represent three methodological perspectives. However, the work of other contemporary feminist biblical scholars will also be consulted. We will begin with Tribble's reading of

⁴⁴ Carolyn Osiek (1985:94-105) defines feminist theological hermeneutics under five categories: rejectionist, loyalist, revisionist, sublimationist and liberationist. The rejectionist, believing that the Bible is so corrupted by patriarchalism, rejects not only the Bible's authority but also the whole Western religious tradition. The loyalist accepts the authority of the Bible but critically. For loyalists, oppression of women does not lie with the ultimate expression of God's word but with the imperfect human interpreters. The revisionist approach recognizes the patriarchal nature of the Scripture and tries to recover the biblical texts from patriarchal mistranslations and misinterpretations by depatriarchalizing the interpretations of texts and by studying the Bible for positive role models for women. The sublimationists are not typical biblical scholars. They focus on the eternal feminine imagery and symbols from biblical and extra-biblical sources and elevate them to a position equal or superior to that of the male images. The liberationist takes the liberating themes in the Bible as the hermeneutical key. Therefore, human liberation becomes the common task.

Gen 1-3 since her reading has been extremely influential and has become almost a classic foundational study in the work of many feminist scholars.

5.1.2.1 Literary reading

A literary reading focuses primarily on the text itself. It looks carefully at grammatical and syntactical elements in the text without much consideration of historical and social settings. Many forms of literary critical reading, such as narratology and speech-act theory, are found in this approach. Phyllis Tribble, Mieke Bal, Alice Laffey, Ellen van Wolde and Athalya Brenner are the prominent scholars adhering to this approach. Amongst them, Tribble is the best-known in reading Gen 1-3, and her reading could be regarded as revisionist with the motive of liberating women, while her method of reading is known as rhetorical criticism.

5.1.2.1.1 Tribble's reading of Gen 1-3

Tribble's methodology involves an analysis of the literary construction and characteristics of Gen 2-3. Using rhetorical criticism, she explores certain stylistic features that have gone unnoticed by earlier critics. In this way, her reading of the creation texts offers the basis for a critique of biblical patriarchy that is deeply grounded in the text.

Although many examples of female linguistic imagery of God occur in the Old Testament, the Bible overwhelmingly favours male metaphors of deity. In contrast to such dominant male language in scripture, however, Gen 1:27 stresses "the image of God male and female". For this reason, Tribble's exploration of feminine imagery of the divine began with the metaphor of "the image of God male and female" in Gen 1:27 (Tribble 1978:17). Thus, Gen 1:27 provides a hermeneutical impetus to investigate female metaphors for God.

Taking "the image of God" as a metaphor parallel to "male and female" in Gen 1:27, Tribble analyses the aspects of metaphor the vehicle and the tenor. Accordingly, "male and female" is "the vehicle, the base of metaphor, the better known element" and "the

image of God” is the tenor, “its underlying (or overarching) subject, the lesser known element” (Trible 1978:17). She argues that the phrase “the image of God” refers to “male and female”. Drawing on this metaphor, Trible (1978:19) suggests that the parallelism between “humankind” and “male and female” in Gen 1:27 indicates equality, not the sexual functions of man and woman for procreation. Thus “the image of God male and female” becomes the leitmotif for reading Gen 2 and Gen 3. For this reason, Trible is of the opinion that the report of the creation of male and female in the image of God in Gen 1:27 gives the first clue in scripture for studying the equality of male and female.

Trible reads Gen 2-3 as a three-scene love story: Eros Created (2:4b-24); Eros Contaminated (Gen 2:25-3:7); Eros Condemned (Gen 3:8-24). She does not take any account of the historical background of the text, but concentrates on a linguistic analysis of the text. Her reading of Gen 2-3 is as follows:

In the first scene (Gen 2:4b-24), Trible notices the close relationship of a pun in the Hebrew words אָדָם and אֶדְמָה. She translates אָדָם not as “male”, but as “an earth creature”, that is a sexually undifferentiated human being (Trible 1978:80). As this earthling was put in the garden of Eden, an assignment was given to עֶבֶד, which means “to serve” and “to keep the garden” (Gen 2:15). Soon, God realised that for אָדָם to be alone was not good. So he decided to make עֶזְרָא “a companion corresponding to an earth creature” (Trible’s translation). Traditionally, the Hebrew word עֶזְרָא was translated as “helpmeet”, “helpmate”, “helper” and with this sense of inferiority, the term has also been used to enforce subordination of women.

According to Trible, the term, עֶזְרָא in Gen 2:18 has often been used to describe God as the superior who creates and saves Israel in the Old Testament. Accordingly the traditional translation of this term is not appropriate since the term does not convey any inferior connotation. Therefore, it should be understood in terms of a companion who “alleviates isolation through identity” (Trible 1978:90).

To provide a companion for the earthling, animals were created and brought to the earthling for naming. In naming the animals, אָדָם used the verb קָרָא with the noun שֵׁם which symbolises domination over that object. However, אָדָם does not find a

companion for itself when it meets the animals, because they were not fit for it. So God performed another action to create its companion. As a result, הָאָדָם was put into a deep sleep. Woman is built of raw material taken from the earth creature. Thus, in the creation of woman, God's unique creative act is shown in that the earth creature was passive to the extent that its body has been changed. Tribble (1978:96) points out that the earth creature functions in the same way in the creation of woman as the earth did for its creation.

The earth creature was sexually differentiated from the beginning of its creation but only becomes a male, אִישׁ when אִשָּׁה is brought to the earth creature. The earthly being declares: "This shall be called woman because from man was taken this" (Gen 2: 23, Tribble's translation). Tribble argues that man's naming of woman is not the same formula as in naming the animal world. She believes that this formula rather indicates mutuality, equality and solidarity than that man is establishing his power over woman (Tribble 1978:101).

The second scene, "Eros Contaminated" (Gen 2:25-3:7), begins again with a pun on the Hebrew words עֲרוּמִים and עָרוּם (Gen 2:25; 3:1). הָאָדָם and the woman are described as being naked, עֲרוּמִים while the serpent is introduced as the slyest, עָרוּם of all the creatures. The serpent tells the woman with הָאָדָם that eating the fruit of the tree will not bring them death but will make them like God, knowing good and evil (Gen 3:4-5).

In the dialogue, הָאָדָם remains silent while the woman uses her intelligence to judge and make a decision for herself (Tribble 1978 :113). She took some of the fruit and ate from it. She also gave it to her husband with her who took and ate it without a moment of "theologizing or contemplating". He is "passive and inept" and his act is "belly-oriented and acquiescent" whereas woman is "independent, intelligent, sensitive and ingenious" in her act (Tribble 1978:113). Thus both man and woman made the choice to disobey God. As a result, they are both aware of their nakedness and when they hear God's approach, both go into hiding.

The final scene, "Eros Condemned", tells of God's confrontation with the actions of הָאָדָם and the woman. Instead of taking responsibility, הָאָדָם shifts his blame on God as well as on the woman. Unlike him, the woman neither blames God nor implicates her

husband. She speaks only for herself, which indicates the brokenness of the solidarity between the couple.

The punishment begins first with the serpent. Without a trial he is cursed and becomes the lowest of all the animals. Although God neither curses the woman nor the man directly, the woman and man are still punished by having to bear the consequences of their disobedience. Woman will experience pain in childbearing, yet she will desire a husband who dominates her. Man will also experience implacable and unsatisfying toil in obtaining food from the soil which is cursed on behalf of the man. Subsequently, he will finally reunite with the ground, which means death.

Thus, from once being a companion to man, woman became subordinated to man and man dominates her because of their disobedience. Therefore, man's supremacy as well as the subordination of woman is neither a divine decree nor the female destiny, but is a result of a shared disobedience. After this judgment, אָדָם, using the same naming formula for the animals, names woman חַיָּה which sounds like the word for "life" in Hebrew. This reduces her to the status of animals although her name, mother of the living (Gen 3:20), may have been a positive one. Tribble (1978:128) argues that this punishment is thus descriptive rather than prescriptive. Tribble also observes that the term אָדָם again becomes a generic term to refer to the human couple after their expulsion from the garden (Gen 3:23-24).

There are other contemporary feminist scholars whose methods are similar to Tribble's, but they challenge Tribble's view on Gen 3, in which sin is considered to be the central theme. They accept אָדָם to designate "an earthling". A few of these scholars are Bal (1987:104-30), Bechtel (1993:17-117), van Wolde (1994), Brenner (1985), Laffey (1990), Milne (1993: 146-172) and Fewell and Gunn (1993: 22-38).

Although Bal's approach understands Gen 2-3 as a love story and shares the conclusion of Tribble in her reading, she considers the woman to have been formed first. According to the semiotic principle she employs, the woman comes first, then only the man who is merely what is left over (Bal 1987:116). Furthermore, Bal does not see the action of eating the fruit as sin but the first independent act, which makes woman powerful as a character. Bal (1987:125) writes "not only has woman power to make the man eat,

hence to make him know (her) and disobey in his turn. But also she manages to turn the Almighty God of Gen 1 into a character with equal status, equal features, equal feelings to the others". Thus, Bal's reading puts woman on a par with man and with God as well.

Bechtel, van Wolde and Brenner regard the Adam and Eve story as one of human maturation. They focus on the process whereby individuals become mature. The tree of life represents a child's view of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil represents the beginning of the maturation process into adulthood. Therefore, the action of eating forbidden fruit is not sin, but an effort towards maturity which is required for entering the world that God created for mature man and woman to share as partners.

It should be obvious that Tribble's reading of Gen 2-3 has been extremely influential and became almost a classic foundational study in the work of many feminist scholars. Some of them interrelate and built upon her readings, while others disagree with details in her interpretation. But all these readings challenge some basic Christian assumptions about the creation narratives.

5.1.2.2 Culturally cued literary reading

Although this approach falls into the literary realm, its difference lies in an awareness of the need to interpret the texts within the social world. According to Sakenfeld (1989:161), the text is a product of its own culture. It is possible, therefore, to deduce a form and impression of the culture from the texts. It has to be borne in mind that there are interpretative constraints with respect to particular literary designs in focusing on particular textual clues as well as assessing their significance and meaning. In this reading, patriarchal structures and values and also androcentric concerns integral to the text are exposed. Scholars, like Esther Fuchs and Renita Weems, favour this method and Susan Lanser reads the creation narrative, using this approach.

5.1.2.2.1 Lanser's reading of Gen 1-3

Lanser's reading (1988:70) of Gen 1-3 emerges from a particular understanding of a theory of language. According to her, feminist readings, such as those of Tribble and Bal, which interpret Gen 1-3 as an egalitarian text, are based on the understanding of language as a formal code or system of signs. Within this understanding of language, meaning resides in a function of semantic, grammatical, and phonological or orthographical properties and communication becomes a process of encoding and decoding sentences. In such a linguistic model, as Tribble's reading demonstrates, Gen 1-3 could be read as an egalitarian text and the traditional misreading of אָדָם as the male person could be corrected. However, in Lanser's view, the symbol, word or sentence may not be the only basic unit of communication.

According to speech-act theory, the basic unit of communication is "the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of a speech act" and meaning always depends on specific contexts of language use (Lanser 1988:70). In this theory of language use, meaning is created not only by decoding signs but also by drawing on contextual assumptions to make inferences. Inferences are based on knowledge that has not been linguistically codified because that knowledge has been considered insignificant or self-evident (Lanser 1988:71).

According to this theory of language that Lanser utilises, the unmarked gendered masculine form of אָדָם introduced in Gen 2:7 is male. The following masculine form of אָדָם and its associated pronouns will, by inference, define אָדָם as male (Lanser 1988:72). In support of this claim are the two reinforcing systems of inference that are at work. First, the inference brought first to the reading of Gen 2:7 that אָדָם named with masculine pronouns will be male, and second, the inference drawn afterwards from the reading that, since the creature being created as a helper is woman, then the creature for and from whom she has been created is already man. Consequently readers in this narrative, naturally as well as logically, define humankind as male. Thus Lanser does not agree with feminists who interpret this term as "earthling" or a "clod", as she adopts the linguistic theory that meaning is constituted by the performance of the text in a context that teems with culture-specific contextual factors that are almost never articulated.

Lanser also argues that naming woman in Gen 2:23 does not constitute recognition of sexual difference as Tribble and others think. Although a shortened syntactic form is used in this text, the text has already produced the context in which “call” may be inferred to mean “call the name of” (Lanser 1988:73). This suggests that the role of אָדָם in naming does not change, as it is revealed that woman is brought to אָדָם who is assigned to her name. This naming indicates that woman belongs to the realm of the creatures over which אָדָם will exercise his lordship. For this reason, Lanser is of the opinion that אָדָם “man” is at the centre of this discourse and it is for him that woman is created intentionally as a companion. Therefore to claim woman as “the crown of creation”, is nothing more than “wishful thinking” (Lanser 1988:74).

Lanser also negates Tribble’s analysis of Gen 3:16 that the judgment upon woman is less severe than upon man. According to her, a reader who hears the divine pronouncement of prohibition can also infer God’s punishment constituted by God as its consequences. Furthermore, she argues that if Gen 3:16 is punishment, then “God could be charged with ordaining male dominance, all the more as the man is judged not only for eating but for listening to the woman’s voice (3:17)” (Lanser 1988:75). Thus, in terms of a theory of language use that understands the role of inference in the construction of meaning, Lanser perceives that sex hierarchy enters the text in Gen 3:16 and believes that the Creation story is told from an androcentric point of view, both of which demonstrate for her that Gen 2-3 is a sexist text.

5.1.2.3 Historical critical reading

A historical critical reading, as opposed to one based on literary studies, would depend on data used from support fields such as other ancient Near Eastern studies, archaeology, comparative sociology and anthropology in order to adequately depict the possible reconstruction of women’s life in ancient Israel. Phyllis Bird, Helen Schungel-Straumann, Luise Schottroff and Carol Meyer are well-known practitioners of this approach. Amongst them, Bird’s reading is prominent.

5.1.2.3.1 Bird's reading of Gen 1-3

In contrast to Tribble's reading of the creation texts, Bird examines Gen 1:27 within the larger structure of the Priestly creation account. She thinks that the isolation of the distinction between historical and constructive tasks results in a problematic interpretation, such as that of Karl Barth (Bird 1981:130-131). According to Bird, Barth's interpretation of *imago Dei* of Gen 1:27 as the *analogia relationis* is a modern and foreign concept in terms of the ancient writer's thought and intention. Furthermore, Barth failed to understand the grammar of the sentences and consequently the meaning of sexual distinction in Gen 1:27 is mistaken, although the implied relationship of mutuality between the sexes seems to be attractive.

Bird focuses on the relationship between the term "image of God" and its relation to the male and female in the passage. According to Bird (1981:138), the concept of the divine image has been used here to validate and explain the special status and role of humankind among the creatures. The concept is used to identify humankind as God's own special representative. Identification is stated by the phrase **בְּצֶלֶם** which is further qualified by **כְּדַמוֹת**. For Bird, **צֶלֶם** is an ideal term to relate to a royal designation, the precondition and prerequisite for rule. So the use of the term "the image of God" and its implication should be understood in the contribution of **וַיְרַדוּ**.

According to Bird (1981:140-141), the notion of the divine image in humans is not unique to Israel, but is rather a widely shared notion among the ancient Mesopotamian world. The notion that humans are created according to a divine model and thus stand in a special relationship to the gods, was a common ancient Near Eastern ideology. However, Bird is of the opinion that "the image of God" used in Genesis 1 has its root in the Egyptian wisdom tradition, in which the divine image is extended to humanity as a whole, and thus the concept became democratized in its usage (Bird 1981:141).

However, Bird separates the concept of the divine image from the idea of sexuality. Bird asserts that the idea that God may possess any form of sexuality, is an utterly foreign and repugnant notion to P who guards the distance between God and humanity, thereby avoiding anthropomorphic description (Bird 1981:148). Bird suggests that fertility and dominion belong to two separate themes: the theme of nature with its sub-

theme of fertility, and the theme of order with its interest in position and function. In these themes there is no message of shared dominion, no word about the distribution of roles, responsibility, and authority between the sexes, no word of sexual equality. What is described is a task for the species and the position of the species in relation to the other orders of creatures (Bird 1981:151). Thus the introduction of the word “blessing” has breaks the connection between image and dominion articulated in v. 26 because the notion of the divine is related only to an undifferentiated humanity as species (Bird 1981:150). For Bird (1987:36), the divine image rather “characterizes humanity as a whole since the God-like nature distinguishes the species of human being from other orders of creation. Therefore it must characterize each individual of the species and cannot be limited to any subgroup” (Bird 1987:41).

Genesis 2-3 is Yahwistic and its interest lies in human sexuality and the relationship between man and woman generally. Consequently, the character of the relationship is androcentric. In this story, time has no meaning and the sequence of creation of man and woman is not ontologically significant because the first and final acts of creation together describe a single action (1987:37). Bird translates אָדָם in Gen 2:7 as not only an individual but also a male. However, the man was not complete until the woman, whose substance is one with him, stood beside the man. She writes: “It is only with the woman, however, that the man’s need is finally met, for unlike the animals, the woman is not a separate order of creation, but shares fully the nature of *adam*”. (Bird 1987:38)

Since the creation of woman is told from a man’s perspective, the author describes the man’s need for a companion and helper. But the helper’s role here must not be considered to be like that of the animals, who are by their very nature inferior, since the specification of the word “helper” requires a creature “corresponding to the man”. According to Bird, the Yahwist account deals with the “psycho-social” relationships and, therefore, finds the identity and equality of the two in the social terms אִשָּׁה and אָדָם. The woman’s unique correspondence to man is confirmed when he names her in his clear recognition of her being of his very bone and flesh. Bird (1987:38) does not find any dominance or subordination, but rather the equality of the two sexes that is the foundation of Gen 2.

The temptation scene is considered as the aetiology of 3:14-19. The scene describes the fundamental conditions of life that an ancient Israelite author experienced. That life is characterised by painful toil and struggle within a hostile environment, estrangement in human and divine relationships, shame in self-consciousness, and finally death. Bird believes that woman's initiative in the temptation scene is traditionally associated with food preparation in a peasant agricultural society characterised by patriarchy and that her work depends on her relationship with the man. This view affirms that sin has a fundamentally social character within creation, but is not a constituent element of created human nature or order.

Bird considers that the nature of sin lies in the disobedience to God's divine command, which became the first and fundamental sin of the human. She writes:

Both man and woman have heeded another voice over the voice of God, and that is their common sin. The gender differentiated roles in the drama do not describe gender-specific patterns of sin, but they do illustrate differing responses to temptation, one involving active reason, the other unreflective acquiescence to another's leading. ... The man has chosen, whether by reason or not, to heed the voice of his companion over the voice of God.

(Bird 1997:191)

Illustrating this corporate nature of human disobedience, she challenges traditional interpretations that consider woman's punishment to be heavier than man's. The weight of the punishment is emphasised with regard to man rather than woman (1997:190-191). Alice Laffey, who takes a literary reading, also understands man's punishment as more severe than that of the woman (1990:27).

Thus, Bird believes that the author sees that the disobedience of the man and woman to the divine command is rooted in sin that disturbs the original harmony of creation, and the man's ruling over the woman and the resultant subjugation are not a prescriptive state of affairs but merely descriptive.

There are other feminist scholars who also read the texts from a historical perspective. Although they read the texts in their historical contexts, they differ on details from Bird. Amongst them are Helen Schungel-Straumann and Carol Meyers.

Schungel-Straumann (1993:75) understands that the image and likeness of God in Gen 1:26 is a summary of what follows in Gen 2. Accordingly, humankind as a whole reflects God's image. The notion of God's image is found in the light of ancient oriental Egyptian ideology where the king or queen represents a deity. Although only single outstanding persons qualify to perform the role of representative in Israel, P accounts that all human beings, male and female, are God's representatives. Thus Schungel-Straumann view of the meaning of "the image of God" differs from that of Bird, who separates the concept of dominion from the concept of the image of God.

Carol Meyers confirms Bird's reading of Gen 1:27 that the creation of humanity into male and female is for the purpose of procreation (Meyers 1988:86), but disagrees with interpreting the story of the Eden narrative as the Fall. For her, the Eden narrative is a literary reflection of the particular conditions of highland life for the agrarian Israelite society. So she reads the story in a highland setting of Palestine. According to her, God forms אָדָם, an earthling of clods, taken from אֶרֶץ (Meyers 1988:81) and makes a suitable counterpart out of the rib of the earth creature. Thus gendered life is introduced and the conjugal bond is also established. For her, "Only in marriage are male and female complementary parts of the whole."

Meyers' view on Gen 3 also differs significantly from that of Bird. For Meyers, Gen 3 belongs to the genre of the Israelite wisdom literature (Meyers 1988:90). This genre provides an etiological response to the realities of Israelite life, the particular difficulties involved in daily life, and the acceptance of those circumstances. Accordingly, the most prominent theme in the Eden tale is food because Israel struggled for sustenance and food was a dominating concern of daily life. The first human is therefore presented as being concerned with food. She also claims that woman, being wiser than man, procured the benefits of the tree of wisdom through engaging in a dialogue with the serpent.

Meyers (1988:118) translates Gen 3:16 thus: "I will greatly increase your toil and your pregnancies; (Along) with travail shall you beget children. For to your man is your desire, and he shall predominate over you." In her translation, she argues that the common rendering of "greatly multiply" is a misleading translation of the Hebrew text. She points out that the use of the infinitive absolute before the verb רָבָה is to emphasise the action of the verb. So "greatly increase" is preferable as it could avoid the concept of pain in quantitative terms as in the case of "multiply" (Meyers 1988:99).

In adopting this term, she rejects the translation of the noun הָרֵן as "childbirth". In her argument she quotes other passages from the Old Testament, for instance, Jeremiah 20:14-18. She renders הָרֵן as "pregnancy" or "conception". She also translates the noun עֵצָב as "toil". According to her, the noun "toil", derived from the verb עָצַב which means "to upset, to grieve", is used to indicate not only psychological or emotional discomfort, but also physical labour. So the most appropriate interpretation of the noun עֵצָב is "physical labour" or "toil" rather than an abstract condition of distress (Meyers 1988:105). Physical labour or toil sets forth woman's role in the agrarian setting in addition to her increased pregnancies.

In Gen 3:16ff, Meyers acknowledges the lexical nuances of the term אִישׁ as both "man" and "husband", but prefers to retain the translation of "man" since the term "husband" carries the image of marriage, which does not fit the archetypal literary setting of the Eden story. Accordingly, the word "man" preceded by the preposition אֶל informs the reader "what it is that the woman is directing to or for her man" (Meyers 1988:110). The strength of the woman's feeling for her man is also indicated by the word תַּשְׁוֶקָה. This is an attraction that already exists between man and woman. In contrast, the term "desire" is considered to be broader than sexual attraction alone. It refers to "an emotional and/or physical attraction that transcends thought and rationality". "Desire" is, therefore, an entirely suitable designation for the sexual nature of the mutual attraction of a female and a male (Meyers 1988:110).

In the peasant mode of life, woman had two roles: an ever increasing workload as well as her procreative role. In that situation, "how does a woman overcome an understandable reluctance to have many children?" (Meyers 1988:113). The answer to that question is that her natural reluctance will be overcome by her sexual desire.

Consequently, man's rule over her is understood in the area of sexual relations. Reading the text in this way, man's domination of woman is not divinely sanctioned.

In conclusion, different views of Scripture produce different readings, as the above studies have shown. Some restore a positive image of woman while others confirm a negative view of woman due to the patriarchal nature of the text. Despite such divergent results, feminist readings of the creation narratives have a wide and far-reaching influence upon biblical interpreters and, I believe, should rightfully have this influence. In many ways, male domination has been exposed by means of feminist hermeneutics and this exposure enables interpreters, in their attempts at rethinking and reinterpreting the position and role of the woman in the creation narrative to rectify certain chauvinistic attitudes of biblical scholars.

5.2 The influence of feminist hermeneutics in Korean feminist biblical interpretation

With the introduction of Christianity in Korea, the notion that all human beings were created equal in God's image gained ground and female converts at first experienced liberation from the patriarchal dominance of their traditional religions. With the expansion of Christianity, however, they began to experience other forms of oppression associated with Christianity through the literal view of the Bible that had been adopted to formulate the theological tradition of the church. According to that specific view of scripture, woman was created to be man's helpmate for the continuation of the family line. Moreover, this patriarchal teaching was introduced and practised by the KPC, a denomination in which specifically 70% of believers are women (Kang 1999:61; Gwak 2000: 126). The extent of the dilemma faced by these women led them to experience despair and hopelessness. Within and against this background Korean female theologians began their search for full humanity and an alternative understanding of the creation of humankind.

5.2.1 A brief survey of feminist biblical interpretation⁴⁵

Korean feminist theology began with the establishment of the Korean Association of Women Theologians (KAWT)⁴⁶ in 1980 (Kim 1991:52; Choi 1998:122). Korean feminist scholars in the early stages, called the first-generation feminists, only introduced the writings of Western feminist theologians and held seminars to expound on them. Accordingly, Korean feminist theology was really the theology of the educated elite in the West. The second-generation feminists, however, whose theology developed on the foundation of the first-generation theologians, were soon able to move beyond the imported legacy, as they came to understand their own theological reality in their own social context (Chung 1990a:120-122). Focus was placed on the social context of Korea, and the determination arose to work in the context of Minjung theology. As they situated themselves within the Minjung theology, Korean feminists began to recognise that woman is the Minjung of the Minjung, and therefore woman(en) are the subject(s) of history.

The central concept of Minjung theology is *Han*. *Han* is defined as intensive inner suffering. It is the frustrated sorrow and anger, repressed suffering resulting from experiences of injustice. It is not the experience of an individual, but a collective experience, transmitted from generation to generation (Commission on Theological Concerns 1983:55-69). Women have been oppressed physically, emotionally and culturally not only from outside (by foreign colonisers), but also from national elites in the Confucian social system. As a result, harmony in the individual as well as in the community was destroyed. The experience of "comfort women" who suffered immensely⁴⁷ under the Japanese rule, would be a sound example representing *Han*. Thus women experience the deepest form of *Han* in their inner being (Y A Kim 1992: 161). Woman's *Han*, therefore, became the point of departure for practising feminist theology in Korea (Y O Kim 1991:54-55).

⁴⁵ The majority of Korean feminists come from the Methodist denomination, very few are from the liberal tradition of the KPC. There is no feminist scholar from the conservatives, because they identify the term "feminism" with a rejection of the Bible.

⁴⁶ The term "women theologians" was designed to include not only female theologians in the profession, but also oppressed women of the Third World who have studied theology (S K Park 1980:69).

⁴⁷ The Japanese enslaved many Korean women as prostitutes to give sexual service to Japanese soldiers during the colonization of Korea (1910-1945).

Prof. S K Park (1988:131) is of the opinion that the division of the Korean nation has reinforced women's *Han*. According to her, the international power struggle between Marxism and democracy on the one hand, and Korean patriarchy on the other, caused this division. North Korea became a Communist state according to the ideology of the old Soviet Union, and South Korea adopted democracy according to the ideology of the United States. As a result, the separation of many families took place and hostility between North and South Korea mounted. With the rise of the North's antagonism towards the South, the South's patriarchal ideology also increased under the slogan of anti-Communism set by the military dictatorships. The result is that divisions between North and South have become so entrenched that it is politically dangerous to discuss reunification. In consequence, the patriarchal culture of both sides has become even stronger in each situation and women (*Minjung*) have become even more oppressed (Park 1988:120-123). The Korean nation (*HanMinjok*) has also become subordinated to Western capitalism and democracy (*Minju*) because of the West's political and economic support. Since Western capitalism confers the opportunity to exploit men and women, the poor become even poorer and the rich become richer. Under and within such defficient political and economic systems, the Korean nation is exploited, victimized and oppressed (Park 1988:124-131). Thus Park (1988:120) identifies women with the Korean nation as she sees the relation between *HanMinjok* (the Korean nation) and *Minjung* (the mass of the people).

Park has consequently made the struggle for reunification of North and South Korea a particular concern. Total liberation of women is perceived to be realised when the division of Korea should come to an end (Y O Kim 1991:59-60). For this reason, she believes that feminist theology cannot stop with the claim of women's freedom and rights against men only. Otherwise, it will become merely an extension and reflection of the male dominated structure of the world. Women's freedom and rights in the theological sense are to be exercised to overcome oppressive world structures for the birth of a new humanity (Park 1989:116).

To achieve the reunification of the Korean nation, women's participation in the discussions is needed, for men of a patriarchal mentality would not be able to achieve this reunification. "The church woman is the mother of Minjok/Minjung, the mother of history, the mother of the birth of a new humanity. That is, the church woman bears the

sign of salvation". (Park 1988:131; 1989:116) For this reason women in the church are encouraged to participate in the unification discussions and proposals of South and North. Park believes that if churchwomen rise up against injustices, against the divisive powers within and without the Korean nation, a new unified Korean society would come about. The mutual transformation of two oppressive societies would result in justice and peace within and for the nation and women would accordingly be liberated from the many layers and forms of oppression (Kim & Yang 1991:94-97).

The renowned Korean feminist theologian, Hyun Kyung Chung, has particularly drawn on Shamanism for her feminist theology. She finds alternative liberative cultural symbols for women in Shamanism, which has been most accessible for women's self-expression because it was not the official male institutional form of religion. In the tradition of this religion, women are not considered to be objects, but subjects in the liberation struggle. She writes: "women are the text, and the bible and tradition of the Christian church are the context of our theology" (Chung 1990b:111). Thus women's lives are interpreted with selectively chosen liberating messages from the text in the light of the women's own historical situations. Scripture is used as a theological source along with other teachings from traditional religions and women's experiences are the yardsticks used to measure the biblical truth.

Chung (1990c:143) sees the transformative expression of women's experience *Han* in Korean Shamanism. Historically Shamanism has been the survival religion of the lower classes, especially women, while Confucianism was considered to be the official religion of patriarchy. Women who experienced *Han* immensely were often taken to the shaman who performed *kut* ceremonies to release *Han*. This ceremony is called *han-pu-ri*, which involves a three stage process. Firstly, the han-ridden ghosts are given voices to speak, and to tell their stories. Secondly, the ghosts name the sources of their oppression, and thirdly, action is taken to change the situation so that the han-ridden ghosts have rest (Chung 1988:30).

Chung (1990b:104-105) believes that the lived-world experience is the most important source of theologising. Her process of theologising women's experiences starts with storytelling; the women's socio-biographies (Y O Kim 1991:55). She sees women's stories as an embodied historiography that tells of a hidden history, bringing out the

hidden reality behind official sociological historical documents. This historiography is holistic, multidimensional and complex because it includes colonialism, neo-colonialism, cultural imperialism, racism, classism, and the evils of patriarchy. Storytelling includes active listening to the women's stories of oppression. Accordingly, hearing other women's stories gives rise to questions regarding critical social analysis. With a new awareness arising from critical social analysis, the Bible is approached for theological analysis (Chung 1990b:111).

The Bible is considered to be the source of reference for the liberation of women. The Bible becomes not only a meaningful, but also a living book only when it liberates women. Chung is of the opinion that theological reflection on the Bible starts from the woman's own historical situation, not from teachings of the Bible. Women will then discover the wisdom needed for survival and liberation from both the Bible stories and women's stories. They would then decide what to appropriate as life-giving living traditions into their theology, while rejecting male-defined or imperialist traditions which hinder women's growth to full humanity (Chung 1990b:106-111).

In Korean feminist theology, the biblical texts are not considered authoritative unless they support the liberation of man and woman. Therefore, not only the biblical stories of liberation, but also women's stories from woman centred-religions become sources for theologising. Korean feminists seek to find a synthesis between the woman-empowering traditions of their indigenous heritages and liberating themes in Christianity. Various goddesses in Shamanism are used to empower women. According to Chung (1990b: 113), Korean feminist theology is "survival-liberation centred syncretism". Korean feminist theology also takes the model of a feminist-critical and a historical-critical model according to the suggestion of Schüssler Fiorenza, in approaching the relevant text (S J Chung 1999:169-170, Choi 1998:134-135). According to Schüssler Fiorenza (1993:130), key elements of such a model involve a hermeneutic of suspicion rather than blind acceptance of biblical authority; critical evaluation rather than correlation; interpretation through proclamation, remembrance; and historical reconstruction and interpretation through celebration and ritual. Consequently the function of the Bible is analysed specifically in terms of the woman's struggle for survival. Instead of accepting biblical authority, much attention is paid to the connection and interaction of biblical texts with contemporary politics and socialisation. As God is defined in terms of

sexuality by some of the feminist scholars in the West, God is named as mother among Korean feminist scholars, and goddesses in different religions are brought to life in the worship of these scholars as well (Chung 1988:36; Kim 1991: 64; Lee 1994:26-29).

Some Korean male theologians began to give much consideration to discussions or arguments of feminist theologians in the West, but not to those from Korea. However, Korean feminists cannot blame male theologians alone for the present situation, because the majority of female believers in the Korean Church do not agree with the issues raised by Korean feminists, such as the sexually defined image of God. This has been a problem to the majority of female believers in the KPC. The hermeneutic of suspicion in reading the Bible is also a foreign concept to them⁴⁸. Most Korean women think that God is not sexually bound. If there is sexuality in the Godhead, both male and female qualities are included. A survey on God-language shows that only 15.3% of Korean women accept the idea of calling God “mother” (Y S Lee 1999:176-177). It is still rather strange for them to apply this concept. Would this inclusion of non-Christian religions not be the reason why the Korean feminist theologian’s voice is still not heard in the KPC despite the development of Korean feminist theology over the past twenty years?

5.2.2 A Korean feminist interpretation of Gen 1-3

It should be noted that there is a lack of biblical interpretations by Korean female theologians. So far, I have been able to discover only one publication on the Creation narratives, entitled *Theological meaning of עֵרָ in Genesis 2:18-25* by N H Lee who is from the liberal tradition of the KPC.

In her discussion of woman’s creation, N H Lee (1998: 7-13) compares Genesis 2:4b-25, the J’s account, with the *Gilgamesh* epic, before considering the theological meaning of the term עֵרָ in Genesis 2:18-25. With respect to the subject, motif, process and background of the creation of humankind, the woman particularly is considered. Accordingly, the J account is based on a monotheism that acknowledges the sovereignty

⁴⁸ See footnote 3.

of one God. Humankind is created to serve the earth with God's guidance and with human obedience to God. Humankind is not able to live alone without God's help and salvation. For N H Lee (1998:10), woman is neither a help nor an afterthought. Rather, the woman's creation indicates God's help, and the salvation of the man so that man and woman as a community could live together. In this way, in the J account, God presents a communal character as an ideal order of creation, in which the woman is the climax and the culmination of the creation.

Giving much attention to the term עֲזָרָה, N H Lee (1998:11) asserts that the term עֲזָרָה, a masculine noun of the verb "to help, to support, to save" designates God. She compares the term עֲזָרָה with the word יָשַׁע which frequently appears in the Old Testament and argues that עֲזָרָה and יָשַׁע are similar concepts. According to her, the term עֲזָרָה has been used to characterise God as the helper and saviour of Israel while יָשַׁע means "to deliver, to rescue" and its usage is associated with war as well as with a law court. When יָשַׁע is used in relation to humankind, therefore, it takes on the connotation of court language which appeared mostly during the Exile. In contrast, עֲזָרָה refers mostly to the action of God's help and salvation in time of war. Lee, therefore, assumes that the usage of עֲזָרָה in Genesis 2 testifies that the woman is not a passive helper, but an active and powerful saviour corresponding to God's salvation in war. That characteristic and role of God are related deeply to the woman's name חַוָּה, "the mother of all the living". Lee also believes that the name of God, YHWH, is derived from חַוָּה, the woman's name. For her (1998:13), this is additional proof why the term עֲזָרָה has to be used for woman.

Lee thinks that כַּנְגִידוֹ is an earthly agent or representative suitable for humankind. The woman is not a helper for man for the functions of procreation and labour. Rather, she is God's earthly representative of God's help and salvation who helps not only to overcome but also to correct the selfishness and isolationism of man (Lee 1998:12). In this manner, the woman is identified with God.

Although this reading may be interesting, it is problematic because Lee's interpretation depends heavily on her excessive assumptions drawn from comparative ancient Near East material, as she compares the biblical text to ancient sources. Although there are many parallel texts which could throw light on the biblical Creation, she selects the

Gilgamesh epic only. This shows that the outcome of any reading depends on how the source is chosen and interpreted, and on the questions that are asked of the text.

5.3 Summary and Conclusion

Over the centuries male experience has been considered as normative in interpreting the Bible. As a result woman's perspective has been regarded as secondary and, therefore, pushed to the point of being invisible, if not persecuted. However, with the rise of feminist theology, the universalisation of male experience as a norm has been challenged and male biased interpretations of the Bible have been reexamined. In feminist readings of the Bible, experiences of woman in different life situations become a point of departure.

Accordingly, the traditional view of the Bible is challenged and its authority is reconsidered. Rejectionists take the view that the biblical texts are androcentric and, therefore, not redeemable, while revisionists see Scripture as positive. Trible believes that a depatriarchalizing principle is at work in Scripture and therefore, Scripture is recoverable for faith. According to Bird, Scripture functions not only negatively, but also positively as a critical norm against patriarchy. Therefore, the authority does not reside with the text, rather in the present reality which is seen in its redeeming power.

The outcome of various feminist readings of Gen 1-3 reveals how some complement one another on the one hand, while on the other hand, others are in conflict with one another. Under the literary approach, Trible postulates the egalitarian ideal as a starting point for reading the creation narrative. Accordingly, "the image of God" implies human sexuality, male and female, and it functions to depict gender equality of the sexes. However, Lanser opposes Trible's interpretation of equality of woman because she finds an absence of equality in the biblical Hebrew. She argues that most readers would assume that the earthly creature in Trible's term refers to the male.

Contrary to Trible's argument, Bird detaches the concept of sexuality from the divine image while believing that the divine image characterises all humankind for all time (1981:138). Adam's resemblance of God is characterised by the term "image" and "likeness of God", but Adam's unlikeness of God is differentiated by the terms of

“male” and “female” (1981:148) and the Hebrew terms “male” and “female” are biological, rather than sociological terms signifying equality (1987:33). However, Bird thinks that the notion of the image of God does not contain any qualitative content; nor that it has any association with humanity’s dominion of the earth, whereas Schungel-Strauman, using the same approach, expands the concept of the image of God to the theme of humanity’s dominion. In the light of these different arguments, feminist fundamental understandings concerning gender equality based on the term “image of God” become questionable.

Another conflict arises under the literary reading, in which feminist writers often overlook the historical dimension and the differences of the two texts. The creation accounts are known to be from two sources, the Priestly and Yahwistic, and these two accounts differ in many respects, for instance regarding the order of creation. In the first account, the order is light, firmament-heaven, dry land, vegetation, heavenly bodies, birds and fishes, animals and finally humankind. In the J account, the order is man, vegetation, animals and finally woman. According to Bird, The J account is complementary to P, providing a psycho-social meaning of sexuality, which includes companionship, the sharing of work, mutual attraction and commitment.

Another case centres on the topics of prohibition, disobedience and punishment; there is no consensus regarding the feminist readings. Not only literary readings but also historical reading such as Meyers, do not consider the original sin in the text. Rather they treat the text mainly as an etiological tale describing fundamental conditions of life in a specific time or a story of love or maturation. In doing so, they read too much into the text on the one hand. Indeed, there is nothing in the story that provides direct evidence that at various points Adam and Eve are infants, children, adolescents, and so forth. On the other hand, they pay very little attention to themes such as prohibition, transgression and punishment. Therefore, an unsolved question would be “How can disobedience against God and established sex roles accordingly be viewed as positive?”

The one Korean feminist reading is virtually identical to the other feminist readings of Gen 1-3. For example, N H Lee identifies woman as an earthly representative and as a power equal to God to help and save man. This is very similar to Bal’s reading. In Gen 1:26-28, we read that man and woman are representatives of God on earth. This

indicates that the Korean feminist theologian is making the same mistakes that male theologians have made in the past.

We have observed how an effort has been made to elevate woman to a position equal or even superior to that of man through feminist readings. For example, Korean feminists even degrade man to a mere object whose survival depends on woman, tending to think that this represents the ideal order from God (N H Lee 1998:10). This does not appear to be either a responsible or an accountable interpretation to benefit the readers, because the woman's position is elevated through the oppression of man. Therefore, the challenge lies in how to establish a reading of this creation text that is accountable to the extent that it enhances a more responsible interpretation of the Bible in the KPC.

6. A quest for an ethically sensitive socio-rhetorical reading of Gen 1-3⁴⁹ as a case study

In order to provide a reading that offers greater accountability to the readers regardless of their gender, the method of socio-rhetorical criticism is employed to read Gen 1. The terms, “ethical” and “socio-rhetorical” need some clarification of the senses in which they will be employed. My first task is, therefore, to offer a preliminary explanation of those terms.

6.1 Preliminary remarks

6.1.1 Ethically sensitive reading

With the rise of historical critical reading of the Bible, an effort has been made to achieve a single, legitimate and coherent meaning in biblical interpretations. Such an absolutising mode has the tendency to exclude other possible views. This exclusion has eventually come to oppress other readings, such as those of feminists and non-European-Americans⁵⁰. However, with the recognition of the subjectivity of the interpreter in interpretations of biblical texts, the ethical responsibility and accountability of biblical interpretation in terms of “the choice of the theoretical interpretive models” and “the ethical consequences of the biblical text and its subsequent interpretations” (Schüssler Fiorenza 1999:28)⁵¹ respectively have been challenged.

D Patte (1995:2-6), taking up the issue raised above of the ethics of biblical interpretation, also questions whether critical exegetes are not only ethically responsible in performing critical exegesis, but also accountable in developing exegetical practice.

⁴⁹ A socio-rhetorical interpretation of Gen 1 entails Gen 2-3 as an intertexture.

⁵⁰ This term “European-American” is borrowed from Patte. This term is used with a twofold meaning. In a narrow sense it refers to people of European origin living in North America. In a broader sense, it also includes Europeans (Patte 1995:14).

⁵¹ Schüssler Fiorenza addressed the issue of the ethics of biblical scholarship at her Society of Biblical Literature presidential address (1988:3-17). Here “the choice of the theoretical interpretive models” refers to a matter of ethical responsibility and “the ethical consequences of the biblical text and its subsequent interpretations” to a matter of ethical accountability.

He concludes that male European-American critical exegetes in performing critical exegesis, fail to be ethically responsible and accountable to ordinary readers of the Bible, especially women. Striving to find a way to correct this problem, he believes that the only way to resolve the conflict between the ethics of critical reading and ethics of accountability is to affirm the legitimacy of different interpretations, while recognising the limitations of each (Patte 1995:4).

Within biblical interpretation that exhibits this ethical principle, not only critical readings but also ordinary readings are recognised and one-dimensional exegetical practices no longer exist (Patte 1995:103). For too long both male European-American exegetes as well as male dominated Korean exegetes have overlooked their ethical responsibility and accountability in biblical interpretation. As a result, female readers particularly those in the Korean church who have been directly affected by the work of such exegetes are still marginalised and alienated. Therefore, a more ethically sensitive reading of the biblical texts is needed.

Ethically sensitive reading requires not only multidimensional study but also demands an acknowledgement of the validity of the experiences, cultures, identities, concerns and interests of those who have been marginalised and alienated in exegetical practices. In this reading, objectionable androcentric elements toward women in the texts will be claimed and reassigned to an "original context" constructed in such a way as to limit their influence and the more positive and egalitarian elements of the marginalized features in the texts will be highlighted (Watson 1994:161). In this way, the experiences of the marginalized, that is, non-European-Americans in a broad sense and non-European-American women in a narrow sense and their own identities, and concerns will not be renounced, but recognised in their biblical reading.

6.1.2 Socio-rhetorical reading

This method has been explained in greater detail in Chapter 1. Socio-rhetorical criticism is "an approach to literature that focuses on values, convictions, and beliefs both in the texts we read and in the world in which we live" (Robbins 1996b:1). This approach invites the interpreter to explore five different angles within the text: 1) inner texture; 2)

intertexture; 3) social and cultural texture; 4) ideological texture; 5) sacred texture. A brief explanation will be given again in analysing each texture.

6.1.3 Evaluation of an ethically sensitive socio-rhetorical reading

Although it is acknowledged that every exegete has his/her own life situation/background (how an individual person has grown up and was educated in a specific culture, in specific socio-economic circumstances, in a specific period, and in a specific ecclesiastical-theological situation with its own ethical values), that background has often been excluded in one-dimensional exegetical practice but objectivity is claimed. To avoid such an exclusive claim in exegetical studies, a more responsible and accountable reading of this crucial text is urgently needed.

The examination of the history of the Korean Presbyterian Church demonstrates how a particular text like Gen 2 has been used to serve the oppression of the woman in the church. I thus argued that such a way of reading the text is neither responsible nor accountable to the majority of readers in the KPC. Even if a certain text might mean woman's subordination as a helper in a patriarchal society, this does not mean that the exegetes can rid themselves of their responsibility and accountability for their reading or interpretation and practice, protesting their innocence and claiming the fundamentalist slogan, *sola scriptura* or "not beyond what is written" (1Cor 4:6f). Therefore, I propose an ethically sensitive multidimensional theological reading that is more responsible and accountable in exegetical practice. The socio-rhetorical interpretation by Robbins has been chosen as a partial means to achieve such a reading.

An ethically sensitive multidimensional theological reading is different from a one dimensional reading of the text in several ways: Firstly, instead of taking only one view of the biblical text, this reading takes various views into consideration. Consequently every methodology is allowed to relate to other approaches, and not to rely exclusively on its own. In this way, the *Sitz im Leben* of the exegete will not be ignored in the exegetical process. This will help the exegete to make exegetical decisions according to his/her context. Secondly, because of this openness in making decisions, the application of the reading in the practical life of a believing community will be sensitive. This would lead not only to a liberation of the text, but also to a liberation from the

oppression imposed upon women. Thirdly, “the ordinary readings are often *faith-interpretations*” since the scripture is viewed as God’s word (Patte 1995:74). The goal of critical exegesis, therefore, should be a theological one. Sadly, many feminist readings are not concerned about this dimension so that it is hardly possible to believe that some of feminist interpretations of biblical texts are Christian.

I am employing a socio-rhetorical interpretation with the awareness that this method cannot be a final answer to the problems of various exegetical methodologies and the exclusive application of these methodologies. However, I believe that this interpretation is sensitive at least in dealing with the multidimensionality of the text, which allows more space to the exegete for making more responsible and accountable readings.

6.2 A socio-rhetorical reading of Gen 1: from a Korean female perspective

Over the centuries, the creation text of Gen 1-3 has attracted numerous scholars. As a result, male and female scholars alike have produced a vast literature, “impossible to list”, on the two creation accounts in Gen 1-3 (Bird 1997:123).

6.2.1 Inner Texture of Genesis 1:1-2:3

As explained in chapter 1, the inner texture concerns relationships among linguistic and structural patterns. Repetitions of words and phrases provide the backbone for discerning structures and meanings. In this analysis, repetitive-progressive texture, opening-middle-closing texture and narrational texture will be utilised. The repetitive-progressive texture will reveal major features of the text, while narrational texture teaches the reader to be aware of the narrator’s role in a text. In opening-middle-closing texture, the previous textures collaborate to make the reading complete. In this inner texture the creation of humankind will be studied extensively.

6.2.1.1 Analysis of Gen 1:1-2:3⁵²

There has been much debate about whether the opening section of Genesis ends with Gen 2:3 or 2:4a. The majority of critical biblical scholars hold that it ends with 2:4a. As a result, Gen 2:4 is divided into two parts based on the philology, such as the occurrence of two different verbs for creation, the lacking determinative particles in the second half of the verse, the reversing of heaven and earth, and the use of the name of God (Stordalen 1992b:171). According to Stordalen's observation, the language of Gen 2:4a is typical of the Priestly writer (P) while Gen 2:4b is from the other source, that is, the Yahwistic tradition (J). Therefore, 2:4a is understood to be the conclusion of Gen 1:1-2:3. Against such an analysis, Stordalen (1992b:169) argues that all such unnecessary assumptions of redactions and sources should be avoided. For him, Gen 1-3 is comprised of two different stories following each other successively and the narrator presupposes Gen 1 as introducing Gen 2-3. Then, Gen 2:4 is merely a literary unit bridging Gen 1 and 2-3. Thus Stordalen (1992b:173) views Gen 2:4 as an editorial note and places Gen 2-3 in a comparatively late period of the literary process of Genesis 1.

However, there are other biblical scholars who suggest that Gen 2:4a serves as a superscription for the next unit. Accordingly, the same formula of Gen 2:4a תולדות אלה, when it appears elsewhere in Genesis (5:1a; 6:9a; 10:1a; 11:10a, 27a; 25:12a; 25:19a; 36:1a, 9a; 37:2a) introduces a new story. In every instance, this formula has been used as a superscription to what follows (Anderson 1977:161; Wenham 1987:6; Hamilton 1991:151). Furthermore, the chiasmic structure of Gen 2:4 makes it unlikely that the sources would be split in the middle of the verse as (Cassuto 1978:98-99; Wenham 1987:6). In fact, the communicative function of a chiasmus is generally to unify the parts (Collins 1999:271). Therefore, I agree with Wenham that the chiasmic structure of Gen 2:4 is unlikely to be divided into two since. The chiasmus of Gen 2:4 can be seen thus:

a אלה תולדות השמים
b והארץ

⁵² I use Gen 1 as a designation for Genesis 1:1-2:3.

- c בְּהִבְרָאָם
- c' בְּיוֹם עָשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
- b' אֶרֶץ
- a' וּשְׁמַיִם

This elaborate chiasmic structure shows that the two parts are not separable. For this reason, I would conclude with Collins (1999:272) that it is hard to escape the conclusion that the final editor wanted his readers to read the two accounts as complementary, not contradictory. In addition to that, the clause אֲשֶׁר־בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת in Gen 2:3 forms an *inclusio* with the opening statement of Gen 1:1 בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים and concludes the account of the whole creation. Von Rad (1963:47) also views Gen 1:1 as “the summary statement of everything that is unfolded step by step in the following verse”. Therefore, I believe that 2:3 closes the opening section of the book and that 2:4 opens the next section.

6.2.1.1.1 Repetitive and progressive texture and pattern

In Gen 1 the six days of God’s creation activity begin with the divine *fiat*. Each day is filled with a discrete and unique activity, contributing to the fullness of action. Each of these acts is introduced and concluded in various repetitive formulas.

Table 1: Repetition of formulas

1:3	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	יְהִי	
1:4			וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב
1:5	וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים		וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד
1:6	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	יְהִי	וַיְהִי־כֵן
1:7	וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים		
1:8	וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים		וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי
1:9	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	יְהִי	וַיְהִי־כֵן
1:10	וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים		וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב
1:11	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	(יְהִי) תִדְשָׂא	
1:12			וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב וַיְהִי־כֵן

1:13			וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי
1:14	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	יְהִי	
1:15			וַיְהִי־כֵן
1:16	וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים		
1:18			וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב
1:19			וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם רְבִיעִי
1:20	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	(יְהִי) וַיִּשְׂרָצוּ	
1:21	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים		וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב
1:22	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים		
1:23			וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם חֲמִישִׁי
1:24	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	(יְהִי) תוֹצֵא	וַיְהִי־כֵן
1:25	וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים		וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב
1:26	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים	נַעֲשֵׂה	
1:27	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים		
1:28	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים		
	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים		
1:29	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים		
1:30			וַיְהִי־כֵן
1:31			וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁשִׁי וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב

A number of different formulas occurs in the six days of creation: (1) Declaration or introduction, **וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים** "God said"; (2) Divine command, **יְהִי** "let there be"; (3) Completion or execution, **וַיְהִי־כֵן** "it was so"; (4) Divine approval or judgment, **כִּי־טוֹב** "God saw that it was good"; (5) Naming, **וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים** "God called"; (6) Time sequence, **וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם** "there was evening ... day." In these formulas, the most frequently used noun in the Old Testament, is the subject of the creation. **אֱלֹהִים** is derived from the common Semitic word for **אל**. Generally, this plural form of the noun construed with a singular verb is used as the ordinary word for God, except when it means the gods of heathen deities.

Throughout the whole creation activity, the first introduction or declaration formula $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים}$ occurs ten times.⁵³ This introduction formula “And God said” signifies that the Creator is wholly independent of His creation (Sarna 1989:7). This formula is attributed to eight divine commands יְהִי “let there be.” In this divine command, God is depicted as a sovereign King whose speech has authority and, therefore, is immediately obeyed. The efficacy of God’s spoken word as authoritative is also demonstrated through the sixfold repetition of the execution formula וַיְהִי־כֵן “it was so.” The seven repetitions of the divine judgment or evaluation formula $\text{וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב}$ “God saw that it was good” indicate the sovereignty of God (Sarna 1989:7; Wenham 1987:19; Westermann 1984:114). The sovereignty of God is confirmed as the narrator reports “and God created or made.” The divine naming “God called or named”, and blessing “God blessed” over the creature, again accentuates the authority or sovereignty of God. Thus, all these formulas demonstrate that אֱלֹהִים is not just Israel’s personal God, but the sovereign creator of the whole universe (Ringgren, 1974:267-284).

Table 2: Progression of eight acts of creation in six days

Eight acts of progressive creation are revealed through eight repetitions of the divine command formula יְהִי indicated above. These eight activities of God’s creation are evenly distributed in six days as follows:

The first day (1:3-5): light	The fourth day (1:10-19): luminaries (sun, moon and stars)
The second day (1:6-8): firmament (heaven)	The fifth day (1:20-23): birds/ fish
The third day (1:9-13): dry land (earth) and vegetation	The sixth day (1:24-31): land animals and humankind

⁵³ The Jewish tradition emphasises that the tenfold “And God said” in Gen parallels God’s ten words of creation with the Ten Commandments from Sinai (Loning & Zenger 2000:113).

The structure of bilateral symmetry is revealed as eight acts of creation unfold in an orderly, proportional and harmonious manner through this symmetrical arrangement (Sarna 1989:4; Dumbrell 1994:17, Keck 1994:341). The work of six days of creation progressed systematically through a series of six successive equal units of time (Sarna 1989:4). The first three days with four creation activities parallel the second three days with four other creation activities. The first provides the resource that is to be utilised by the corresponding creature in the second (Coote & Ord 1991:53; Sarna 1989:4).

This symmetrical arrangement not only discloses the text's inner logic, but also teaches a harmonious, orderly creation (Fishbane 1979:10). Creation progresses from the lowest forms of organic life to the highest form of organic life. It starts with the heavens, "the place of God" and moves to the earth, "the place of humankind" (Fishbane 1979:10; Anderson 1986:51). The earth or dry land is the climax of the first triad, while humanity is the climax of the second. The earth is a peculiar place for humanity and humankind is the ruler of that place. This indicates that the focus of creation is the earth and humankind is the very goal of creation (Poole & Wenham 1987:28).

Table 3: Repetitive verbs of the creation acts in Gen 1

1:1	בָּרָא	to create
1:4	בָּדַל	to separate
1:5	קָרָא	to call or name
1:7	עָשָׂה, בָּדַל	to make, separate
1:8	קָרָא	to call or name
1:10	קָרָא	to call or name
1:16	עָשָׂה	to make
1:21	בָּרָא	to create
1:22	בָּרַךְ, רָבָה, פָּרָה	to multiply, to be fruitful, to bless
1:25	עָשָׂה	to make
1:26	עָשָׂה, רָדָה	to make, to rule
1:27	בָּרָא, בָּרָא, בָּרָא	to create, to create, to create
1:28	בָּרַךְ, רָבָה, פָּרָה, רָדָה	to bless, to be fruitful, to multiply, to rule
1:31	עָשָׂה	to make
2:1	כָּלָה	to finish

2:2 עָשָׂה עָשָׂה עָשָׂה to make, to make, to finish

2:3 עָשָׂה בָּרָא בָּרַךְ to make, to create, to bless

The various verbs above emphasise the unique divine activity (Clifford 1994:142). בָּרָא and עָשָׂה are prominent verbs in the works of creation. בָּרָא is used six times and עָשָׂה eight times with God as the sole subject in this creation activity. The other verbs are evenly used: קָרָא and בָּרַךְ are used three times each and the rest twice.

As regards the usage of בָּרָא and עָשָׂה, there has been much discussion over a long period about the relationship of these two verbs. It is said that the verb בָּרָא is used exclusively with God as subject, and it never refers to the material used, but to the product created. Humankind has been the most frequently named product of creation (Skinner 1956:15; Wenham 1987:14; Sarna 1989:5; Mathews 1996:128; Gunkel 1997:103). Unlike בָּרָא, עָשָׂה is used with human activity as well as the divine as its subject and refers to some pre-existing material. Therefore, it has been considered that בָּרָא was a term reserved exclusively for creation out of nothing.

However, scholars are of the opinion that these two terms are used in essentially the same sense in the act of creation of the world (Gunkel 1997:103; Westermann 1984:86; Wenham 1987:14). This is demonstrated well through Gen 2:4 where בָּרָא “created” and עָשָׂה “made” occur in matching temporal clauses (Mathews 1996:129). In 2:3 עָשָׂה is also used to elucidate the meaning of בָּרָא. Nevertheless it should be observed that the narrator, through the word בָּרָא, presents the idea of “God’s effortless, totally free and unbound creating, his sovereignty” (Wenham 1987:14).

6.2.1.1.2 Narrational texture and pattern

Gen 1 is a highly stylised “narrative” (Westermann 1984:80; Wenham 1987: 37). The opening words in Gen 1 are of a narrator introducing God who acts. Narrating the creation account, the narrator uses various formulas through which the beginning, the end and the middle of what is narrated are revealed. The beginning and the end are clearly defined with the formula of declaration “and God said” and the days mentioned are closely related to one another.

The narrator starts the creation story as he presents אֱלֹהִים as the creator of the heavens and the earth in the “beginning”. אֱלֹהִים, the plural form of אֱלֹה, is commonly used for naming the gods of other nations (Num 21:29; Lev 7:34-39; Deut 2:7; Judg 16:23; 1Sam 5:7; 1Kg 11:7, 33; 2Kg 1:2-6; 23:13; Jer 48:7,13,46). Therefore, the usage of the term אֱלֹהִים for the creator of the universe raises the question why the narrator uses אֱלֹהִים instead of יהוה, the God of Israel who is associated with the particular covenant agreement between God and Israel (Ex 3:14-15; 6:2-3) in the Old Testament.

In presenting the character of God אֱלֹהִים, the narrator begins every day with God’s command for a particular creation activity of the universe. Only after the divine utterance, the narrator then confirms, classifies or evaluates that happened in terms of God’s speech. Thus the thoughts and emotions of God are represented through the words of the narrator (van Wolde 1996:23). The formulas of declaration, command, execution, divine evaluation, naming, blessing and time sequence are used in his narrative pattern. Through the narrator’s declaration of וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, God’s command follows יהי. Then the narrator reports how God’s utterance is executed by וַיְהִי־כֵן, continues with evaluating כִּי־טוֹב and concludes with the time sequence וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב “there was evening and there was morning...” In all these formulas of the narrator, אֱלֹהִים is not a part of the creation, but the subject of the creation. As the sole creator of the universe, אֱלֹהִים transcends the whole world. Thus, אֱלֹהִים provides the focus as the main character of the entire creation by the narrator.

In narrating the event of creation, the narrator himself is not portrayed explicitly, although he echoes God’s word. Thus he remains invisible, yet he seems to be everywhere and knows everything. He even has access to God’s thoughts and processes in God’s creation acts (van Wolde 1996:59). The narrator here is not someone of flesh and blood, but is rather omnipresent and omniscient. This narrator selects information and passes it on to the reader. In this process he seems to know how to raise the reader’s curiosity. For example, in comparison with the other created objects of the heavens and the earth, he gives the reader very limited information about the creation of humankind. He simply reports that humankind is created in the image of God and in his likeness. In these narrative patterns, the narrator alternates his narrational speech with the direct speech of God. By doing so, he attributes the definition of God as the sole creator of the entire universe. This is the decisive narrational feature in the polytheistic context. The

narrator's point of view needs to be examined even more closely in the opening-middle-closing texture as we analyse the whole unit.

6.2.1.1.3 Opening-Middle-Closing texture and pattern

By examining the opening-middle-closing texture, a more complex pattern is revealed. Gen 1 has a clear beginning (vv1-2), middle (vv3-31) and ending (2:1-3). The beginning introduces God as the main character of the creation and the ending concludes with God's creation activity. The middle texture unfolds the six days of Creation. The creation activity of each day is characterised by a number of recurrent formulas. The formula of each day's creation activity likewise has a beginning, middle and ending.

Opening (vv1-2)

בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: ¹
וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תְּהוֹ וְנִבְהוּ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם: ²

The beginning starts with the narrator's statement that אֱלֹהִים is the creator of the heaven and earth "in the beginning"⁵⁴ in v 1-2⁵⁵. The usage of the term אֱלֹהִים for the creator of the universe poses the question 'Why?'. In the Old Testament, יְהוָה is known to be the God of Israel, associated with the particular covenant agreement between God and Israel (Ex 3:14-15; 6:2-3), while אֱלֹהִים the plural form of אֱל/אלה 'god' is often applied to name the gods of other nations (Num 21:29; Lev 7:34-39; Deut 2:7; Judg 16:23; 1Sam 5:7; 1Kg 11:7, 33; 2Kg 1:2-6; 23:13; Jer 48:7,13,46). For this use of the latter term, Ringgren (1974:267–284) argues that the author has the specific gods in mind to demythologise in his selection of this specific term אֱלֹהִים. Therefore, it was more appropriate to use the general name אֱלֹהִים for the sovereign creator of the whole universe than יְהוָה, Israel's personal God. This carefully chosen term אֱלֹהִים for the creator of the universe becomes the thematic subject throughout the creation acts.

⁵⁴ Although it is traditionally translated as "in the beginning", the literal translation of בְּרֵאשִׁית would be "in beginning" since there is no definite article. However, the omission of the definite article is quite usual in

This אֱלֹהִים is also claimed to be *Hananim*, the God of Korean believers, who created the heaven and the earth, and everything in it. For Korean Christians, the God of Christianity is the most powerful God, the creator of the universe. Therefore, there is no other god but אֱלֹהִים to whom their lives belong. By so doing, their fear bound by their belief in polytheism is overcome.

Verse 2 describes the earth before the first divine command as תְּהוֹ וְבְהוֹ⁵⁶ and חֹשֶׁךְ “darkness” was upon תְּהוֹם “the deep.”⁵⁷ תְּהוֹם in the Old Testament always means a flood of water or the waters of the deep without any mythological personification⁵⁸ (Westermann 1984:105). The word חֹשֶׁךְ is the predicate of the second nominal sentence and is characterised by a lack of light and refers to the undefined הַמַּיִם “waters” (Westermann 1984: 104). In v.6 this unspecified water, which existed before the creation of the firmament, separates the waters into those above and below. Upon this water, there was the spirit of God, רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים⁵⁹. The spirit of God becomes the God who utters the first creative word in verse 3.

תְּהוֹ וְבְהוֹ as “an excellent example of hendiadys” has often been considered as signifying the primeval chaos in direct opposition to creation (Speiser 1964:5). According to Susan Niditch (1985:17), chaos here is not to be understood as disorder, but as no order. It rather describes a state of unproductiveness and emptiness that signifies the earth in a bare state without vegetation and animals as well as without man

temporal phrases (Isa 40:21; 41:4, 26; 48:16; Prov 8:23). Accordingly, “in the beginning” has been considered to be an acceptable translation.

⁵⁵ There has been some considerable debate over the proper translation of Gen 1:1-2: Is verse 1 an independent clause or dependent clause; what is the relation of v 1 to v 2? In response to these questions, there are a number of opinions: (1) v 1 is an independent or main clause which summarises all the events of v 2-31; (2) v 1 is a main clause describing the first act of creation and vv 2 and 3 describe subsequent phases in God’s creative activity; (3) v 1 is a temporal clause subordinate to v 2 ‘when God began ... (protasis) the earth was (apodosis)’; (4) v 1 is a temporal clause subordinated to v 3 and v 2 as a parenthesis: ‘when God began... (protasis), the earth was... (parenthesis), God said...(apodosis)’ (Westermann 1984: 93-96). Childs (1960:32) suggests that v 1 could be interpreted grammatically in both ways but not theologically since P emphasises the absolute transcendence of God over his material.

⁵⁶ The term תְּהוֹ means “formlessness, confusion, unreality, emptiness, voidness or nothingness” (BDB 1062) and occurs 20 times in the Old Testament, while בְּהוֹ also refers to “emptiness” (BDB 96) and appears only three times, but always in combination with תְּהוֹ.

⁵⁷ תְּהוֹם occurs 35 times in the Old Testament, 21 times in the singular and 14 times in the plural. תְּהוֹם is always used without the article except in Is 63:16 and Ps 106:9 (Westermann 1984:105).

⁵⁸ Many biblical scholars have attempted to explain תְּהוֹם in connection with the mythical being Tiamat, a Babylonian goddess.

⁵⁹ Traditionally the term has been rendered as “spirit” but “wind” is lexically a possible reading.

(Tsumura 1994:327). Therefore, this phrase is not to be understood in relation to the primeval theogonic chaos found in Babylonian mythology.

Middle (vv3-31)

³ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אֹר וַיְהִי-אֹר:

⁴ וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאֹר כִּי-טוֹב וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ:

⁵ וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאֹר יוֹם וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קִרְיָ לַיְלָה וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד:

Vv 3-5 record the first day of creation activity. These verses have all the formulas that appear in the description of each stage of creation: 1) Introduction or declaration, אֱלֹהִים; 2) divine command, יְהִי “let there be”; 3) completion/execution, כֵּן וַיֹּאמֶר “God said”; 4) divine approval or judgment, כִּי-טוֹב “it was so”; 5) naming, וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים “God called”; 6) time sequence, עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם “there was evening ... day”. This pattern occurs throughout the six days of creation acts.

The narrator introduces the first act of creation with וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים and creation begins. Then there are divine command formulas יְהִי, the narrator reports the execution of the command with the formulas of וַיְהִי-כֵן, וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי-טוֹב, and concludes the account of the day's activity with the formula of עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם. The creator's first work is light. This light is approved as good. Darkness is separated from light, and they are named as day and night. God's naming associated with creation indicates his sovereignty. According to the conceptions of the ancient Near East, the one who gives a name has power over the object (Sarna 1989:7).

⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם וַיְהִי מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם:

⁷ וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַרְקִיעַ וַיְבָרֶךְ בֵּין הַמַּיִם אֶשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרָקִיעַ וּבֵין הַמַּיִם אֶשֶׁר מֵעַל לְרָקִיעַ וַיְהִי-כֵן:

⁸ וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְרָקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי

Verses 6-8 describe the second day of the divine work. With all the formulas of occurrence except the divine approval, a beginning, middle and closing texture is found

in these verses as well. As a result of God's command, רְקִיעַ is created and a separation of water from waters follows and the heaven is named. Westermann (1984: 115) is of the opinion that there are two types of creation tradition: the creation by word "let there be" and by act "God made". However, Sarna (1989:8) argues that this distinction does not represent a tradition of creation by deed as opposed to word, because "God made" simply means that the divine intention became a reality.

9 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְקוּוּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מְקוֹם אֶחָד וַתִּרְאָה הַיַּבְּשָׁה וַיְהִי־כֵן:
 10 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לַיַּבְּשָׁה אֶרֶץ וּלְמַקְוֵה הַמַּיִם קָרָא יַמִּים וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב:
 11 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תְּדַשָּׂא הָאָרֶץ דָּשָׂא עֵשֶׂב מְזֹרִיעַ זֶרַע עֵץ פְּרִי עֵשֶׂה פְּרִי לְמִינֹו אֲשֶׁר זָרְעוּבוּ
 עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִי־כֵן:
 12 וַתּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ דָּשָׂא עֵשֶׂב מְזֹרִיעַ זֶרַע לְמִינֵהוּ וְעֵץ עֵשֶׂה־פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר זָרְעוּבוּ לְמִינֵהוּ
 וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב:
 13 וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי:

Verses 9-13 record the third day of creation activity. In the same way as the previous days, there is the introduction (a beginning) before the divine command and the report of its completion. Divine approval follows twice (middle) and the day is closed (closing). These verses record two works: separation of the land and sea, and the creation of the plants. Corresponding to the sixth day, what is created in the third day becomes the resource for the land inhabitants.

14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי מְאֹרֶת בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל
 בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּיְלָה וַהֲיוּ לְאֹתֹת וּלְמוֹעֲדִים וּלְיָמִים וּשְׁנָיִם:
 15 וַהֲיוּ לְמְאֹרֶת בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִי־כֵן:
 16 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים אֶת־הַמְּאֹרֶת הַגָּדֹל לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַיּוֹם
 וְאֶת־הַמְּאֹרֶת הַקָּטָן לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַלַּיְלָה וְאֵת הַכּוֹכָבִים:
 17 וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ:
 18 וּלְמַשֵּׁל בַּיּוֹם וּבַלַּיְלָה וּלְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הָאֹרֶךְ וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב:
 19 וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם רְבִיעִי: פ

Verses 14-19 describe the fourth day, the creation of the luminaries: sun, moon, and stars and this corresponds to the creation of light on the first day of creation. The great length of the description of this creation act indicates that the creation of the heavenly

bodies held a special significance for the author (Wenham 1987:21; Westermann 1984:127). These verses are also recorded in the stereotyped pattern of a beginning, middle and closing. Repetitions of the account reveal a certain chiasmic structure:

- a להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה
- b לאתת ולמועדים ולמים ושנים
- c להאיר על-הארץ
- d המאור הגדל לממשלת היום
- d' המאור הקטן לממשלת הלילה
- c' להאיר על-הארץ:
- b' למשל ביום ובלילה
- a' להבדיל בין האור ובין החושך

The Chiasmic arrangement highlights the great light (d) and the small light (d') with their function being defined to rule the day and night, to shine on the earth and to divide the day from the night (darkness). It is striking to see that the usual names of the luminaries are not given to the two lights. Instead of being named, the "sun" and the "moon", they are named the "great light" and the "small light". According to Hasel (1972:12-15), the sun and the moon were considered as gods in ancient Near East and the stars were often credited with controlling human destiny. For this reason, the stars are just mentioned as an afterthought. This suggests that a polemic thrust is behind Genesis treatment of the theme. This theme will be further evident in the intertexture.

²⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרָצוּ הַמַּיִם שָׂרָץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה וְעוֹף יְעוֹפֵף עַל-הָאָרֶץ עַל-פְּנֵי רִקְיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם:

²¹ וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַתַּנִּינִים הַגְּדֹלִים וְאֵת כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה הַרְמֹשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר שָׂרָצוּ הַמַּיִם לְמִינֵיהֶם וְאֵת כָּל-עוֹף כְּנָף לְמִינֵהוּ וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי-טוֹב:

²² וַיִּבְרָךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלאוּ אֶת-הַמַּיִם בַּיַּמִּים וְהָעוֹף יִרְבַּ בְּאֶרֶץ:

²³ וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם חַמִּישִׁי: פ

The fifth day in vv20-23 describes the creation of birds and fishes, which matches the second day. Apart from the formula of execution, "it was so", all the formulas that indicate a beginning, middle and closing reappear. The creatures here are not named, but blessed. The first occurrence of בָּרָא after verse 1 indicates the significance of the animate being, תַּנִּין. תַּנִּין is a "sea-monster", "sea-dragon", "serpent" or "crocodile"

(Westermann 1984:137;Gunkel 1984:36). The Canaanite myth depicts תַּנִּין as the primeval chaos monster while the sea-monster is described either as Rahab or as Leviathan in Ps 74:14; Isa 27:1; 51:9 (Westermann 1984:137-138; Sarna 1989:10; Wenham 1987:24; Mathews 1996:156). Claiming תַּנִּין to be just a sea creature of God with the gift of fertility, God's sovereignty over תַּנִּין is declared and demythologised.

24 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה לְמִינָהּ בְּהֵמָה וְרֶמֶשׂ וְחַיְתוֹ-אֶרֶץ לְמִינָהּ וַיְהִי-כֵן:

25 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ לְמִינָהּ וְאֶת-הַבְּהֵמָה לְמִינָהּ וְאֶת-כָּל-רֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה לְמִינֵהוּ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי-טוֹב:

26 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֵׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ וַיְרִדוּ בְדִגְתַּי הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל-הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל-הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ:

27 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם:

28 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וּכְבִשְׁתֶּה וַיְרִדוּ בְדִגְתַּי הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְכָל-חַיַּת הָרֶמֶשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ:

29 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה נֹתְתִי לָכֶם אֶת-כָּל-עֵשֶׂב זֶרַע זֶרַע

אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי כָל-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ פְרִיעֵץ זֶרַע זֶרַע לָכֶם יִהְיֶה לְאֹכְלָהּ:

30 וְלָכָל-חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ וְלָכָל-עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלָכָל רֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ

אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֶת-כָּל-יֶרֶק עֵשֶׂב לְאֹכְלָהּ וַיְהִי-כֵן:

31 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה-טוֹב מְאֹד וַיְהִי-עֶרְבַּ וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי: פ

Verses 24-31 report God's final creation acts on the sixth day: the creation of the land animals (vv 24-25) and humankind (vv 26-27). The sixth day of two creations corresponds to the third day. Now the creatures who inhabit the dry land appear. Like plants, three categories of land animals (cattle, creeping things, and wild beasts) are created according to their kind and they are to be self-propagating. However, these land animals are not to be blessed directly as are the other creatures of the sea. Blessing is reserved for humankind. After the creation of land animals, the creation of humankind is depicted in a distinctive manner in v 26: ... וַיְרִדוּ.

In the account of human creation, the consistent use of the divine command in the jussive form is shifted to deliberate divine involvement in the cohortative form. The first plural pronoun is used to deliver the divine intention for the creation of humankind. Unlike the other living creatures, God creates the human creature, male and female, in the image of God. Then God not only blesses them with the gift of fertility, but also

assigns them to be rulers over the rest of creation in v28. A diet is also provided for the subsistence of created life in vv 29-30. The concluding verse 31 declares God's final evaluation that creation was "very good". This indicates the importance of the event on this day, the creation of the human being, "the pinnacle of Creation" (Sarna 1989:11).

Over the centuries, many biblical scholars have debated intensely on the creation of humankind in vv26-27. The main issues that have been subjects of the innumerable articles and monographs are: the use of the first person plural pronouns, and two nouns with two prepositions: *us...in our image, according to our likeness*. Who are the 'us' and in whose image is humankind made? What precisely does it mean that אֱלֹהִים is created in the image and likeness of God and what is the significance of the two terms used by God for the creation of humankind? What makes אֱלֹהִים to govern over the rest of creation? These questions will have to be clarified.

For the meaning of the plural in Gen 1:26, scholars have suggested different possibilities and the six major positions are reviewed by Clines (1968: 62-69). They are: (1) An unassimilated fragment of myth; (2) Address to creation; (3) Plural majesty; (4) Address to the heavenly court; (5) Self-deliberation or self-summons; (6) Duality within the Godhead.

According to scholars (Clines 1968:69; Hasel 1972:66; Hamilton 1990:134; Mathews 1996:161), each option has a drawback. The first view is obviously a foreign concept to the author who argues for the uniqueness of God in creation. The second suggestion is also contradicted by v 27 in which God alone is stated to be the Creator of the world. The plural majesty is not convincing either since there is little indication of this way of speaking in the Old Testament. The fourth suggestion is inadequate since it implies that God's creation of humankind is shared with the heavenly court. Moreover, this would mean that humankind is created in the image of the heavenly beings as well as of God. Such a conclusion would bring a conflict between v 26 and v 27. The fifth option is proved by passages that are not used in the same sense as Gen 1:26, although the supporters took some parallels from 2Sam 24:14; and the Song of Songs 1:9 for an explanation. The suggestion of duality within the Godhead supposes that there is a plurality within the deity in terms of the strict sense of a monotheist faith. This view is supported by Gen 1:2 along with other passages like Job 33:4; Ps 104:30; and Eze 37

and, therefore, it is considered that taking this view would avoid the many pitfalls of the other views.

Regarding the debate over the use of the prepositions כִּי and כִּי־כֵן, although there was an attempt to distinguish between these two terms in the earlier history of interpretations, most modern commentators have recognised the equivalence and interchangeability of these terms (Bird 1981:139; Westermann 1984:145; Wenham 1987:29). According to Sawyer (1974: 421), these two prepositions occur 12 times in Genesis 1-11 (1:26 (twice), 27; 2:18, 20; 3:5, 22; 5:1, 3 (twice); 9:6). In eight of these twelve instances, כִּי involves either the noun צֶלֶם or the noun דְמוּת (Gen 1:26, 27 (twice); 5:1,3; 9:6) while כִּי־כֵן occurs only twice with both nouns in Gen 1:26 and 5:3. On the basis of their interchangeable usage, Sawyer (1974:421) concludes that there is no semantic distinction but only stylistic variation. Thus the prepositions express a relationship of similarity between two entities.

A debate has also emerged over the translation of כִּי. Some scholars argue that the preposition כִּי should be translated as *beth* of *essentiae* (as) rather than *beth* of norm (in, or in the manner of) (Mathews 1996:167). Clines (1968:75-80) believes that *beth* has meaning of “as”, “in the capacity of” and offers a lengthy argument for *beth essentiae*. His classical example is taken from Exodus 6:3: “I appeared as (*beth*) *El Shaddai*” (Clines 1968:76). This would mean then that human being is not only *in* the image of God but *is* also the image of God. Although this view is well taken (Westermann 1974:145; Harland 1996: 184-187), this interpretation is inadequate for two reasons. First, when *beth* is the *beth essentiae*, it normally indicates a property of the subject of the verb, not the object of the verb. However, in Gen 1:26 “image” is the direct object of the verb (Barr 1968:17). Secondly, Exodus 25:40, which is the closest parallel to Gen 1:26 in the Pentateuch, shows that *beth* is used in the sense of “in, according to, after.” (Hamilton 1990:137; Wenham 1987). For these reasons the traditional interpretation after the *beth* ‘in’ is justified here (Barr 1968:17; Westermann 1984: 145; Vogels 1994:192).

Two important nouns, צֶלֶם and דְמוּת, interrelated with the prepositions above, have been the issue of discussion over the centuries. The endless debate has centred on about the content of the image of God and its relationship to the human being. G A Jonsson

(1988) surveys the history of the *imago Dei* interpretation of Gen 1:26-28 from the period of 1882 to 1982. According to his study, the image of God has been understood as follows:

- the triune faculties of the soul: memory, intellect and love (Augustine),
- understanding and will (Luther),
- man's original righteousness, man's self-consciousness and self-determination (Delitzsch),
- man's spiritual gifts and understanding of the eternal, the true and the good (Dillman),
- man's self-conscious reason (Driver),
- man's external appearance (Noldeke, Gunkel, Humbert, Weinfeld),
- an *analogia relationis* between God and man (Bonhoeffer, Barth),
- the personality of man (Procksch),
- the upright posture of man (Kohler),
- the representative of God rooted in royal ideology (Engnell, Schmidt, Wildberger),
- royal prerogative (Mettinger),
- man's dominion over the animals (Gross),
- God's counterpart (Westermann),
- thought and conscience (Cassuto),

Jonsson's survey shows that the meaning of the image of God is found in two quite distinct locations. One locates the image in some spiritual quality of faculty of the human being, while the other places it in physical appearance, or a functional quality.

On such understandings, Clines (1968:61) writes thus:

If one begins from the philological evidence, image will be defined in physical terms. If one begins from the incorporeality of God, the image cannot include the body of man. If we begin with the Hebrew conception of man's nature as a unity, we cannot separate, in such a fundamental sentence about man, the spiritual part of man from the physical. If we begin with 'male and female' as a definitive explanation of the image, the image can only be understood in terms of personal relationships, and the image of God must be located in mankind (or married

couples!) rather than the individual man.

This shows that all these interpretations are based on the interpreter's point of departure according to his or her favourite motifs, as Jonsson (1988:210) has also demonstrated.

The etymology of the noun **צֶלֶם** "image" is not really certain, although Sawyer argues that it is borrowed from Aramaic, **צלם**, the regular word for "image, idol" (Sawyer 1974:420). The term **צֶלֶם** is defined as "image, statue, sculpture, model" or "shadow" (BDB 1906: 853). **צֶלֶם** appears 16 times in the Old Testament: (Gen 1:26, 27 (twice); 5:3; 9:6; Num 33:52; 1Sam 6:5, 11; 2Kings 11:18; 2Ch 23:17; Ps 39:7; 73:20; Ezek 7:20; 16:17; 23:14; Am 5:26). In these occurrences, the term is used in different ways: First, it is used in association with a physical or material image of gods (Num 33:52; 1Sam 6:5, 11; 2Kings 11:18, 2Ch 23:17; Ezek 7:20, Ezek 16:17; 23:14; Am 5:26); second, it is used with the creation of humankind (Gen 1: 26, 27 (twice); 9:6 and Gen 5:3); and third, it is used in association with non-physical images like phantoms or shadows, in parallel with the word "to dream" (Ps 39:7; 73:20).

The second word **דְמוּת** "likeness" is known to be more abstract. It is a noun of the verb **דָּמָה** "to be like" (Barr 1968:19). It occurs 25 times in the Old Testament: Gen 1:26; 5:1,3; 2 Kings 16:10; 2 Ch 4:3; Isa 40:18; Ezek 1:5 (twice), 10, 16, 22, 26 (three times), 28; 8:2; 10:1, 10, 22; 23:15; Ps 58:5; Dan 10:16). **דְמוּת** is mainly used when something is compared with something else and in that case it has many shades of meaning. But it also refers to a concrete reality of representation (2 Kings 16:10; Isa 40:18 ; Ezek 23:14-15). In this case its meaning is very similar to the meanings of **צֶלֶם**. As the two prepositions demonstrate their equivalence and interchangeability, the meaning of **צֶלֶם** and **דְמוּת** are, therefore, considered to be the same in their use⁶⁰. This is also shown in the LXX translation which distinguishes between **צֶלֶם** (**εἰκόνη**) and **דְמוּת** (**ὁμοίωσις**) at both 1:26 and 5:3 where the tandem of the terms occurs. However, the same term "image" (**εἰκόνη**) is used for both Hebrew words in 1:27 and 5:1, which indicates that the words have the same force (Mathews 1996:167).

⁶⁰ The interchangeability of the terms is also supported by the recovery of a statue from Syria where these two terms are used as a pair with the same meaning in reference to the statue (Millard & Bordreuil 1982:135-141; Groppe & Lewis 1985: 45-61).

For the question of the usage of the two terms together, many scholars suggest that דְמוּת is added to a quality, in this case, to weaken or restrict the strength of the more concrete term צֶלֶם (Bird 1981:139-140; Freedman 1992:389; Botterweck 1978:257). Clines (1968:91) is of the opinion that צֶלֶם could be understood in a physical sense without excluding the spiritual dimension, since צֶלֶם refers to humankind as the image. Then דְמוּת specifies what kind of an image it is. However, based on the interchangeability in the usage of these two terms, which also proves their synonymy, Vogels (1994:193) argues that דְמוּת is not added to attenuate צֶלֶם. According to him, דְמוּת is more concerned with a likeness of the descendent, while צֶלֶם is concerned with the power of God that humanity shares. Thus he believes that these two terms imply the function of pro-creator and co-creator (Vogels 1992:194).

The idea of presenting humanity as the image of God is not unique to the Bible. The same idea was known in the ancient Near East. Babylonian texts refer to the king as the representative of the god according to whose image he is created (Westermann 1984:151). Egyptian texts describe that the pharaoh as an image, statue, likeness, or picture of the deity (Bird 1981: 141). Accordingly, the statue of the king was set up in temples in order to represent his perpetual attitude of supplication to his deity since the king was regarded as the life-long incarnation of the god (Clines 1968:85). Thus the notion 'image of God' is mainly applied to the king in the ancient world and is associated very closely with rulerhood.

The creation of humankind in v 27 the idea of the image of God is also applied. The construction of v 27 is a poem of three lines:

27a. וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ

27b. בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ

27c. זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם

Verse 27 has been considered an explication of the equality of humans in Creation, and, therefore, this verse has drawn particular attention from various feminist biblical scholars as Chapter 5 of this study demonstrated. Verse 27 reveals not only a chiasmic, but also a parallel construction. The chiasmic arrangement of 27a and 27b emphasises the

phrase **בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים**. **אָחֻז** in v 27b is specified so that it refers to both male and female humans in v 27c, which is again confirmed by the occurrence of the plural pronoun **אֲתָם** in the same line. This reference indicates that humankind, whose nature is a bisexual, is created in the image of God.

According to Tribble (1978:15-17), sexuality, as male and female, is designated for humankind only. This specific designation of human sexuality refers to the image of God, not to procreation. Therefore, the phrase “male and female” holds a distinctive meaning. She demonstrates through the formal parallelism between v27b and v27c, that the term “male and female” corresponds structurally to “the image of God” in that parallelism. Thus Tribble relates the image of God to human sexuality and she is of the opinion that the Priestly account recognised the equality of the sexes in the original creation of humankind (Tribble 1973a:35).

Similarly, De Moor (1998:112-125) argues for bisexuality in God. According to him, the duality in God is shown through the usage of the singular (**בְּצֶלְמוֹ**) and plural pronoun (**בְּצֶלְמָנוּ**) in v 26 and v 27. The expressions **בְּצֶלְמוֹ** in v 27a and **בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים** in v 27b parallel **וַיִּקְרָא וַיִּקְרָבָה** in v 27. This parallelism suggests that God himself too was both male and female. Therefore, humankind has a dual nature as God himself has a dual nature (De Moor 1998:122). Thus he believes that the Priestly writer assumed that the first human being was male and female at the same time, like God himself.

However, Bird (1981:148-151) is in disagreement about relating the idea of sexuality to the concept of the image of God. According to her, the parallelism of v 27b and v27c is progressive, not synonymous, and the term “male and female” does not explicate the singular pronoun in v 27b but it rather indicates the nature of humanity; “although **אָדָם** is created like God, it is still a creature, male and female”. The sexual distinction introduced in v 27c here acts only as a preparation for the blessing of fertility that follows in the next verse. Hence the word for sexual distinction refers only to the reproductive task and capacity of the species. Consequently, Bird (1981:156) is of the opinion that the author was not “an equal-rights theologian” who always refers to **אָדָם** as a singular undifferentiated collectivity. The concept of the image of God is only related to an undifferentiated humanity as species or order which surely indicates the male (Bird 1981:159). This suggests that **אָדָם** in the divine image was his own image,

that is male. In agreement with Bird, Clines (1990:44) believes that interpreting the creation of woman as the image of God is to move beyond the horizon of the text. Watson (1992:93-94) also thinks that v 27 is too ambivalent concerning the relation of woman to the divine image. According to Bird and Clines the masculine gender was implied here as the patriarchal cultural ethos strongly suggests.

Arguments on the word אָדָם such as occur in Western scholarship, do not apply to the Korean context because the masculine singular pronoun is translated consistently as humankind, “*saram*” in the Korean Bible. The Korean term “*saram*” is a general term referring to an individual human being. As a matter of fact, when an occasion demands the singular pronoun, the same singular pronoun is applied for both male and female⁶¹. Therefore, I believe that the use of the generic term אָדָם in vv 26-27 includes both sexes as the structure of v 27c demonstrates. Although the masculine singular pronoun is used in v 27b, the awkward shift from singular (אָדָם) to plural (אָדָם) in v 27c demonstrates the inclusion of both sexes. Despite the fact that the patriarchal cultural ethos necessitated the use of the masculine gender, the plural of v 27 works against the notion of the singular pronoun as male only. The same structure is repeated in Gen 5:1,2 and asserts that the creation of humankind in the divine image is applied to the female as well. Thus the text explicitly denies the attempt to reduce woman’s equality by translating the generic term אָדָם as a reference to a single male. By saying that man and woman are created in the image of God from the beginning, the writer of Gen 1 cuts off every possibility of a chronological sequence in the creation of humankind.

Verse 28 repeats the statement about human dominion over the earth in v 26. In a more elaborated version, two assignments of God are given to male and female: procreation and dominion. The term בָּרַךְ is used to emphasise “a continuous and ever present power, effective in the future” (Westermann 1974:161). The blessing conferred on humanity at Creation is effective in begetting, conception, and birth as the succession of generations in Genesis demonstrates. With such blessing, God assigns male and female

⁶¹ Because the structures of the Korean language are different from those of Indo-European languages, the issue of inclusive language has not received so much attention in the Korean church. In fact, the Korean Bible never uses any gender specific pronoun when referring to God.

to exercise dominion over the earth. As the representative of God, they will have dominion over God's creation.

The word *כָּבַשׁ* "subdue" is added to the previously mentioned word *רָדָה*, which is often understood as a direct explication of the image or of creation in the divine image (von Rad 1961:57; Snaith 1974:24). The term *רָדָה* has the basic meaning of "tread down" and appears in Gen 1:26,28; Lev. 25:43,46,53; 26:17; 1Kings 5:4, 30; 9:23; 2Chr 8:10; Neh 9:28; Ps 49:14; 68:28; Ps 72:2; 110:2; Isa 14:2,6; Ezek 34:4; and Joel 4:13. *רָדָה* is used regarding human relationships: a master over a hired servant (Lev. 25:43,46,53), an administrator over his employees (1 Kings 5:30; 9:23), a king over his subjects (1Kings 5:4; Ps 72:2; 110:2), the rule of one nation over another (Lev 26:17; Num 24:19; Neh 9:28; Ps 68:28; Isa 14:2,6), and even a shepherd's supervision of his flock (Ezek 34:4). Thus the objects of this verb are sheep, slaves, labourers, conquered peoples or their kings. This suggests that the word in itself does not express any special severity or cruelty but simply means: "to rule, to command, to lead, to direct" (Lohfink 1994:12) and responsible care over the other is expected of the one who rules.

The added term *כָּבַשׁ* is stronger than *רָדָה*. It may have an original meaning, something such as "place one's foot on something", "step on something" (Lohfink 1994:9). *כָּבַשׁ* is used with reference to slavery (2 Chr 28:10; Neh 5:5; Jer 34:11,16) and to a land brought into subjection (Num 32:22, 29; Josh 18:1), to physical assault (Esth 7:8), to treading (sins) under foot (Mic 7:19, Zech 9:15) and to militarily subjecting the inhabitants of the land (1 Chr 22:18). Although all these references imply the meaning "to bring under control for one's advantage" the term as used here is, however, far from the nuance of the verb as used. It is used rather in the context of subordination or domination of the land, the object of *כָּבַשׁ* (Westermann 1984:161). Therefore, the meaning *כָּבַשׁ* is similar to *רָדָה* and is used to describe the relationship of humankind to the other creatures who share the earth (Bird 1981:154). Its concern is order and status.

The concept of the divine image generally has been thought to be in relation to these two terms and, therefore, dominion of humankind over the non-human world as God's representative is perceived as the decisive function of the similarity of humankind to God (von Rad 1963:57-58, Westermann 1974:157; Anderson 1975:43; Tribble 1978:19; Schungel-Straumann 1993:74-76; van Wolde 1996: 29; Mathews 1996:175). However,

Bird (1981:154) argues that the theme of dominion does not refer to woman since the author does not draw a parallel between the creation of the female and the divine image. The theme of dominion is seen rather as a description of Adam's position to the other creatures. Against such a view, Hamilton (1990:139) contends that disconnecting woman from this rulership would be a foreign concept to the author who explicitly relates the notion of image of God to the creation of the human being, male and female.

According to the history of the Korean church, the teaching on the equality of man and woman according to Gen 1:26-28 had a great impact upon Korean believers who were living in a hierarchical society with a pluralistic cultural background (Sa 1995:27). The idea of equality of human beings has particularly awakened women's consciousness. Women are not different from men, and equally women are human beings created in the image of God. Therefore, they are God's representatives, together with men, in bringing peace and harmony to the whole of creation. Such an awakening experience brought fundamental changes to a society in which the ideology of dominance of men over women prevailed and gave hope and vision for the future in the life of Korean women. Although the patriarchal culture tries to devalue women and suppress them, v 31 sums up the statement of the sixth day: "God saw everything that God had made, and indeed, it was very good." In the eyes of God, not only men but also women are evaluated as good. This further confirms the equality of man and woman.

Closing (Gen 2:1-3)

¹ 2 וַיְכַלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל-צְבָאָם:
² וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
 וַיִּשְׁבֹּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכָּל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה:
³ וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ
 כִּי בּו שְׁבֹת מִכָּל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת: פ

Gen 2:1-3 is the conclusion of the account of creation activity. The concluding verses of Gen 2:1-3 are very different in form and content from the framework of the preceding chapter and have a structure in themselves. Verse 1 serves as a conclusion to the six days of creation activity, while vv 2-3 not only establish a relationship to the scheme of

days that has come to its end, but also serves as a conclusion to the creation account. Hence the seventh day is formally different from the other six days (Coats 1983:43).

The first phrase, “heaven and earth” of 2:1, echoes the opening verse in 1:1⁶². Verses 2-3 have four lines, the first three lines are parallel, with “the seventh day” as the centre as underlined. This central position indicates that special attention is given to “the seventh day”. The seventh day is also blessed, which echoes the blessing of 1:22 and 28. However, the blessing for the seventh day is significantly different from the blessing for the animals or the human beings. There is no command to produce. Rather, the blessing of the seventh day centres on the completion of work and the corresponding rest (Coats 1983:43). This is clearly shown through the phrase “God’s work” which occurs three times with “the seventh day” in vv2-3. Such a repetition emphasises the completion of Creation. Thus vv 2-3 function as a conclusion to the unit.

On the seventh day God rests. The verb “rest” means the “cessation of creative activity”. The seventh day is sanctified and blessed by the creator. It is said that God’s Sabbath on the seventh day has provided the unspoken foundation for the future institution of the Sabbath in later Israel (Ex 20:8-11; 31:14; 35:2). By sanctifying the seventh day, God instituted a polarity between the everyday and the solemn, between days of work and days of rest, which was to be determinative for human existence (Westermann 1984: 171). Thus God designates an order for humankind, including the rest of God’s creation.

6.2.2 Intertexture of Genesis 1

The analysis of intertexture aims to establish the nature and result of processes of configuration and reconfiguration of phenomena in the world outside the text (Robbins 1996b:40). In this section, oral-scribal intertexture; cultural intertexture, and historical intertexture are dealt with.

⁶² Wenham (1987:34) suggests that “heaven and earth” in Gen 2:1 and “which God created” in Gen 2:3 are linked chiasmatically with Gen 1:1.

6.2.2.1 Oral-scribal intertexture

Five basic ways are suggested in dealing with analysis of oral-scribal intertexture: recitation, recontextualisation, reconfiguration, narrative amplification and thematic elaboration (Robbins 1996b:40). Amongst these, only reconfiguration is applicable to the analysis of Gen 1 due to the nature of this text.

Creation as a theme can also be discerned in Wisdom literature (Job, Proverbs), the Psalms and the Prophetic material (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets) in the Old Testament (Clifford & Collins 1992; Brown & McBride 2000). By comparison with Gen 1 and Gen 2-3 (where creation features as the main theme), the creation theme in the latter mentioned genres appears to be “secondary to other main themes” within those books (Mays 2000:75). In addition to that, the complexity of the allocation of the books to specific historical contexts and periods of production is compounded by the diversity of opinions among scholars. I have, therefore, decided to analyse what is obviously considered as the intertexture of Gen 1. According to critical scholars (Westermann 1984:38), Gen 1 is the reconfiguration of Gen 2-3⁶³.

Critical scholars believe that Gen 1 and Gen 2-3 belong to different traditions and designate Gen 1-2:4a to the Priestly material (P) and Gen 2:4b-3:24 to the Yahwistic material (J). They assume that Gen 2-3 was written during the monarchial period about the tenth or ninth century B C and Gen 1 in the fifth or sixth century during the Exilic or post-Exilic period (Von Rad 1963:45; Kapelrud 1974:178; Brueggemann 1972:397; Hamilton 1990: 13-15; Friedman 1992: 609; Clifford 1994:137; Bandstra 1995:26-31; Van Seters 1999:59-62). However, there are others who believe that Gen 1 was written during the pre-Exilic period (Milgrom 1999:10-22). Thus the date is still a contentious issue (Gottwald 1985: 478).

Despite the differences in both form and content, Gen 1 and Gen 2-3 are deeply related to each other. Gen 1 is a highly structured, straightforward discourse on the order of creation and narrates the creation of humankind in a very simple statement. In contrast,

⁶³ I will designate Gen 2:4-3:1-24 as Gen 2-3.

Gen 2 provides an extended narration of the creation of humankind. Here the sequence of the creation of man and woman and their purpose in creation are described, as well as the manner in which they are created.

Reconfiguration

Although Gen 1 reconfigures the structure, style and language of Gen 2-3 in a manner that almost replaces it or makes its event new, some similarities and dissimilarities between Gen 1 and Gen 2 can be detected. An overview of the structure of Gen 1-3 is compiled as follows:

Gen 1: creation of heaven and earth Gen 2-3: man and woman in the Garden

Creator of Gen 1: אֱלֹהִים	Creator of Gen 2-3: יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
1:1-2: the earth before six days of creation	2:4-6: the earth before creation of אָדָם
1:3-5: first day (light)	2:7: creation of אָדָם
1:6-8: second day (firmament/heaven)	2:8-18: creation of garden and אָדָם
1:9-13: third day (dry land and vegetation)	2:19-20: creation of animals
1:14-19: fourth day (luminaries)	2:21-25: creation of woman
1:20-23: fifth day (fish and birds)	3:1-14: life in the garden
1:24-31: sixth day (animals and humankind)	3:15-23: divine punishment
2:1-3: seventh day (divine rest)	3:24: expulsion of humankind

As is shown, Gen 2-3 has been reconfigured in various ways. First, Gen 1 describes God's creation within the structure of the cosmos, while Gen 2-3 put God's creation within the immediate environment of humanity. In Gen 2-3 יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים is used as the creator of earth, while Gen 1 employs אֱלֹהִים as the creator of heaven and earth. The different use of God's name suggests that the focus of Gen 1 is on God as the creator, the one who makes the whole cosmos, but who remains outside the creation, while Gen 2-3 focuses more on God who is in an intimate relation with God's creation, the earth and the inhabitants of the earth (van Wolde 1996:39-40).

Contrary to the anthropomorphic image of God in Gen 2-3, God is described as a transcendent God in Gen 1. According to Gen 2, יהוה אלהים is an artisan who sculpts man so that the land can be tilled. יהוה אלהים is also a builder who constructs the woman so that she can be man's companion. Thus, יהוה אלהים is an immanent God who is concerned with the earth and with humanity. Unlike Gen 2-3, Gen 1 depicts אלהים as involved in the creation of the world, yet God is not part of creation but transcendent over creation. Thus אלהים is not limited only to Israel, but becomes God the Creator for the whole world. According to van Wolde (1996:39-40), the name of יהוה אלהים denotes the immanent dimensions of God in manner indissolubly connected with the transcendent God.

Second, Gen 2-3 concentrates on the earth and the human beings on it, whereas Gen 1 focuses on the heaven and the earth. They also differ in the account of the creation of humankind. Gen 2 describes that אדם as being created first out of אדמה (v 7). Forming אדם out of אדמה, יהוה אלהים blows breath into the nostrils אדם and אדם becomes a living being. Then אשה "woman" is made out of אדם's צלע "rib" (v 22) and brought to אדם. Unlike Gen 1, Gen 2 presents the creation of man and woman in its chronological order within the event of creation. To describe the human creation, the biological terms for male and female is used in Gen 1 while Gen 2-3 employs the social terms, man and woman (Bird 1981:148-149). Accordingly, male and female are created in the image of God on the same day. Their creation in the divine image is reported as the culmination of God's creation: "God saw... indeed it was very good" (Gen 1:26-31). Consequently Gen 1 presents the last creation as the most significant event and the creation of woman in Gen 2 becomes the most significant in the light of Gen 1. Thus Gen 1 reconfigures Gen 2 in such a manner that the rhetoric of the latter is reversed.

The purpose of the creation of humankind is another striking feature. Gen 2 narrates that אדם is created to till the ground (v 6), while woman is created to be אדם's companion (v18). God plants the garden for man to live. In this garden there is everything that the human being desires and everything that the ground desires (van Wolde 1996:41). However, seeing אדם alone in the garden, יהוה אלהים judges that it is לא טוב "not good" (v18). This divine judgment is in contrast with Gen 1, in which the creation of humankind is evaluated as טוב מאד "very good." To alleviate אדם's loneliness, woman is created out of the rib of אדם and brought to him.

Gen 2 depicts the purpose of man's creation as meeting the need of the land, while woman's creation is for the need of man. According to Gen 2, land animals are created to be companion of אָדָם, but they are not suitable. In contrast, Gen 1 account describes the purpose of the creation of land animals and humankind differently. Land animals are created before human beings according to their kind while humankind is created in the image of the divine and the purpose of their creation is to rule over the other forms of creation. What is remarkable in Gen 1 is that the functions of woman and man are not clearly defined.

In Gen 3 the themes of fertility and ruling appear in relation to the theme of punishment. Woman is punished with frequent pregnancy, while man is punished with toil in all the days of his life in order to eat the plants of the field. In Gen 3:16⁶⁴ God addresses woman: תְּרַבָּה אֲרָבָה עֲצָבוֹנֶךָ וְהִרְנַנְךָ בְּעֵצָב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים וְאֶל-אִישְׁךָ תִּשְׁוָקֶתְךָ וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל-בָּךְ “I will greatly multiply your pain and your pregnancy. With pain, you will bring forth children. Your man, you will desire and he will rule over you.” However, Gen 1 relates the theme of procreation to a divine command for both man and woman. Procreation is God's blessing, bestowed on humankind. Furthermore, according to Gen 1, the function to rule is given to both man and woman; they are to rule over the earth and the living creatures in it. In Gen 1, the term מָשַׁל “rule” is used to designate the function of the heavenly bodies. They are assigned to rule the day and night. The implication is that a human being is not meant to rule over another human being. Thus Gen 2-3 is placed within a new frame with an entirely different outlook and meaning (Clifford & Collins 1992:32). Consequently the patriarchal notion of the creation of humanity in Gen 2-3 is reconfigured into a theocentric view of the creation of humankind in Gen 1.

6.2.2.2 Cultural intertexture

According to Robbins (1996b:58), cultural intertexture appears in word and concept patterns and configurations of a text either through reference or allusion and echo.

⁶⁴ The Korean Bible translates Gen 3:16 thus: “I will greatly add the suffering of your pregnancy. You will bring forth children with pain. You will desire your husband and your husband will rule over you.”

Since it is known that biblical creation accounts have an interaction with non-biblical creation accounts, attempts have been made to compare Gen 1 with the Babylonian cosmogony, particularly as expressed in *Enuma elish*⁶⁵, for a better understanding of biblical creation texts.

Gunkel drew attention to the Chaos motifs in the Old Testament passages in which a battle between YHWH and the sea, or sea monsters, is alluded to. On this basis he asserts that all the references to the creation account such as water, darkness, תְּהוֹם, the celestial bodies etc were but borrowed versions of the *Marduk* myth (Gunkel 1984:45-49). This idea of dependence on a Babylonian original in the cases of the Creation and the Flood was commonly accepted among critical circles until the view was challenged. Heidel (1951:138) argues that the idea תְּהוֹם cannot be assumed to be from the Babylonian epic with certainty anymore because a great variety of ideas circulated in the ancient Near Eastern world. Lambert (1965:295) and Westermann (1984:32) also assert that such a name does not appear at all in any of the poetic passages that Gunkel examined. Thus the direct dependency of Gen 1 on the Babylonian epic has been disapproved.

However, biblical scholars generally acknowledge the significance of comparing the biblical creation account with similar traditions, such as Babylonian epics, particularly *Enuma elish*, for a better understanding of the Hebrew text (Westermann 1984:20). Since a biased conclusion, such as Gunkel's, derived from the investigation of only similarities while ignoring differences between Gen 1 and the Babylonian creation story (Lambert 1965:288), investigation of differences as well as similarities will be made here. In this way, the possible influence of ancient Near Eastern thinking on the biblical literature will be illustrated.

⁶⁵ The Babylon creation epic, especially *Enuma Elish*, was reputedly recited annually at the New Year Akitu festival.

6.2.2.2.1 Comparison of Genesis 1 to the Babylonian epic, *Enuma elish*

תְּהוֹם (Gen 1:2) and Tiamat

It is said that תְּהוֹם “deep, primeval ocean, sea” in Gen 1:2 bears an allusion to *Tiamat* in *Enuma elish*, the Babylonian creation epic. *Tiamat* appears in this myth as the personified female monster⁶⁶ of the primordial salt-water ocean⁶⁷ and is represented as a goddess against the creator-god Marduk (Gunkel 1997:105; Hasel 1972:6; Klein 1979:127). Because of the etymological similarity of the terms *Tiamat* and תְּהוֹם, many scholars have supposed that there is a philological connection between them (תְּהוֹם and *Tiamat*) (Anderson 1967: 39; Childs 1962:37). Gunkel (1984: 45) even identified תְּהוֹם with *Tiamat* in *Enuma elish* and suggested that Gen 1:2 is the remnant of a latent conflict between a chaos monster and a creator god.

However, it has been proved that the term תְּהוֹם did not derive from the Babylonian *Tiamat* as Gunkel and others believed. According to Heidel (1951: 99-100), both words were derived from a common Semitic root. Heidel also asserts that the masculine ending of תְּהוֹם would have been changed to the feminine of *Tiamat* if *Tiamat* had been taken over into the term תְּהוֹם. Furthermore, תְּהוֹם in the Old Testament is used in a depersonalised and inanimate sense (Hasel 1972:7). Heidel consequently contends that a direct borrowing of this term from the Babylonian myth is impossible.

Although the notion תְּהוֹם is not an allusion to *Tiamat* in the Babylonian myth, it is acknowledged that there is a certain dependence on a Mesopotamian tradition. However, the author of Gen 1 uses תְּהוֹם, the cognates of which are deeply mythological in their usage in ancient Near Eastern creation myths to express something that is depersonalised and non-mythical. For the author of Gen 1, תְּהוֹם is nothing else but a passive, powerless, inanimate element in God’s creation (Hasel 1974:83). This indicates

⁶⁶ In Egyptian mythology, the “watery chaos or waste” was preexistent and was personified as Nun, “the mother of god” (ANET:4; Clifford 1994:102).

⁶⁷ *Emuna elish* has three different types of waters before the formation of heaven and earth. They are: Apsu, the male sweet-water ocean; Ti’amat, the female salt-water ocean; and Mummu, the fog, the mist and the clouds from Apsu and Ti’amat (Heidel 1951:114; Sarna 1966:4).

that תהוֹם was used as an expression of antimythical polemic against the contemporary ancient Near Eastern mythology.

Separation of waters (Gen 1:6-7) and splitting the body of Tiamat

Although the mythological theme of the dividing of heaven and earth in the Creation is common in ancient Near Eastern mythologies⁶⁸ (Sarna 1966:4; Hasel 1972:7), their accounts do not involve water but rather a solid mass. Therefore, there is no parallel to the Genesis creation account. However, a parallel is acknowledged between Gen 1 and *Enuma elish* because of their common involvement with water. In the formation of heaven and earth in Gen 1:6-7, God separates the waters into two parts on the vertical plane. The upper one is called heaven and the lower one earth. Similarly, Babylonian mythology in *Enuma elish* also reports the formation of heaven and earth through splitting the body of *Tiamat*. The victorious god *Marduk* splits the corpse of *Tiamat*. From her upper part he makes the heavens, and from the other the earth is made (Sarna 1966:4; Westermann 1984:33).

Assuming some dependency of Gen 1 on *Enuma elish*, Gunkel and his followers also presumed that a battle of YHWH with the sea preceded the separation of the waters in earlier forms of the tradition recorded in Gen 1. However, based on Sumerian versions, the argument of the scholars for a battle as a prelude to God's dividing of the cosmic waters is unproven. Accordingly, the separation of heaven and earth does not necessarily presume a conflict but a peaceful event (Lambert 1965:294).

In Babylonian mythology the carcass of the monster, *Tiamat*, is sliced through during a combat and struggle, whereafter heaven and earth are formed. In contrast, regarding the creation of heaven and earth in Gen 1, God simply utters his speech to the waters and the separation takes place into two levels without any struggle or combat. One is fashioned as heaven and the other earth. Such a natural presentation of the separation of

⁶⁸ The Sumerian myth describes the process of separating heaven from earth by the air-god Enlil. The Hittite version of a Hurrian myth visualises the process of separating heaven and earth as being performed with a cutting tool (Clifford 1994:31). In Phoenician mythology the separation is described as the splitting of the world egg (Lambert 1965:294; Hasel 1974:87).

heaven and earth indicates the antimythical emphasis of the author of Gen 1, which shows a radical break with the contemporary mythical cosmogony.

The heavenly bodies (Gen 1:14-19) and the sun, moon and stars

In Gen 1 lights are created to yield light and to serve as separators and controllers of time. Although the author of Gen 1 does not use the terms “sun” and “moon” in naming the lights, there is an echo of the sun and the moon in the ancient Near East⁶⁹. The sun and the moon were considered as divinities of the utmost importance. *Enuma elish* also refers to the creation of the heavenly bodies and their function in the fifth tablet:

He (Marduk) constructed stations for the great Gods,
Fixing their astral likeness as constellations.
He determined the year by designating the zones:
He set up three constellations for each of the twelve months.
After defining the days of the year [by means]of (heavenly) figures,
He founded the station of Nebiru to determine their (heavenly) bands,
That none might transgress or fall short
Alongside it he set up the stations of Enlil and Ea
Having opened up the gates on both sides,
He strengthened the locks to the left and the right
In her (Tiamat) belly he established the zenith
The moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) entrusting
He appointed him a creature of the night to signify the days:
“Monthly, without cease, form designs with a crown.
At the month’s very start, rising over the land,
Thou shalt have luminous horns to signify six days.
On the seventh day be thou a [half]-crown.
At the full moon stand in opposition in mid-month.
When the sun [overtakes] thee at the base of heaven,
Diminish [thy crown] and retrogress in light.

⁶⁹ The moon was the major astral deity among the Sumerians. In Egypt, the sun was the highest deity. The sun was the primary goddess of the country in Hittite religion.

[At the time of disappearance] approach about the course of the sun,
And [on the twenty-ninth] thou shalt again stand in opposition to the sun.”

(ANET 67-68)

Although the main function of the heavenly bodies in Genesis 1 and *Enuma elish* are to give light, to separate and to control, there are differences between them in various aspects: the nature and the order and name of the heavenly bodies (Gunkel 1997 [1902]:110; Heidel 1951:117; Westermann 1984:132-133).

Enuma elish mentions stars first and then only the moon and the sun. Furthermore, neither the creation of stars nor the creation of the sun is mentioned. This omission suggests that the stars and sun are gods which also demonstrates that the gods of the Pantheon already exist in the plan of *Enuma elish*. According to this epic, the gods, as part of Marduk's creation, are not to be separated from the stars and their astral likeness. Nibiru, positioned in the middle of the heavens, is the star of Marduk. His position at the centre enables him to rule the movement of the heavens in such a way that any error in the course of the stars avoided (Westermann 1984:133). Thus the stars had a great significance in the lives of Babylonians who were astronomically and astrologically minded (Hasel 1972:13).

In contrast to this epic, Gen 1 begins with the sun, the moon and stars. Moreover, they are described as lights created by God. The sun is referred as “the great light” and the moon as “the lesser light”. The function given to the sun and the moon in Gen 1 is also limited each to rule over its object only, that is, day and night respectively. What is more, stars are simply added as if they are parenthetical to emphasise the greater and the smaller lights. Thus such a description of the creation and function of the luminaries in Gen 1:14-18 as mere creatures is striking against the background of widespread astral worship in the ancient Near East. Certainly the author of Gen 1 is speaking polemically against Babylonian mythology. For him, the heavenly bodies are nothing more than creatures of God.

The creation of humankind (Gen 1:26-28) and lullu 'man'

The creation of humankind as the final act of creation is reported not only in Genesis 1, but also in the Babylonian epic, *Enuma elish*. However, the manner and purpose in which the creation of humankind is spoken of in them⁷⁰ are quite different. The tablet of *Enuma elish* describes the creation of man thus:

1. As *Marduk* hears the words of the gods, 2. His heart prompts (him) to create ingenious things. 3. He conveys his idea to Ea, 4. Imparting the plan [which] he had conceived in his heart: 5. "Blood will I form and cause bone to be; 6. Then will I set up *lullu*, 'Man' shall be his name. 7. Yes, I will create *lullu*: Man! 8. (Upon him) shall the service of the gods be imposed that they may be at rest. 9. Moreover, I will ingeniously arrange the ways of the gods. 10. They shall be honored alike, but they shall be divided into two (groups)" 11. Ea answered him, speaking a word to him, 12. To make him change his mind concerning the relief of the gods: 13. "Let a brother of theirs be delivered up; 14. Let him be destroyed and men be fashioned...The "king of the gods of heaven and earth," the counselor of the gods, their lord: 29. "*Kingu* it was who created the strife, 30. And caused *Ti'amat* to revolt and prepare for battle." 31. They bound him and held him before Ea; 32. Punishment they inflicted upon him by cutting (the arteries of) his blood. 33. With his blood they created humankind; 32. He imposed the services of the gods (upon them) and set the gods free. 35. After *Ea*, the wise, had created mankind, 36. (And) they had imposed the service of the gods upon them...

(Heidel 1951:46-47).

Accordingly, the creation of men was the result of the gods complaints about their heavy work. With the blood of *Kingu*, the ringleader of the erstwhile revolt (Klein 1979:128), humanity was created. Thus the creation of humankind in *Enuma elish* is an afterthought and its purpose was to relieve the gods from their work.

⁷⁰ The Epic of *Atrahasis* is known as the other relevant creation story to *Enuma elish* from the Babylonian accounts. The Epic of *Atrahasis* recounts the events precipitating the creation of man, namely, the refusal of the gods to tend the earth, and the disturbance of Enlil, the god ruling the earth (Millard 1967: 4).

In contrast to this Babylonian epic, Gen 1 depicts the creation of humankind in the divine image: “in the image of God, God created them male and female”. Furthermore, Gen 1 describes the creation of humankind as “the pinnacle of creation” (Sarna 1989: 12). Furthermore, man and woman are blessed and appointed as rulers of God’s creation in the world. This is the radical thinking of Gen 1, distinguishing it from its counterparts. It is said that this distinctive characteristic of Genesis that functioned to demythologise Babylonian cosmogonies in the Exilic community of Israel as they faced the imposing threat of pagan idolatry (Kapelrud 1974:178-186; Klein 1979:127). Instead of relying on the Babylonian epic, the Exilic community speak through their monotheism about the sovereign God, creator of the world, and his consistent moral factor in relating to his creation. In such a cultural background, the creation of humankind in the image of God points out how the community views itself, even though the Jewish people were exiled.

6.2.2.3 Historical intertexture

Historical intertexture concerns events that have occurred at specific times and in specific locations (Robbins 1996b:63). The term “historical” used here refers to a modern concept of historical events or facts based on existing data that are historically true. When we look at Gen 1 within this definition, we see that an analysis of historical intertexture is not applicable to Gen 1 because the creation account of Gen 1 is not a record of historical facts. What is Gen 1 then? In response to this question on the nature of Gen 1, most modern biblical scholars have attempted to determine the literary genre of Gen 1. Accordingly Gen 1 has been considered either as myth or as history.

Myth is defined in many ways due to the “slipperiness” of the term (Rogerson (1978:10)⁷¹. Gunkel (1997[1902]:10) defined the myth as “stories about the gods. They are to be distinguished from stories proper in which the actors are humans”. This concept of myth was soon applied to the study of creation accounts in the Old Testament (Gunkel 1984:25-52). Childs (1962:15-16) argues against using this

⁷¹ In biblical studies, four main definitions are used: 1) myth as a lack of rationality, 2) as an aspect of creative imagination, 3) the products of society and 4) in relation to history (Rogerson 1978:11).

definition for the study of myth in the Old Testament in that it is too inadequate a definition to comprehend the function of the myth within the total thinking of a culture. James Barr also alludes to the problem of definition and its inappropriate use. For him, mythology is not a peripheral manifestation, not symbolic knowledge, but a serious attempt at an integration of reality and experience. It is a total world-outlook, and the centre of mythology is its doctrine of correspondences. Therefore, myth has to be seen as a totality within the relevant cultural group for an interpretation or meaning of all that is significant to human, material, intellectual and religious needs (Barr 1959:3).

Based on an understanding of myth as either a totality of what is significant to the maintenance of actual human life in the world or stories about the gods, Gen 1 cannot be categorized as myth. The reason for this is that there is a radical difference in the point of departure of Gen 1 from characteristic mythical thought in the creation stories of the ancient Near East in terms of a correspondence of some kind between gods and man, gods and nature, and man and nature. For example, the distinction between God and what God creates is in contrast to the Babylonian myths⁷² where there is no clear demarcation between gods and men or nature. In contrast, Gen 1 demythologises the old creation stories of the ancient Near East thoroughly by structuring the creation account in a historical form within the Old Testament. According to Anderson (1967:40), "The biblical account of creation with which the Bible opens is governed by a historical intention, even when it uses materials that were formerly mythical in their presuppositions. Here creation does not stand by itself: it is inseparably related to and a part of history." Thus motifs drawn into Genesis from ancient Near Eastern myths are radically transformed.

Demythologisation is clearly demonstrated by the six successive days in the creation account, which indicates a historical framework. Obviously the sabbatical pattern in the creation account presents "the Sabbath day as something fundamental to the very ordering of the cosmos" (Wyatt 1979:63). The *חֹלְדוֹת* formula in Genesis also unites

⁷² For details, refer to "The Babylonian Genesis" (1942) and "the Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels" (1946) by A. Heidel, University of Chicago, "A new look at the Babylonian background of Genesis" by W.G Lambert in JTS 16 (1965): 287-300, "A new Babylonian Genesis story" by A R Millard 1967 in TynBul 18:3-18 and "Genesis and ancient Near Eastern stories of creation and flood" by D T Tsumura 1994 etc.

the whole book of Genesis into the historical framework (Mathews 1996:109) and through the תולדות pattern, the creation account becomes the prologue to the history of the people of Israel who experience God in their salvation history. In this account, Adam and Eve are treated as real historical individuals.

Thus the Israelites positioned themselves in history among the mythological cultures (Barr 1959:8; Ridderbos 1957:22; Wyatt 1979: 45-67; Moyer 1990:578-580; Mathews 1996:109-111) and Israel's experience of God is historical. For this reason, I understand that Gen 1 is historical event experienced by the community of Israel in their own cultural dress. This will become obvious when we look at the intention of the writer(s) of Gen 1 in the examination of ideological texture.

6.2.3 Ideological texture of Genesis 1

Ideology here is defined as an integrated system of beliefs, assumptions, and values that reflects the needs and interests of a group or class at a particular time in history. This integrated system proceeds from the need to understand, to interpret the self and others, to justify, and to control one's place in the world. Ideologies are shaped by specific views of reality shared by groups, specific perspectives on the world, society and man, and on the limitations and potentiality of human existence (Robbins 1996b: 96).

Since the primary issue of ideological analysis and interpretation is people (Robbins 1996b:95), an initial analysis involves a writer and a reader in a particular context. Subsequent phases are then their specific views of reality revealed within the text. The analysis of ideological texture allows only one fixed understanding that serves the empowerment of the Jews of that time.

6.2.3.1 Social setting of Priestly tradition

Although the Creation narrative of Gen 1 is commonly viewed as a polemic against the mythico-religious concepts of the ancient world (Wenham 1987:37), there has been much debate on its date and authorship (although they remain a moot question). The

reason for this is that the social setting of the writer could make a marked difference to the meaning or intention of the text.

Although there is no agreement on the dating of the Priestly writer(s)⁷³, the creation account of Gen 1 is generally considered to be the work of the Priestly writer (von Rad 1963:45; Kapelrud 1974:178; Bruggemann 1972:397; Childs 1979:123; Bird 1981:135; Van Seters 1999:164; Clifford 1994:31-32; Milgrom 1999:10-22; Wenham 1999:240; Bandstra 1995:75). However, the Priestly writer(s) is not really known and, therefore, cannot be identified. It may be supposed that he/they lived among the exiles in Babylonia (Bird 1981:135) and had a certain position in the Jewish community. He has been supposed to be a priest (Kapelrud 1974:186; Anderson 1986:452,537; Gottwald 1985:139).

Regarding the dating Gen 1, there are three views. Some argue that Gen 1 is pre-Exilic (Friedman 1981:81,122; Milgrom 1999:10-22). Others argue for a post-Exilic date but the assumed date varies (von Rad 1963:45; Childs 1979:123; Gottwald 1985:139; Lohfink 1994:4; Jaki 1998:288; Van Seters 1999:177) while the majority of scholars are of the opinion that it was written during the Exilic period under Babylonian rule (Brueggemann 1972:397; Kapelrud 1974:178; Bird 1981:135; Birch 1991:71; Coote & Ord 1991: 32-39; Clifford 1992:31-32; Lohfink 1994:4; Bandstra 1995:75).

Most of those arguing for the Exilic period are of the opinion that Gen 1 originated as a reaction against the religious convictions embodied in the Babylonian creation accounts. Therefore, it is assumed that the Creation narrative of Gen 1 was rewritten during the Babylonian Exile, during which the Jewish community lived in constant danger of being swamped by Babylonian ideas and religion to the extent that their identity became a really important issue (Kapelrud 1974:179).

According to Kapelrud (1974:179), the Priestly writer (P) found that the Yahwist creation account (J) was less satisfactory under the Babylonian rule where Yahweh, God of Israel appeared to be defeated by the superior, infidel Babylonian empire. Such

⁷³ Whether the writer/editor was a single or corporate individual is irrelevant here.

images of God could scarcely have inspired confidence among the Jewish exiles whose world had been turned upside-down. Therefore, the J creation account required a new frame that would give entirely different features and meaning to the reader of that time (Batto 1992:32).

Generally it is deemed that before the fall of Jerusalem (587/586 BCE), there had been tangible signs to identify the existence of the Jewish people as God's chosen people (1Kg 8:13, 16-20; Isa 8:18; Jer 7:4): the temple, the city of Jerusalem, and the Davidic monarchy. The temple in the city of Jerusalem was a significant symbol that indicated God's presence among the Jewish people. The king from the Davidic line was another symbol to assure them of their life and security (2 Sam 7:13,15,16). Therefore, the fall of Jerusalem in 587/586 BCE shook the Jewish community and their faith to the core (Birch 1991:281). In consequence they began to question everything that they believed. First, their God who had allowed the destruction of Judah was called into question: Had Yahweh also rejected his own people and his own place? If not, where was the Yahweh enthroned on Zion, who was ruling the world through his anointed? Or were there deities stronger than or superior to Yahweh? Second, the trustworthiness of the God of the Davidic promise was also questioned: Could their God be trusted, who sent his anointed into exile? To such questions the Jewish communities in different locations were forced to respond and to reformulate their basic understandings of God, God's way of dealing with the world, and the nature of their own life as the people of God (Klein 1979:4; Newsome 1979:71-72; Albertz 1994:369-370; Brueggemann 1997: 319-323; Jonker 2000:6, 8).

The Jewish people existed in two different locations: one in Judah⁷⁴ as the remnant and the other in Babylon as the exiled, their reactions were different. Boshoff describes the various responses in both groups. According to Boshoff (1991:184-185), among the remnant in Judah, some doubted Yahweh's true character (Zph 1:12), others rejected Yahweh and turned to foreign cults (Ezk 8:1-18), while yet others opted for a syncretist faith, worshipping Yahweh as one of many gods like their neighbours (Eze 8:1-16). There were also those who remained faithful to Yahweh amid their understanding that

⁷⁴ Those who were left in Judah were either pro-Babylonian or insignificant people, the poorest (2 Kg 25; Newsome 1979:51; Albertz 1994:371).

the national tragedy (Exile) was the judgement of Yahweh (Lam 4). Therefore, they used the ruins of the temple as the place to perform rituals of lamentation and penitence (Lam 5). They hoped that the punishment would end and Yahweh would once again take pity on his people (Ps 74:9-10; 102:14; Isa 40:2; Lam 4:22).

There were also various responses among the exiles in Babylon, situated under the Babylonian religion. Many Jews considered that the Babylonian god, Marduk⁷⁵ was stronger than Yahweh, so that some of them became the followers of Marduk while others worshipped both Marduk and Yahweh (Ezk 14:1-11). Some, however, remained faithful to Yahweh. Nevertheless, their religious practices had to change because the exiles could not bring offerings to Yahweh in Jerusalem anymore due to their specific circumstances.

As the Jewish people attempted to preserve their identity as a special religious and national group among the many other groups in the mighty Babylonian empire, keeping the Sabbath became very important for them. Consequently Sabbath observance became an essential new religious rule (Kapelrud 1964:59).

To summarise, as the Jewish people lived in a particular social environment, their interaction with people who worshipped gods other than Yahweh was inescapable. In such circumstances, the Jewish people questioned the nature of their God since their identity was deeply embodied in God. Therefore Gen 1 was retold and their questions were explained.

6.2.3.2 Polemical orientation of Priestly perspective on creation

Clifford (1985:507-512) is of the opinion that creation accounts in the ancient Near East were utilised to organise a society. For example, the Assyrians used the *Atrahasis* cosmogonic account along with other creation accounts to legitimate their power while Babylonian used the epic of *Enuma elish* to support the divine establishment of

⁷⁵ In the *Enuma elish* epic, Marduk was the Babylonian city patron god and was believed to be the most powerful of all the creator gods. The king of Babylon was chosen by Marduk as his vessel.

Babylonian society. The victory of Marduk against Tiamat was related to establish the kingship of the Babylonian empire and its institutions.

According to *Enuma elish*, Marduk is elevated to be the king of all the gods after the battle with Tiamat (Sagga 1978:57-58; Bandstra 1995:63)⁷⁶. Marduk was praised and fifty names were given to him (ANET: 69; Ringgren 1974:271). In response to such praise, Marduk decided to create humans in order to free the gods from their hard labour. After the creation of humankind out of the blood of Kingu who had begun the war by inciting Tiamat, Marduk assents to build the temple where he establishes his cult centre and displays his kingship. This place will also serve as a resting place of all the gods as they travel between earth and heaven. This new temple is called Babylon (Simkins 1994:52). This indicates the deep relation of this cosmogony to the establishment of the Babylonian empire. Accordingly, Marduk was claimed as the god of the Babylonians and the king of Babylon is Marduk's deputy. Like Marduk, the king of Babylon was elevated as the king of the Babylonian empire after defeating the Assyrians. Thus Babylonian cosmogony was used to legitimate Babylonian kingship.

Living under such social circumstances, the Jewish exiles questioned which God was the true God, the answer to which involved integrally their own self understanding. Against this background, Gen 1 was reinterpreted primarily to serve the purpose of reacting against the Babylonian political convictions embodied in their creation account, *Enuma elish*. Therefore, it would be fair to conclude that Gen 1 is religious polemic (Jonker 2000:1). Prominent elements in Gen 1 that are critical of the Babylonian cosmogony are: God, the creation of nature and humanity, and the Sabbath.

⁷⁶ In *Enuma elish*, from the intermingling of Apsu and Tiamat four generations of gods were born. As the activities of these young gods disturbed the rest of their parents, Apsu planned to kill them all. However, Apsu was killed by Ea with his reciting of a sleeping spell. Ea with his spouse Dankina then gave birth to Marduk, the storm who is majestic in form and superior to all the other gods in every way. The commotion of the young gods continued to disturb not only Tiamat but also other lesser gods. As Tiamat received complaints from the lesser gods, she planned to destroy her own children. Marduk was asked by the assembly of gods to be the champion to defeat Tiamat. Marduk accepted the offer on the condition that he would rule over the other gods if he was victorious. Marduk defeated Tiamat and created the world from her slain body (Simkins 1994:50-51; Bandstra 1995:61-65).

6.2.3.2.1 אֱלֹהִים Creator God

Gen 1 introduces אֱלֹהִים as the creator God of the entire world. The term אֱלֹהִים occurs 2570 times in the Old Testament with both plural and the singular meanings (Ringgren 1974: 272). The term has been used to refer not only to the gods of other nations but also to the God of Israel. However, the term אֱלֹהִים used here is a generic divine name but it is applied in such a way that it indicates one God who alone created the heaven and earth. Announcing אֱלֹהִים as the sole creator of the heaven and earth, P describes the creation by divine fiat “and אֱלֹהִים said...” right from the beginning to the end (Hunter 1980:433). In so doing, the priestly writer claims אֱלֹהִים, the God of Israel as the sovereign creator God of the world.

Against the Babylonian claim that Marduk was the creator of the universe and the king of all the gods, Gen 1 announces that אֱלֹהִים is the only creator God of the entire world. There are no rivals to אֱלֹהִים to challenge him/her in combat to be the king of the gods and the creator of the universe like Marduk. This is demonstrated through various formulas of inner texture. אֱלֹהִים does not need any assistance nor any substance like the body of Tiamat to create the universe. God in his sovereignty merely speaks and this divine word is carried out immediately and everything comes into being. The utterance of אֱלֹהִים is akin to the king’s command, which is immediately obeyed. This shows the sovereignty of God over creation.

Such renewed understanding of אֱלֹהִים enabled the exiled Jews to perceive and understand their God differently. אֱלֹהִים is neither defeated nor touched by what אֱלֹהִים has created. Furthermore, their God אֱלֹהִים who “created everything perfect” (Clifford 1994:31-32) is transcendent and therefore not bound or overpowered by any creatures like Marduk (Saggs 1978:61-62). Accordingly, the event of the Exile was reinterpreted and understood as a punishment for the sin of disobedience against their God (Is 42:5, 24; 48:1; 50:1; 51:17-22; 54:7; Clifford 1994:3). The Babylonians were now understood to be only the vessel used by God for the purpose of chastisement.

6.2.3.2.2 Nature as God's creation

P also removes any sense that nature is divine. P describes “sun” as “the great light” and “moon” as “the lesser light” and their purpose is to set times and rule the day and the night (Sagga: 1978:52-53; Sarna 1989:9). Stars are also mentioned as if they were created as a mere afterthought. In doing so, P not only rejects any trace of divinity in the sun and the moon, but also suggests that stars are merely God's creation to act as bearers of a light that was there without them and before them. Thus these lights are placed in the context of creation (Westermann 1984:129).

However, as previous cultural intertexture has shown, the sun and moon were worshipped as deities in the ancient Near East. In *Enuma elish*, Marduk arranges stations in the heavens for the gods to rule the movement of the heavens (ANET 67-68; Simkins 1994:52; Bandstra 1995:64). This implies how astronomically and astrologically minded the Babylonians were (Hasel 1972:13). The stars had a great significance in their lives and, since stars determined time it was believed that a human being's destiny was determined by “the working of siderean powers” (von Rad 1963:54). In contrast, Gen 1 rejects the supernatural function of the heavenly bodies.

6.2.3.2.3 Human beings

The claim of the Priestly writer that humankind is created in the image of God differs radically from the Babylonian creation myth that describes that humankind as being created to release the gods from their hard labours. The story of the Babylonian epic, *Enuma elish*, goes thus:

When Marduk hears the words of the gods,
His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.
Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea
To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:
“Blood will I form and cause bone to be.
I will establish *Lullu*, ‘man’ shall be his name.
Verily, *Lullu* I will create.
He shall be charged with the service of the gods that they might be at ease.

The ways of the gods I will artfully alter.
 Though alike revered, into two (groups) they shall be divided.”
 Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,
 To relate to him a scheme for the relief of the gods:
 “Let but one of their brothers be handed over;
 He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned.
 Let the great gods be here in Assembly,
 Let the guilty be handed over that they may endure.”
 Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly;
 Presiding graciously, he issued instructions.
 To his utterance the gods pay heed.
 The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki:
 “if your former statement was true,
 Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!
 Who was it that contrived the uprising,
 And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?
 Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.
 His guilt I will make him bear that you may dwell in peace!”
 The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,
 To Lugaldimmerankia (the king of the gods of heaven and earth), the counselor of the
 gods, their lord:
 “It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,
 And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle.”
 They bound him, holding him before Ea.
 They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood (vessels).
 Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.
 He imposed the service and let free the gods.
 After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,
 Had he imposed upon it the service of the gods-
 That work was beyond comprehension.

(ANET 68)

As it is recorded in this epic, the basic reason given for the creation of man is to relieve the gods of certain chores (Sagga 1978:164). The chief rebellious god, Kingu is slain

and out of his blood mankind is created and the hard labours of the gods are imposed on him. In this epic, there is no implication that a divine quality is bestowed upon man, but only an indication that humans are an afterthought, creatures and servants of the gods.

In contrast, Gen 1 gives a radically different reason and manner for the creation of humankind: in simple and straightforward terms it states that humankind is to have dominion over the earth, and is created in the divine image. According to the ancient Near Eastern literature, the king was considered as the representative of a certain god and therefore, to possess the image of his god was the precondition or requisite of the king for his rule (Bird 1981:140). In this way, the Babylonian king was Marduk's representative and he was able to legitimate his political power over ordinary human beings, for example, using ordinary people as slaves to do manual labour in the temples and palaces (Miller & Hayes 1986:433).

However, the Priestly writer declares that the human being, as the representative of God, is made to be the king and is assigned to rule over God's creation (von Rad 1963:56-58; Brueggemann 1982:32; Sarna 1989:12). Although they are servants of God, the service of human beings is a kingly and royal one. For this reason, they do not have power over another human beings because they too are representatives of God. Declaring that rulership is not given to the king only but to all human beings, P democratizes a royal motif and applies it to the whole of humanity in Gen 1. Such a recount of the creation account brought to the exiles a new perspective of themselves. Though they were enslaved in a foreign land, they were kings and queens who carried the divine image in themselves (Klein 1979: 126).

6.2.3.2.4 Day of rest

In *Enuma elish* the concept of rest is related to the repose of the gods after the creation of humans (Lambert 1965: 297-298). In *Enuma elish*, for example, Marduk proposes the creation of humankind so that upon them "will the service of the gods be charged that they [the gods] might be at rest". Thus the creation of humans served to provide the gods with rest from their drudgery (Levenson 1988:4). In appreciation for this release, the gods ask whether they might repay their debt to Marduk by building him a palace or temple. With the agreement of Maduk, they constructed Esagil, the terraced Marduk

temple in Babylon. The *Enuma elish* closes with the gods' hymnic recitation of the fifty glorious names of Marduk. *Enuma elish* depicts it thus:

The Anunnaki opened their mouths
And said to Marduk, their lord:
“Now, O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,
What shall be our homage to thee?
Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called
‘Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest’; let us repose in it!
Let us build a shrine, a recess for his abode!
On the day (the New Year’s festival) that we arrive we shall repose in it.”
When Marduk heard this,
Brightly glowed his features, like the day:
“Like that of *lofty* Babylon, whose building you have requested,
Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it ‘The Sanctuary.’”
The Anunnaki applied the implement
...After they had achieved the building of Esagila,
The Anunnaki themselves erected their shrines.
[...] all of them gathered,
[...] they had built as his dwelling.
The gods, his fathers, at his banquet he seated:
“This is Babylon, the place that is your home!
...Let us then proclaim his fifty names:
“He whose ways are glorious, whose deeds are likewise,...

(ANET 68-60)

In *Enuma elish*, the purpose of the gods' rest is to commemorate the creation act of Marduk that ensured the gods' freedom from hard work. It was a day of worship for glorifying the god Marduk in the assembly of the gods by proclaiming his fifty names.

However, the divine rest in Gen 1 is described radically differently from that in the *Enuma elish*. God completes His/Her work on the seventh day and designates it as a day of rest. On the seventh day, God makes nothing, but only blesses and sanctifies this day. Unlike the rest in *Enuma elish*, the rest of God in Gen 1 is not obtained at the expense

of humanity. Contrary to *Enuma elish* in which the gods' rest is reserved only for the gods themselves, the divine rest in Gen 1 accentuates that it is a day of rest for all creatures of God. Therefore, human beings who are created in the image of God may participate in it. Moreover, the celebration of a day of rest was the announcement of trust in אֱלֹהִים their God, who is confident enough to rest (Brueggemann 1982:35).

Since the Sabbath was perceived as the actual covenantal sign for the Jewish people, the observance of the Sabbath had a special significance for the exiled Jews in the Exilic period (von Rad 1963:60; Kapelrud 1974:179). Keeping the day of rest for exiled Jews was, therefore, an act of announcing their faith in God and a rejection of all other gods, religions, and worldviews (Brueggemann 1982:35). But the very presence of these other religions would have tempted many of the exiles to ignore the Sabbath observance (Klein 1979:126). Keeping the Sabbath was an imitation of their creator God: if the Sabbath was kept by God, how much more should it be kept by faithful Israelites? (Klein 1979:126). Hence Sabbath keeping served not only to preserve Israel's identity but also to engender among the Jewish exiles a sense of hope and faith in God (Lohfink 1994:164). In such an environment, the Sabbath observance, grounded in God's creation, played an important role among exiled Jews (Klein 1979: 126).

6.2.4 Theological texture of Genesis 1

Robbins (1996b:121-131) describes the theological dimension of the text as "sacred texture". Sacred texture includes aspects of God or gods, holy persons, spirit beings, divine history, human redemption, human commitment, and religious community and ethics (Robbins 1996:130). The sacred texture of Robbins can be labelled as "theological texture" since he refers to the realm of theology. The theological texture of Gen 1 describes the nature of God, God's creation, and the human being who has a special relationship with God and day of rest. The analysis of theological texture offers different theological interpretations. This invites readers to work towards a responsible and accountable reading within their context.

6.2.4.1 אֱלֹהִים Creator God

Gen 1 announces that אֱלֹהִים is the creator of the universe: “In the beginning אֱלֹהִים created the heavens and the earth.” אֱלֹהִים in Hebrew is a plural form of the noun אֱלֹה but here a singular meaning is used, as indicated by the singular form of the verb בָּרָא (Scullion 1992b:1044). In the Old Testament אֱלֹהִים is an appellative and used mainly in three different ways. Firstly, אֱלֹהִים is used to refer to the gods or god of different nations: the gods of Egypt (Ex 12:12), the gods of the Amorites (Josh 24:15; Judg 6:10), the god of Ekron (2Kg 1:2, 6, 16), the god of Ashdod (Judg 16:23; 1Sam 5:7), Chemosh, god of Moab (Num 21:19; 1Kg 11:7; 2Kg 23:13; Jr 48:7, 13, 46) and Milcom or Molech, god of the Ammonites (1Kg 11:5, 33). Secondly, אֱלֹהִים is used to refer to Yahweh as God of Israel (Dt 2:7; Lev 7:34-39; Ringgren 1974:277) and a large number of these expressions of Yahweh אֱלֹהִים are found in Deuteronomy (Dt 4:21, 40; 5:2; 5:16; 6:2, 4, 5, 13; 7:16; 10:20; 11:1; 13:13; 15:4 etc). Thirdly, אֱלֹהִים applies to the god of an individual (Ringgren 1974:279): the god of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Gen 24:12, 27, 42, 28; 26:24; 28:23; 31:42; 32:10; Ex 3:6, 15; 4:5; 1Kg 18:36), the god of your father (Gen 46:3; 50:17; Ex 3:6).

Employing a general term for deity, Gen 1 introduces אֱלֹהִים as the one who creates the whole universe. Regarding the term אֱלֹהִים, which connotes universalism, Sarna (1989:5) asserts that its most appropriate use is for the transcendent God of Creation. God is portrayed in Gen 1 as the sovereign God who alone created the entire world. Thus God in Gen 1 is monotheistic and universal in character (Ringgren 1974:284; Westermann 1984:100; Birch 1991:73). This monotheistic concept of Gen 1 stands in stark contrast to the mythopoetic stories of the ancient Near East that related the activities of many gods.

Gen 1 focuses on אֱלֹהִים as the sole creator of the entire world. The sense of absolute sovereignty of אֱלֹהִים is enhanced by the mode of creation in Gen 1 that occurs by the divine word alone. Gen 1 reiterates the divine utterance of “let there be” and affirms that the divine word is fulfilled in an event immediately following the divine command and in precise accordance with what is said, and that all things are brought into being with its power (Scullion 1992b:1043). God’s sovereignty over creation is again demonstrated through the act of naming the divine creation. In the ancient world, the one who gives a

name has power over the object and, therefore, the naming is an act of dominion (Westermann 1984:114).

Gen 1 also describes אֱלֹהִים as the God who blesses. After creating the living creatures of the sea and land, including humankind (Gen 1:22, 28), God blesses them and commands them to exercise the power of reproduction and increase conferred on them in their being created. According to Westermann (1984:140), blessing implies creation and shows how effective the work of the creator is. This blessing is also demonstrated as being effective through time as the genealogy of Adam in Gen 5 demonstrates.

Thus Gen 1 depicts God as the sole creator who creates the heavens and the earth and which emphasizes God's sovereignty. The formulaic structure of Gen 1 pictures a transcendent and sovereign אֱלֹהִים over creation, yet a God who has chosen not to remain aloof from the creation. This suggests that God is a relational God who is intimately concerned with caring for the creation. In fact, God involves the human being in the responsibilities of caring for the creation (Gen 1:28). Thus God in Gen 1 is present and active in the world, and enters into a relationship with the world. Therefore, the frame of reference of Gen 1 could certainly be seen as universal in scope and the rest of the Old Testament as a witness to this kind of God (Birch et al. 1999:41-42).

Koreans traditionally practised polytheism, as Chapter 2 has shown. The belief is that there is a range of gods that determine human's destiny. According to their position in the hierarchy, each god has his own responsibilities: a god for birth, disasters, healing diseases, protection, blessing and so on. Therefore, some gods are perceived to be good and some evil. In Shamanism, these gods are viewed as transcendent and immanent. They are transcendent in the sense that they reside in an unseen world with supernatural power. They are also immanent that they are involved in the lives of human beings as a means of blessing and cursing.

In contrast, the import of Gen 1 is strictly monotheistic in that it states that אֱלֹהִים is the only creator God. According to Gen 1, God is the creator of the whole world. In creating all the elements of the world, God simply utters his/her will and the articulated will of the creator is obeyed and so the course of world events is shaped without any hint of conflict. Furthermore, what God created is evaluated as good and God blesses

his/her creation; there is nothing that is evil or bad. אֱלֹהִים in Gen 1 is spontaneously transcendent and immanent. God is transcendent, because the creator God is not part of creation. God is immanent in the sense that God unceasingly upholds and controls and cares for the world that God created (Anderson 1986:93). The immanency of God is specially seen in the direct divine involvement in the redemption of humankind.

אֱלֹהִים is introduced as the only true “*Hananim*” to Korean Christians. The Korean Dictionary describes *Hananim* as “the one God who has created the whole universe, having rule over it in making judgement between goodness and evil, giving blessings and woes and abiding in heaven for eternity... When Christians express their God, the emphasis is given on ‘*Hana-* meaning one.’ The language connotes Christian monotheism” (quoted in Lee 1994:27).

Hananim freed Koreans from the bondage of fear from the gods in whom they believed. For them, *Hananim* cannot be compared with any other god. *Hananim* is almighty and most powerful, yet does not remain indifferent but is deeply involved in the lives of humankind to the extent that God gave up God’s life to redeem God’s creation. In the Korean mind, *Hananim* transcends both male and female and, therefore, *Hananim* cannot be addressed as a gender bound being. If God should be addressed as a gendered being, Korean Christians may imagine God as being both masculine and feminine. This is because Korean religion emphasises the balance of heaven (yang) and earth (yin). Yin and yang, the feminine and masculine principles, give rise to all things. Perhaps this Korean religious worldview can offer us some insights and symbolic resources to imaging God in both feminine and masculine metaphors, images, and concepts, so that women and men can find their experiences reflected in the divine.

6.2.4.2 Nature as God’s creation

Gen 1 describes how God creates the heavens, the earth, the heavenly bodies, living creatures of the air, the sea and the land within six successive days. Through the divine fiat, the earth appeared and the heaven and its bodies were created. Unlike the creation epic *Enuma elish* in which the heavenly bodies were perceived to be divine, Gen 1 emphasises that the sun, moon and stars are the creations of God. According to their specified functions, God positioned them in the heaven (Westermann 1984: 131-132;

Sarna 1989:9). Thus any physical connection between God and nature is refuted from the very beginning of Gen 1.

In creation all things are related to one another (Sarna 1989:10-11). The earth, which had already been created, became the element for producing vegetation (Gen 1:11-12). Animate beings with the gift of fertility were also brought forth, whose habitats would be in the sea (waters) and on the land (Gen 1:20,24). Humankind was also created and assigned to be responsible over them. The reliance of humankind and animal life on plants for food is established (Gen 1:29-30). Therefore, no element of God's creation, including the human, is self-sufficient but all are dependent upon God's special solicitude, his/her tender concern for the world (Levenson 1988:12). This suggests that much of our concept of relationship, which is shaped by the concept of dominion over nature, is based on our hierarchical thinking pattern, which devalues nature and supports its exploitation (Birch 1991:82).

God's creation is also described as "good". At the end of each day of creation, God approves that "it was good" (Gen 1:10,12,18,21,25). Furthermore, Gen 1:31 reports that God looks back over all that has been made and judges it to be "very good". This refrain has a radical character in comparison to many aspects of other ancient religions that were designed to give protection in this hostile world (Levenson 1988:3-13; Birch 1991: 81). Such affirmation of creation as good stands against all efforts to consider the material world or our own full humanity as inherently evil, or as spiritually debilitating (Birch 1991: 81).

In Korean Shamanism people believe that nature possesses a divine character, while in Buddhism, as well as in Confucianism, nature is seen as self-generating. Thus in these three religions there is no actual difference between man and nature and the divine. Therefore, nature is venerated and often worshipped because people traditionally believe that disorder or disaster occurs when the elements of nature are disturbed by some bad conduct on the part of humankind.

Gen 1, however, desacralises nature by declaring that God alone created the heavens and the earth by means of divine words. All the elements in creation are the product of God's creation activity. All the vegetation of the land, the sun, moon and stars, all the

living creatures of the sea and the sky are objects of God's creation and do not possess any divine character. Therefore humankind should neither idolise nor worship them. Nevertheless this does not mean that nature is not to be exploited or abused; rather it is to be the object of our proper care. God provided nature to sustain the life of humankind (Gen 1:29-30; 2:9). Therefore, if nature is destroyed, human life is in danger also and this is well demonstrated by the present natural state of our ecological system.

6.2.4.3 Human beings

The creation account reports that God created man and woman in the image of God. Man and woman together were blessed for procreation. Rulership over every living creature of God was given to them both since man and woman were created as equals in the sight of God when God made them both in his/her image. The meaning of "image" has been discussed intensively. According to Jonsson (1988), medieval theologians thought that the image of God is in the human soul with its spiritual gift of rationality, while the Reformers found it in original righteousness, the conformity of the human will to divine will. Thereafter, the image of God has been identified with human creativity, with human community, or with the likeness of human beings to God in their whole person including bodily form.

Despite such various views, the image of God in Korean interpretations is understood mainly in terms of the incorporeality of God. However, as our investigation of Gen 1:26-7 has shown, the terms "image" and "likeness" cannot be read only as an indicator of the spiritual aspect of the divine within humanity. The reason for this is that a further meaning of being created in "the image of God" has been discovered through ancient Near Eastern literature. According to that discovery, in the ancient world, powerful earthly kings put up an image of themselves in places where they did not personally appear. According to this observation, the basic meanings of these terms have to do with representations or models. The decisive matter about man's similarity to God, therefore, is God's function in the non-human world (von Rad 1963:60). The divine image in humans is also passed on through procreation as Gen 5:1-3 indicates. Unlike the images of earthly kings, the image of the sovereign Creator is "not to be a fixed image" (Brueggemann 1982:36).

According to Gen 1:26-28, the representative function was granted to both male and female. Therefore, the privilege of being created in the image of God is not the exclusive privilege of the male, but includes woman. Both woman and man share the common human dignity of being created in the image of God. Both received authority over the earth and the animals, which is not, however, the granting of an absolute prerogative for humans to do with the earth whatever they will. If the term “dominion” has royal connotations of “to rule”, it is as representatives of divine rule that humans exercise this authority. Only as representatives of God are man and woman given the capacity for exercising power in the world. Therefore, we are not absolute monarchs in the world, but trustees or stewards acting on behalf of God’s sovereignty as Creator (Vogels 1994:197).

According to Brueggemann (1982:34), God’s image is reflected in a community, male and female. Although the sexuality of human beings is ordained by God as part of creation, it is not a part of the characteristics of God but rather exemplifies the nature of humankind: “unlike God, humans are like other creatures” (Bird 1981:148-150). Rather sexuality and its function belong only to “the goodness God intends for creation” (Brueggemann 1982:33). This implies that the divine image is generic in character and the sexual identity that human beings possess does not play any significant role in understanding the image of God. This way of defining the image of God often stressed mainly moral, personal or intellectual qualities.

However, such an asexual image of God, described as the image of both male and female, is conceived ideally as masculine in character. This has been demonstrated through not only the history of the Western Church⁷⁷, but also Korean male theologians’ interpretations of the image of God. While an asexual rationality or righteousness may constitute its essence, only the attribute of masculinity can express the image of God in its fullness (Lazenby 1987:64). Such an understanding has also caused people to believe that the reasoning abilities of woman are limited since she was created after man and

⁷⁷ According to Lazenby (1987:63), Christian thinkers in the West, for example Aquinas, argued that a woman possesses the divine image in a secondary sense due to her creation after the man and from the man. Since man himself was created in the image of God, it was legitimate to affirm that woman also possessed it to some degree. The reformer Calvin also followed this view (Calvin 1847:129).

from man and therefore possesses a somewhat reduced divine image, the image of man, not of God. Concomitantly, Gen 3 has also been interpreted in this vein.

Although some theologians in the present day will not explicitly affirm the secondary nature of woman's creation in God's image, they implicitly retain such an affirmation in practice. For example, according to Robert Letham (1990:73), "man and woman are equal in terms of essence. They are both equally the image of God, in relation to God and to another". However, he further comments thus:

Man in his imaging of God in righteousness, knowledge, and true holiness is also, like God, a relational being, the equality of male and female existing in the form of an order including a relation of authority and obedience... God made man in a certain order. Male and female were made for a particular purpose. He made them equal. He made them distinct. Males are excluded from the vital task of giving birth to children. Similarly, females were not created to rule over males... The priority and headship of the man over the woman rests not only on the doctrine of creation but also on the nature of God whom man is to image. It is grounded ontologically in the being of God. Consequently, the headship of the man is not a punishment on the woman deriving from the fall and is not therefore something which redemption in Christ is designed to erode and to replace... it belongs to the future... this relation of order within equality will remain permanently as man images God throughout eternity.

(Letham 1990:69-74).

According to this argument, woman's expression as a divine image-bearer should not be the same as a man's. Instead, she is to be obedient to the male because of her existence as a female. For Letham, the implication of the relation of authority and obedience within equality is, therefore, "not confined to marriage and the church but is instead applicable to the entirety of human contexts." (Letham 1990:74). However, such an argument that the functional differentiation is grounded on ontological differentiation within equality does not seem to enable the female to express her nature as an image-bearer of God in practice. Instead, it implies that only the male is the divine image-bearer so that he can express this in a definitive and authoritative manner. The image of

God is only conceived as masculine in its practice.

This way of defining the image of God has resulted in belittling the physical qualities and abilities of women and concomitantly has allocated them to a secondary status in the Church as well as in society, particularly in Korea. However, Gen 1 exemplifies the image of God in terms of human sexuality and explains how man and woman are to relate to one another, to God and to the other creatures of God. Furthermore, Gen 1 depicts humanity first in the singular (אָדָם and אִתּוֹ) and then in the plural (אָדָם and זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה). In so doing, the plurality of אָדָם in terms of being male and female is expressed. The oneness constitutes the basis for the duality, and the duality only demonstrates and reinforces the oneness.

Humanity is thus pictured as one and yet two and human sexuality is not ignored but depicted as a crucial element of being human. Thus the image of God is reflected in אָדָם and the basis of the equal worth and value of both sexes before God is established. Moral and intellectual capacities are given only to human beings to rule over the rest of creation in such a way that God's image as Creator and Ruler is reflected. Male and female fulfil the purpose of God for their creation when they rule over the creation as a unity (Lazenby 1987: 66). Such an image is further displayed through the relationship of complementary characteristics of the two sexes in Gen 2. Each sex complements the other in such a way that a unity of purpose and meaning is formed and the image of God is reflected. Therefore, if the image of God is defined in an asexual term and yet presented in a masculine way, which in turn assigns woman a secondary status, then the asexual imagery of God needs redefinition so that woman may be placed on an equal footing with man and a real unity between man and woman may also be achieved.

The teaching of the creation of humankind in the divine image in Gen 1 has made a profound impact upon Koreans believers, especially upon women in the church. In the main teaching of the dominant Korean religions, there is no concern for the origin of humankind and thus the existence of humankind is viewed in relation to the existence of the universe, and human life is explained in terms of harmony and disharmony. Both Korean Shamanism and Korean Buddhism teach that all gods, ancestral spirits, living people and nature live together in harmony while Korean Confucianism holds that humanity consists of the cooperative union of *yin* and *yang* of the cosmic force *ki* or

vital force. In order that human life may function in harmony, peace and health, it is believed that *yin* and *yang* have to be in union within the body. For this reason, the interaction of *yin* and *yang* are seen as complementary, mutually reinforcing and interacting with one another. However, Confucianism describes that women are not equal to men and woman's role is to produce a male heir for her husband's family, and look after her own children. The position of a woman is well described in the *Tan Goon* myth from the mythology of the origin of the Korean nation. According to that myth, a bear was instructed by a god to carry out a difficult task for 100 days. It performed the task with tremendous patience. As a reward it became a woman to be the spouse of the very god who had ordered it to take the test, and bore a son, who became the first ruler of Korea: "Tan Goon". In this myth, woman was made to be a vessel for producing a male.

Against this background, the creation of humankind in the image of God became really good news to the Korean woman who was perceived as a creature born to obey man: she is to obey her father as a child and her husband as a married woman, and her son if she is widowed. Consequently, Korean women functioned only as assistants of the men. However, Gen 1 claims that man and woman are equally created in the divine image and both are assigned to rule the world. Such equality of man and woman was a wonderful discovery for Korean women and one of the women believers expressed her joy in its discovery thus: "I finally became an autonomous being" (H H Yang 1998:216). With this experience, women began to raise their voices against the patriarchal society, reasoning that women and men shared the same origin in God's creation. Women then, also had the same right as men to live their lives and carry out the task given to them (H H Yang 1998:215).

As women in Korea experienced their own worth in their ownership of the image of God, a significant change occurred and the position of woman shifted in the course of Korean history. The wholeness of women's reality was realised as they heard God's affirmation of their identity, that they were beings in the divine image and likeness. With the inner freedom to be a full person that Korean women found, they devoted their lives to this newly found truth to the extent of suffering, persecution and death (Jo 1996:117-154; Yang 1997:169). Thus women played a significant role in the growth of

the Korean church and, as a result, 70% of Korean believers in the Korean church are women (Kang 1999:61).

Despite women's sacrificial devotion to church growth, their positions and roles are limited in the KPC due to the one-sided interpretation of the creation story by male theologians who tend to interpret the image in a less functional, more essential way. Therefore, the theology of the creation of humankind requires a reinterpretation if the dignity of the image of God for humanity, and for women in particular is to be reclaimed in the present situation in which rapid and dehumanising globalisation is taking place.

Careful contemporary exegesis has shown that the two biblical creation stories include women equally in their understanding of humanity. In Gen 1 humankind is created in the image of God on the last day of creation activity and the maleness and femaleness of human beings, like other creatures, also receives the gift of fertility, while their identity is favoured by the divine image. God designates them as representatives of God to rule and care for the earth and its creatures. Thus Gen 1 makes it clear that a complementary position for male and female together is intended without any hidden theme of domination⁷⁸.

Since God assigns them both to be representatives of God to rule and care for God's creatures and creation, it has to be realised that the exercise of human rule or stewardship over the earth is for both man and woman. The understanding now is that if women are created in the image of God, their human reality needs promotion from a secondary status to the rightful place of equal beings with men as the representatives of God. This would result in a full participation in the image of God by women in fulfilling the role God has designed for them according to the divine plan for God's creation. This would also initiate reclaiming the dignity of the image of God, not only for women themselves, but also for the whole of humanity especially in the present situation where mammonism defaces the dignity of humans.

⁷⁸ Similarly, Gen 2 also describes creation in such a way that הָאָדָם was completed when woman was created. This also indicates mutuality as the key to the human relationship. This suggests that Scripture does not polarise the human couple into a binary pattern of sexual complementary.

6.2.4.4 Day of rest

Genesis records that everything God created in six days was “good”, while it narrates that God sanctified the last day. The Sabbath is further characterised as a day without work, as being blessed, sanctified and devoted to the Creator. Apart from this seventh day, nothing in the creation context that is connected with space is called holy (Hamilton 1990:143). The work of creation concludes with the divine repose on the seventh day. This indicates perhaps that the climax of creation was not the creation of humankind, but the day of rest, the seventh day. The seventh day then returns us to focus on God the Creator and discloses something about God, the world and humanity.

The term “Sabbath day” appears seventy-one times in the Old Testament, mainly in Exodus and is referred to as law within three categories (Ex 16:4-5, 23-30; 20:8-11; 23:12; 31:12-15; 34:21; 35:2; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:12). According to these references, the Sabbath is not the day to “rest up” or “to restore” oneself, but the day to “cease” or “to stop” one’s work (Andreasen 1974:459). The Sabbath is to be observed by resting from work. It releases humans and beasts from the labours of the week. By affording a day of rest to dependent labourers (Ex 20:10, Deut 5:14-15 and Ex 23:12), the Sabbath institutes an order for human existence (Westermann 1984:171). The Sabbath invites all the creatures of God to rejoice in God's creation. Therefore, embracing God’s Sabbath rest means celebrating God as Creator and Redeemer and recognising God’s sovereignty.

In other words, the Sabbath is a reminder of our common worth as a part of God’s creation (Birch 1991:80). The Sabbath is a day of revolutionary social equality that makes all men and women equal before God in society (Brueggemann 1982:35). Therefore, Sabbath rest is to be available to animals as well as humans regardless of wealth or class or need (Ex 20:8-11). The Sabbath of God, with the creation described in Genesis, provides the theme of the equality of humankind because the rest of God is a promised rest for humankind who was created in the image of God. The rest of God is an invitation to form a new kind of human community; it exists for the well-being of humankind (Brueggemann 1982:36).

6.2.5 Summary and conclusion

Through social-rhetorical critical interpretation, this chapter has examined the different dimensions of Gen 1: inner texture, intertexture, ideological texture and theological texture. Although these various textures reveal diverse meanings of the text, the nature of God and of the world (humans included) are generally revealed and God's relationship with the world and the relationship of human beings with nature are manifested as well.

In our inner textual analysis we used repetitive-progressive, narrative and open-middle-closing texture. In the repetitive-progressive texture we examined the structure of Gen 1. Repetitive formulas and the symmetrical structure revealed God's characters. God who brings everything into existence by divine speech demonstrates God's singular role as sovereign creator in the creation of the universe. God the creator not only brings the creation into existence in many forms, but also acts in the creation to sustain it and shape it according to his/her purpose. In the open-middle-closing texture, we looked at the creation activity of God on each day with special attention to the sixth day: the creation of humankind. The fundamental distinction between humankind and nature is that God makes humanity in God's own image, while the other beings are brought into being by God's word alone. Humanity is further distinguished from the rest of creation by being given dominion over it. The creation of humanity is the culminating creative event, the one event that cannot be omitted without fundamentally diminishing the story (Firmage 1999:101).

Intertextual analysis showed how outside materials were embedded in the text. In the oral-scribal texture, Gen 2-3 are reconfigured in such a way that their rhetoric regarding the creation account of humankind is reversed. The last event becomes the most significant and the judgement of painful procreation is turned into a divine blessing. Cultural intertextual analysis revealed certain external influences on Gen 1, as religio-cultural parallels between Gen 1 and the Babylonian creation epic were investigated. A comparison between these two accounts revealed more differences than similarities, which proved that there is no direct connection between the two. Furthermore, this comparison showed Israel rejecting and fighting off that which it regarded as irreconcilable with its faith and understanding of God, through the recognition of certain

external influences in its Exilic cultural and religious context (Hasel 1974:82). The historical intertexture demonstrates the historical framework of the Israelites, which links the creation account to their own history to the extent that it becomes the introduction to the Old Testament. This shift in focus suggests that Gen 1 is the basis of the reinterpretation of the subsequent creation accounts in the Old Testament.

Ideological textual analysis identified a polemical aspect of Gen 1 against the background of Babylonian cosmology. The establishment of the Babylonian empire was based on the *Enuma elish* creation epic. Subsequently its kingship was legitimised to govern ordinary humans. Since humans were created to free the gods of their hard labour, they were used to serve that kingdom. Against such a background, Gen 1 is a polemic designed to combat this kind of mythology. God in Gen 1 is the sole creator of the entire world and all human beings created in the divine image are representatives of God. Even Marduk, the god of Babylon, is a mere creature of God, since God is the only sovereign creator of the universe. This polemic has an implication for our present day in which certain religions are used to legitimate the ideology of a specific group in support of its position.

The theological texture subsumes the aspect of God, nature, humankind and the day of rest. God is the sole creator of the entire world. His sovereignty is revealed as God's spoken word is obeyed immediately when God creates the heavens and the earth. This manifests the transcendent nature of God over creation. However, God's immanency in creation is also displayed through the creation of humankind and the blessing God bestows on it. Thus the universal sovereignty of God is demonstrated through all the events of the Creation. Consequently the nature of God revealed in Gen 1 is transcendent over creation, yet also immanent in creation.

This God is introduced to Koreans as *Hananim*. *Hananim* creates the entire world. By the word of God, all things in the heavens and on the earth are created. Therefore, nature is not divine. Human beings are also creatures of God, yet they are created to rule over what God has created. They can do so because their creation in the divine image qualifies them in relation to the other creatures. In the image of God man and woman are created. For this reason, a human being is not to rule over any other fellow human being, since all human beings are equally valuable in the eyes of God. The day of rest

also discloses something about God and the nature of God's creation. God invites God's creation to rest as God sets one day apart for this purpose. This reveals that the God who creates, also cares for what God created.

Gen 1:26-27 depicts humankind as also being created by God, but in a different manner from the other creations: "Then אֱלֹהִים said, "let us create אָדָם in כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." So God created אָדָם in אֱלֹהִים בְּצַלְמוֹ he created him (אָחֹז) male and female he created them (אִתָּם)."

Humankind is created humankind in the image of God, male and female. This implies that the divine image in humankind identifies in what type of relationship humankind, as male and female, was designed to exist, not only among the rest of God's creation but also among human beings. In the relationship that God intended, the characteristics of each sex are valued and used to form oneness in the identity and purpose of the sexes. Instead of a denial or suppression of female nature, female sexuality is appreciated since it becomes the resources for fulfilment and satisfaction for the two sexes. Therefore, a definition of the divine image that tends to present the male image as the supreme example of what it means to be human before God is not just. Since such a representation is based on a male bias, it also forces a female to deny or suppress her nature in order to express the asexual image of God in a masculine way. This has been practised in the church as well as in society in the tendency to grant various roles or positions to women. Her true status as a human being is denied and suppressed if it is expressed in a masculine way. Unless this biased perception that male imagery is more acceptable to God is reconsidered in a fundamental way, we diminish God who wants to reflect the characteristics of God in the world through every human being who is created in the image of God.

7. Conclusion

Since the focus of this dissertation has been on a more accountable interpretation of Gen 1-3 in the Korean Presbyterian Church, I have dealt with various interpretations of Gen 1-3 from male and female perspectives. The attempt has been how to establish a more constructive interpretation that is more responsible and accountable to the marginalised readers, particularly women in the KPC. In order to identify possible influential elements in Korean male centred interpretations of Gen 1-3, Korean worldviews were described and their impact on the formation of theological traditions in the KPC were demonstrated. We then investigated how these theological traditions had had a significant impact upon the interpretation of Gen 1-3 in the KPC. This investigation displayed how presuppositions of theologians yield different results. Therefore, an alternative interpretation of Gen 1-3 from a feminist perspective was discussed as part of the solution to promote justice for female readers. Although feminist readings may reduce the oppression of female readers, it was also evident that another possibility of oppression, that of men, could arise. The question that is posed, then, is: how can Gen 1-3 be interpreted so that it is more accountable to both genders?

The problem of this study has been related to questions such as: What causes and influences the Korean male-centred interpretation of Gen 1-3? What interpretation would be considered to be accountable to female readers then? How can one establish a female reading of Gen 1-3 that enhances a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of the Bible? The hypothesis was that Korean male centred interpretations of Gen 1-3 are caused by the religious influences of the main traditional Korean religions (Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism) and the background of theological traditions in Korean Christianity. Against such male biased interpretations, my second hypothesis suggested that a more accountable reading of Gen 1 from a female perspective could be achieved by adhering to D Patte's suggested ethics of interpretation. On these bases, I presupposed that a female perspective on Gen 1-3 could contribute to a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of that text. In order to read the text in a more ethically responsible and accountable way, the method of socio-rhetorical criticism of Vernon Robbins was proposed. Socio-rhetorical interpretation demonstrates an interdisciplinary nature in dealing with the text.

A comparative study of the significant Korean religio-cultural background entails the worldviews of Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. In order to analyse Korean worldviews, the concept 'worldview' is defined in chapter 2 as a set of core beliefs that form a central framework for explaining reality and the practices that shape a person's approach to the most important issues in life. Three common elements are found in every worldview: man, nature and gods or super-nature (Redfield 1957:90; Hesselgrave 1991:202). An examination of Korea's dominant religions demonstrated how Koreans relate to these common elements.

According to Korean Shamanism, nature is divine and the gods observe a hierarchical order with different responsibilities, with humans having to please the gods in order to enjoy a harmonious and peaceful life. Nevertheless, to serve the most powerful being was regarded as the most important task. Korean Buddhism also has various gods who decide human destiny, and the law of *Karma* determines the existence of humanity. This karma needs to be broken if a human being wishes to arrive in paradise. Hence, in Buddhism, the human being is simply part of nature and nothing in the world has its own separate existence. According to Neo-Confucianism in Korea, everything in the universe came into being through the interaction of the intentional force (*li*) and the material force (*ki*). Humans are good by nature because of the innateness of *li* but their physical endowment of *ki* makes them evil. A man becomes a sage when he is conscious of the will of *li* (the Heaven or the ultimate principle). A subject's loyalty to his superior, a wife's loyalty to her husband and a person's filial piety to his/her origins are very important since such conduct is the will of the Heaven.

A historical comparative study of Korean Christianity in terms of its conservative and liberal theological past demonstrated how these worldviews influenced and shaped the theological traditions of the Korean Presbyterian Church. With the role that the first missionaries played in the theological education of Korean believers, Korean Christianity began to take root smoothly in the unstable political situation in Korea of that time. However, as Korean believers began to be exposed to other systems of belief, two different reactions from one believing community ensued. The fundamental difference was in relation to the view of Scripture: one (the conservative) held the view that it was the inspired word of God without any error and, therefore, it was authoritative, while the other (the liberal) was of the opinion that, although it was the

word of God, it did not have absolute authority because of the historical errors found in it. Our observation shows that both of these groups have been strongly influenced by their teachers. Out of filial piety to their origin, teachings were accepted without critical consideration. These different views have been well exemplified in a reading of specific texts in Chapter 3. Consequently, although Christianity elevated woman's place in Korea, the nature of the prevalent patriarchal system brought women back to where they had been in a subtle way. Accordingly, women's place and position in the church was redefined, which caused women in the KPC to experience a great deal of depression and hopelessness.

As each male centred theological tradition influences the reading of the biblical texts, its understanding of the nature of humanity and the relationship between man and woman demonstrates that the interpretation of Gen 1-3 is thoroughly male biased. According to the interpretations from the conservative tradition, although it is believed that man and woman are created in the image of God and their human rights are equal, the function or role of woman is not the same as man's. According to interpretations from the liberal tradition, although man and woman are created equal in the divine image, the Fall caused God to declare an unequal relationship between man and woman. Furthermore, the notion of the divine image is commonly understood in terms of the essential or spiritual characteristics of God. This implies that man is the ruler and woman is the ruled, as it has been assumed that man has a stronger mind and, therefore, the functional aspect of the divine image has no place for woman. Such an understanding carries the implication that the restoration of the whole of humanity through Jesus Christ is not equally applicable to woman.

These male biased interpretations of Gen 1-3 were exposed as subjective and ideological, and feminist scholars have embarked on a new or alternative strategy to read Gen 1-3. Feminist readings of the text are based on the experiences of women and fall into three main categories: literary, culturally-cued literary, and historical critical readings.

In the literary reading, Gen 1-3 is taken as an egalitarian text in which "the image of God male and female" reflects the equality of man and woman. Accordingly, the first human was an earthling and was created to cultivate the land. Man's sexuality was

given when woman was created. Woman was created not as a helpmate to man, but as a companion to an earth creature in order to deliver man from his loneliness. The same term עֵזֶר that is used to describe woman's role often designates God, who delivers Israel out of trouble or from the hand of the enemy in the Old Testament. Woman's response to the temptation in the garden of Eden is depicted as independent, intelligent and ingenious while man is considered passive, inept and "belly-oriented" acquiescent (Trible 1978: 113). Consequently, in the feminist literary reading, woman is deemed superior to man.

The culturally-cued literary reading, in contrast, presents a pessimistic picture. The speech act theory demonstrates that Gen 1-3 is not an egalitarian text. The absence of equality in the Hebrew language clearly proves man's dominion over woman in the patriarchal society. This is confirmed when man's dominion over woman as the consequence of a particular transgression is announced. Therefore, the claim that "woman is the crown of creation" is nothing more than "wishful thinking" (Lanser 1988:74).

In the historical critical reading, the concept of the "image of God" is democratized, as the representational or functional aspect of the divine image is emphasized more. This concept is found in the ancient world to describe the king as one who stands in a special relationship to the god whose image he bears. In this reading, sexuality is isolated from the notion of the image of God since the term **צֶלֶם** in Gen 1 is understood only in relation to the human species as a whole. Therefore, the divine image is applicable only to the species as a whole and sexuality has reference to individuals of the species for the purpose of procreation (Bird 1981:159; 1987:35). Thus, a bisexual order of creatures as the crown of creation is suggested in Gen 1. Gen 2-3 focuses on the bisexual nature of the human species in order to stress the relationship between the sexes. Since Gen 2-3, the Yahwist narrative, is androcentric in its form and perspective, the first human is, therefore, presented as an individual male, specifically a peasant farmer (Bird 1987:38). Although the creation of woman is described from the man's point of view in terms of his need for a companion or helper in procreation, the attraction of the sexes is the author's primary interest. This is manifested through the sexual drive, the consummation of which is conceived as a re-union. The explicit statement of the woman's subordination to the man in Gen 3 does not define the order of creation.

Rather, it is a sign of the sinful perversion of that order. The Yahwist tradition sees the disobedience of man and woman to the divine command as the root of the sin that disturbs the original harmony of creation. Consequently, the companionship between man and woman is broken as the word of judgement is spoken. Thus the companion of Chapter 2 has become a master and the historical subordination of woman to man is inaugurated.

Against these diverse understandings of Gen 1-3, how is it possible to establish a female reading of Gen 1-3 that offers a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of the Bible? I presupposed that a female perspective of Gen 1-3 could contribute to such an interpretation. However some feminist readings would seem to be equally oppressive to other readers. Therefore, a more integrated reading is essential if a more accountable interpretation is to be established. For this purpose, I employed the socio-rhetorical criticism developed by Vernon Robbins to read the text of Gen 1. Since it is multidimensional in nature, socio-rhetorical interpretation examines inner, inter-, ideological and theological textures.

Our inner textual analysis of Gen 1 reveals the nature of God, of humankind and of nature in the Creation. Various repetitive formulas display the universal sovereignty of God as the creator of the universe. Six days of creation exhibit a symmetrical structure that reflects the harmony and order of creation. Of the six days of God's creation activity, the creation of humankind is the focal point and the climax. Man and woman are created in the image of God and they are assigned to rule over the earth as they are blessed with the power of fertility. The notion of the divine image not only relates humankind to God, and but also qualifies human dominion over all the other creatures. The repetition of words and phrases further demonstrates the sovereignty of God as the sole creator God of the universe. By divine speech alone, all objects in the world came into being. After the six days of creation activity, the seventh day is blessed, sanctified and dedicated to God. On the seventh day God rests. Thus God's absolute power over the creation of the entire world is again approved.

In our intertextual analysis, oral-scribal, cultural and historical intertextures are examined. Oral-scribal intertextual analysis shows how other texts outside Genesis 1 have been reconfigured. Cultural intertextual analysis exhibited the characteristics of

Israelite thought amidst the ancient world, in which mythical-religious concepts were pervasive. Historical intertextual analysis demonstrated further that, within the historical frame of reference of the Israelites, the creation account was reconfigured as the introduction to the history of their beginning. This interpretation indicates that the subsequent creation accounts in the entire Bible are to be read in the light of Gen 1.

The ideological textual analysis examined the *Sitz im Leben* of the text and its impact upon the readers of that time. Gen 1 challenges not only the ideology of the Babylonian empire based on its creation epic, but also modern readers to rethink Gen 1 in its present context. This challenge is valid because a particular way of reading Gen 1-3 has affected readers and reading communities in various contexts. The analysis of ideological texture corrects the centuries old perception of a biased image of God.

Theological analysis presents the transcendence of God in Gen 1: God precedes creation and presides over it. As the divine speech is uttered, things are brought into existence. In contrast to Korean religions, Genesis does not identify God with nature. Rather it presents God as a transcendent being over creation. The human beings are created in order to be the image of God in a world in which God himself cannot be present as transcendent creator (Van Wolde 1996:28). Therefore, humans are not created to worship nature: even less are they created to serve gods, as happens in Korean religions. Rather the human being is created in the image of God and is assigned to rule over creation as the representative of God.

In the creation of humankind in the divine image, sexuality, in which humanity is presented as two although one in their unity, is depicted as a crucial element of being human. Such oneness and duality, reflected in Gen 1:26-27 establishes the basis of the equal worth and value of both sexes before God. This equalness reveals that man and woman fulfil the purpose of God for their creation when they practice their rulership in oneness over the rest of creation. For this reason, the image of God, presented in terms of the image of a male, does not do justice to the diverse divine images revealed in the Bible. Consequently, it is essential to emphasise more a bisexual imagery of God if the male biased interpretation is to be overcome. This would eventually lead to woman participating fully in fulfilling the role that God has designed for them in the very

creation. As van Wolde (1996:29) said, every human is a pointer to God for another human being and this in turn makes the transcendent God visible in the world.

Our theological textual analysis has a number of implications for our present day situation. The notion that God is the only sovereign creator and the ruler of the universe has certain implications, particularly for Korean Christians, who live in a plural society in which different religious groups present various concepts of gods according to their own beliefs. The desacralisation of nature also has a significant implication for Korean Christians since they face the contradictory claim by many different religions that nature is divine. The democratisation of the divine image and the Sabbath day for humanity has implications as well for our individualised, materialistic and capitalistic plural society in which humans are less valued and otherness imposes inferior status, as racism and sexism have manifested. In the midst of this, the sovereign God, the creator of the entire world, says that man and woman are created in the image of God and they are designated to be a ruler in oneness. Man and woman alike are also invited to participate in the rest set aside by God for all creatures of God. In God's invitation, there is no longer west or east, there are no longer haves or have-nots, there is no longer man and woman; for all of them are one family in God, the creator and every human being is created to represent God.

A socio-rhetorical reading of Gen 1 demonstrates that there is no sexual distinction based on an ethical status or roles. Although the creation texts exhibit their cultural contexts, Gen 1 is not concerned with a specific order for man and woman in God's creation. This gives us some insights into and understanding of the nature of biblical texts. As indicated, the Jewish people in their Exilic context called into question their basic understanding of their relationship with God, God's way of working in the world, and the nature of their own lives as the people of God. As a result, their fundamental way of viewing God, human nature and the world had to be reformulated and in the process the equality of male and female is acknowledged. This is contrast to Gen 2-3 in which the tension between nature and culture is exemplified through the relationship of the sexes and their states.

The concept of the divine image in Gen 1 applied in its biological terms, male and female, offers us no theological resolution to the existing inequality of gender role

distinctions and classifications. Rather the concept invites us to be open to possible new meanings beyond those bound by culture. In so doing, justice to women is promoted in terms of equality. If the Priestly tradition, which did not allow woman to be on a par with man in every aspect of life, has interpreted the creation texts anew within a new context, how much more would it do so in the present context, in which human rights are highly recognised and acknowledged.

Moreover, the fact that two different creation accounts in Gen 1-3 are put side by side and the creation of humankind is not viewed as one fixed story indicates that we are to read the rest of the creation stories in the Old Testament in the light of the creation account of Gen 1. This may also help us to approach Scripture with a certain openness. For this reason, Gen 1, within the present context, challenges the interpreter as well as the reader to self-critical activity in reading or interpreting the text within their own context. This is because Scripture has allowed diversity, and the text of Gen 1 created a new meaning for the readers of the Exilic society, as Gen 2-3 did for the readers of the original cultures reflected in the Scriptures. Therefore, the KPC also needs to be challenged to look at the relationship of male and female anew and to be invited to be a partner in restoring the lost half of the dignity of the image of God for humanity. If exile for the Jewish people signified a calling into question of their secure centres of meaning as the people of God, our traditional way of viewing the nature of God and of humankind should equally be called into question in our present context.

There are still other significant issues for further consideration in the future, for example, the day of rest, and an inclusive redefinition of God and ecological issues. With respect to the above issues and their pertinence to our contemporary context, the following comments are appropriate: the day of rest and its associated connotations of honouring God as the ultimate owner of the land had specific relevance to theological, ethical perception and practice, whereby the land was given a distinctiveness and significance; the acknowledgement of the Covenant people as 'tenants' with the directive from God to 'care for', to honour and ensure the prosperity of all that God has placed within their care (humanity and ecology); the awareness that God, being the supreme 'provider', would make provision for those who adhered to God's expectations according to God's design for God's creation; plus the knowledge that God could be trusted through faith to fulfil God's will for God's creation and that they would

experience God's provision and prosperity if their tenancy and 'care of all' entrusted to them met with God's stipulations. An additional issue worthy of consideration is the redefinition of God. I have become aware that God has been presented as predominantly male within the field of Dogmatics. This kind of androcentric connotation has had a resultant negative impact on women. This understanding is not justified according to my research, since this male biased presentation of God has forced females to deny or suppress their natures in order to express the asexual image of God in a masculine way. My purpose ultimately would be to propose a redefinition and re-use of God for our contemporary context. I believe that the issues described above have a crucial theological relevance in contemporary contexts, research and interpretation.

Despite these remaining issues, this dissertation has made a few contributions to the KPC. Firstly, it has proved that male centred interpretations of Gen 1-3 in the KPC are due to the influence of the dominant Korean religions of pre-Christianity and to the theological tradition that developed in Korean Christianity. Therefore, these interpretations are not accountable to the majority of female readers of the KPC. In addition to that, as it has been pointed out in various chapters, no interpretation could be claimed for as objective in doing exegesis since different presuppositions influence the reading of the biblical texts. Secondly, a pioneering attempt has been made to read Gen 1-3 from a Korean female perspective in order to achieve an interpretation more accountable to Korean believers. Thirdly, by means of a socio-rhetorical approach through a female perspective, I have demonstrated that a sensitive female reading could indeed contribute a more accountable and responsible Korean interpretation of the Bible to the Korean church.

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