

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL DUALISM IN KOREAN CHURCH
EDUCATION**

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Title: Anthropological dualism in Korean church education.

Keywords: Anthropology, dualism, dichotomy, trichotomy, Korean Christianity, Korean church education, human being

SUMMARY

The Christian church was begun in 19th century in the traditionally multi-religious society in Korea. Christianity holds a major position in Korea today and has for the past 20 years been growing rapidly in numbers. Despite its phenomenal growth, the churches, and Christianity in general, have been suffering from several ailments, of which dualistic thinking is not the least. Anthropological dualism amounts to not only distinguishing between soul and body, but also ascribing a separate and independent existence to each of these "components" of the human being.

This dualism (as well as others) developed in the church under the influence of traditional Korean religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism and Shamanism that have been teaching such dualisms. The Korean Christian mindset has to this day been dualistic both as a result of such cultural and philosophical influences and of ideas brought by the early missionaries to Korea. The influence of Platonic dualism is still widespread in the conservative and gospel church.

This study focuses on:

- ◆ examining the nature of the problem of anthropological (and other forms of) dualism
- ◆ how the problem has been manifesting itself in Korean churches and in church education
- ◆ the most momentous influences on Korean Christianity and churches resulting in

a dualistic mindset regarding life in general and the human being in particular

- ◆ the impact of anthropological dualism on church life and especially on education in the context of the church
- ◆ the Biblical view of the human being, and on
- ◆ how the pervasive problem of anthropological dualism can be eradicated.

It was found that, although the Bible uses a whole variety of words that somehow relate to or describe the human being, these words or terms do not refer to “parts” or “components” but rather to different facets of the human being, much like one can refer to the different facets of a polished diamond. Whenever a word is used, it refers to a particular perspective from which the human being is approached or viewed but in the final analysis, it refers to the whole being. Discovery of this perspective was important in view of the dualistic tendencies in Korean churches and in church education. Application of a holistic view of the human being enables one to approach education as the guiding, leading, enabling, equipping and disciplining of educands (those who are being guided etc.) as whole, total and integrated persons.

Titel: Antropologiese dualisme in die Koreaanse kerkopvoeding en -onderwys

Sleutelwoorde: Antropologie, dualisme, digotomie, trigotomie, Koreaanse Christendom, Koreaanse kerkopvoeding en -onderwys, die mens

OPSOMMING

Die Christelike kerk in Korea het in die 19de eeu ontstaan in die raamwerk van 'n tradisionele multi-religieuse samelewing. Die Christendom is vandag taamlik prominent, en het die afgelope twee dekades sterk in getalle gegroei. Ondanks die opmerklike groei van die kerk het dit nog altyd gely onder verskeie tekortkominge, waaronder dualistiese denkpatrone. Antropologiese dualisme kom nie slegs neer op onderskeiding tussen die liggaam en die siel van die mens nie, maar selfs op die skeiding tussen hierdie twee menslike "komponente".

Hierdie dualisme (en ander) het in die kerk ontwikkel onder die invloed van tradisionele Koreaanse godsdienste soos die Boeddhisme, Confusianisme en Shamanisme, wat almal hierdie beskouing bevat. As gevolg van die heersende kulturele en filosofiese invloede asook die opvattinge wat die eerste sendelinge met hulle saamgebring het, is die Koreaanse denkpatroon vandag in wese dualisties. Die invloed van 'n Platonistiese dualisme is vandag nog wydverbreid in die konserwatiewe en evangeliese kerk.

Hierdie studie is gerig op ondersoek van die volgende fasette van die probleem:

- ◆ die aard van die probleem van antropologiese (en ander vorme van) dualisme
- ◆ hoe die probleem in die Koreaanse kerke en in kerkopvoeding en -onderwys tot uitdrukking gekom het
- ◆ die belangrikste invloede op die Koreaanse Christendom en op die kerke wat tot

'n dualistiese kyk op die lewe in die algemeen en die mens in die besonder gelei het

- ◆ die impak van antropologiese dualisme op die kerklike lewe en in die besonder op kerkopvoeding en –onderwys
- ◆ die Bybelse visie op die mens, en
- ◆ maniere waarop die probleem van antropologiese dualisme uit die weg geruim kan word.

Daar is vasgestel dat hoewel die Bybel 'n hele aantal woorde gebruik wat op die een of ander manier verband hou met die mens of wat die mens beskryf, hierdie woorde nie een verwys na “dele” of “komponente” van die mens nie, maar eerder na fasette van die mens, net soos wanneer 'n mens verwys na die fasette van 'n gepoleerde diamant. Wanneer een van hierdie woorde gebruik word dan verwys dit in laaste instansie na die hele menslike wese. Die ontdekking van hierdie perspektief is belangrik gesien die dualistiese tendense in die Koreaanse kerk en die kerklike opvoeding. Die toepassing van 'n holistiese siening van die mens stel die opvoeder in staat om opvoedlinge as hele, totale en geïntegreerde wesens te benader wanneer aan hulle leiding, begeleiding, in staatstelling, toerusting en dissipelvorming gegee word.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL DUALISM IN KOREAN CHURCH EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIMS OF THE RESEARCH, AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research problem will be outlined and its topicality explained, the research aim will be formulated, the research method described and the structure of the study (this thesis) will be outlined.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

1.2.1 Background

The Gospel of Jesus Christ was propagated in the traditionally multi-religious society in Korea towards the end of 19th century. The Christian church has thus grown in the context of a pagan society (Kim, 2004a: 383), and today still bears characteristics of that paganism, of which a dualistic view of life and of the human being is the most conspicuous. Korean traditional religions have been teaching such dualisms since the prehistoric age, partially as a result of the cultural environment. Koreans' mindset has to this day been dualistic as a result of the cultural and philosophical influences exuded by their mainly pagan history and cultural environment.

Korean Buddhism is, for example, still today a form of syncretism within traditional Korean culture, also in the form of "shamanized Buddhism" (Kim, 1996:102-103). Shamanized Buddhism has a strong conception of sin, hell, the necessity of saviourship, and of paradise (*Geukrak*, in Buddhist terms) (Kim, 1996:114-115). According to

Shaman doctrine, people are religious in order to free themselves from sin, and to go to paradise. The influence of Shamanism inclines Korean people towards a faith in which the blessings by a god are uppermost, rather than the living of a holy life (Kim, 2004a:369-370).

Animism is another influence on Christianity in Korea today. This pagan belief holds that the spirit of the deceased is still present among the living. The Seongrak Baptist Church, for instance, which is a big church in Seoul, developed the unique theory of a separate bodily life and a demonic spirit, partially as a result of animistic influences still prevailing among the members of the church (Kim, 1985a:167-189).

Another religion which has had great influence on the consciousness of the Korean people and of Christians to the present, is Confucianism. Under the Confucianist influence, Korean Christians crave social status and fame, and regard church office as a form of authority rather than as service to the church and the congregants (Son, 1978: 386).

In addition to traditional influences like those mentioned above, the early Christian missionaries brought with them a dualistic anthropological viewpoint to Korea. Especially American missionaries in the early stages of their missionary work in Korea were dualistic Evangelists who tended to separate the sacred and the secular, and who seemed to be unconcerned with actual reality (Min, 2005:126-127).

It must also be remembered that Korea used to be a colony of Japan (1910-1945) at the time that Christianity was introduced to Korea. Korea was first under siege by Japan, and during the ensuing colonial period, Japan tried to make sure that Korean churches dealt only with the gospel, and not with matters of every day reality.

Since then, Korean Christianity has tended to focus mainly on spiritual purity, the revival of the church itself and also on the hereafter rather than dabbling in reality (Son, 1978: 384).

Until recently (1961-1992), Korea was governed by a military force. A result of this was that the state and church were pressed to act separately. The Korean conservative church did not participate in politics and social problems as a result of this militarily dominated socio-cultural environment (Kim, 2004a:280-281).

1.2.2 Christianity in Korea today

Christianity holds a major position in Korea today and has for the past twenty years been growing rapidly in numbers. The problem of ontological and anthropological dualism in the church has, however, become more acute under the influence of the socio-cultural and religious contexts painted in 1.2.1 above (Son, 1978:220). Many Korean Christians still believe that, on the one hand, man exists bodily or physically and, on the other, that he is spiritual being. This belief is, according to Van der Walt (1978b:106), typical of anthropological dualism.

The influence of Platonic dualism is still widespread today in the conservative and gospel church (Lee, 1988:88-91). It can be detected in disciple training, preaching and teaching, as well as in the concept of labour, and in social life. Korean churches tend to emphasize missionary fervour, evangelism, church-centred life and spiritual gifts, and to disregard the social responsibility of congregants like providing for the less fortunate and living a life that bears the fruits of the Holy Spirit (Kim, 2004a:369-372). The Yoeido Full Gospel Church, the largest church in Korea, for instance, teaches the “quintet of salvation and triple time blessing“(Kim, 2004a:284-285). “Triple time” here

refers to spirit, soul and body, which means that this church teaches a trichotomy. This church has, nevertheless, exerted great influence on Korean Christianity. Many churches, including the Presbyterian churches, followed (and are still following) this dualistic dogma.

Typical Korean conservative theologians like H. R. Park, who has been one of the greatest influences on Korean pastors and Christians, especially conservative Presbyterians, have taken to anthropological dichotomy (see Park, 1977a:21, 60). His systematic theology is still regarded as the most important textbook in the conservative Presbyterian Church. Many Christian leaders follow in his tracks.

1.2.3 The nature of anthropological dualism

The above-mentioned problems in Korean Christianity are results of anthropological dualism, which not only distinguishes between soul and body, but also ascribes a separate and independent existence to each of these "components" of the human being. The problem of body-soul, mind-body or mind-matter, a perennial feature of Western philosophy (Fowler, 1991:3), has also become a problem of Korean Christianity today.

Because of this misinterpreted and unbiblical view of human integrity, Korean Christianity and churches have become confused concerning other important philosophical questions, such as the relationship between faith and practice, faith and science, the sacred and the secular, and talk and walk.

The basic idea of anthropological dualism is that the human person is a composite of two disparate parts: body and soul. Man is seen as constructed of two distinct kinds of substance that combined to form the human person. In this combination, superior value is assigned to the soul-part as immortal, over the body-part which is seen as mortal. This,

in turn, leads to an unbiblical devaluing of bodily, earthly life and encourages an earth-flight type of spirituality (Fowler, 1991:9-10).

The central issue here is whether the soul can survive and function apart from the human body. In other words, is human nature constructed in such a way that, at death, it can come apart, the conscious personal part continuing to exist (in another dimension), while the human being as an organism disintegrates (Cooper, 1989:1-6)? The further question is: is the body a sort of house for the soul; or is it better to think of the soul as the captain of the ship of the body, the driver of a horse-cart (cf. Platonic Realism)?

Philosophical dualism in Western philosophy and theology is a heritage from the Greek philosopher Plato. According to Cooper (1989:7-14), such a dichotomy was present from the beginning in the thinking of the Latin church fathers and given lasting status by Augustine. The tradition of Augustinian Platonism was maintained by the Protestant Reformation, also in Calvin's theology (Van der Walt, 1978a: 235).

1.2.4 Anthropological dualism in Korean Christian church education

Korean Christian schools worship God regularly while the management of schools is mostly non-biblical and in some cases even immoral (Chong, 1991:122). Not only the Bible is taught to students, but also blatant naturalistic evolution theory as a recognized approach to reality and man.

In Korean Christianity, dualism has influenced the education within the church. Many conservative theologians and Christian educators adhere to certain forms of dualism as a principle, hence the fact that dualism, in the form of soul-body, sacred-secular, and faith-practice dichotomies, is taught without reserve in church by pastors and teachers.

According to Han (2000:68-83), the worshiping of God is the Christian's highest

occupation and an important part of church education. The nature of worship in many Korean churches exacerbates the problem of dualism because many ministers seem to encourage it in their sermons when emphasizing that success in life is God's blessing, and by teaching that to pray is merely to seek the blessing of God for their congregation (Kim, 2000:51). Believers experience a discrepancy between their worship and their daily actions because of this approach.

Many Korean church education texts mix different dogmas that originated in American Fundamentalism, Dispensationalism, and Pietism. Korean Christians therefore tend not to distinguish between true faith and falsehood. As a result of this kind of education, a discrepancy between faith and practice has been a question for a long time in Korean Christianity and Christian education (Kim, 2004a:372-374).

Korean church congregations are mostly composed of born-again believers (Kim, 2004a:372-373). Evangelism and missionary work have, however, taken the first place in Korean churches, while education is still regarded as subservient to these activities. This also points to a form of dualism in church life.

1.3 The Research Problem

What is the nature of the problem of anthropological dualism, how does the problem manifest itself in Korean churches and church education, and how can the problem be eradicated?

1.4 The Aim of the Research

The purpose of this research project was to determine the nature of the problem of anthropological dualism, to understand and describe how the problem manifests itself in Korean churches and church education. This aim was broken down into the following

sub-objectives:

1. to describe Christianity in Korea;
2. to determine traditional religious influences on Korean Christianity;
3. to determine the Western Christian influences on the Korean Christianity;
4. to determine the nature of anthropological dualism, and
5. to describe the Biblical teaching of man.

1.5 Topically of the Research

According to a dualistic world view there is a basic division between sacred and secular, the holy and the profane (Wolters, 1985: 74). Korean Christians and their churches have up to now wrongly juxtaposed the sacred and the secular realms. This can be detected in their disciple training, preaching and teaching, in their concept of labour as well as in their social lives. Korean churches also tend to emphasize missionary fervour, evangelism, a church-centred life and spiritual gifts strongly, and therefore tend to disregard the social responsibility of congregants like providing for the less fortunate and living a life that bears the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

Dualism has exerted great influence upon the entire course of the history of our knowledge of man (Van der Walt, 1978b: 105), also in Korean churches in the form of teaching a dualistic anthropological dichotomy and trichotomy. Christianity and the Christian churches in Korea are in dire need of research such as this to help them shrug off the insidious problem of dualistic thinking in their religious lives.

1.6 Research method

1.6.1 Literature Study

1.6.1.1 Review of literature

A study of primary and secondary sources was made in order to gather the necessary information regarding the problem of anthropological dualism, the relevant terminology, a Biblical anthropology, dualism in Korean churches and church education, its origins and the various theories and ideologies underlying the problem of dualistic thinking. Recent articles were accessed electronically by means of the EBSCO-host service on the Internet, inter alia by using key words such as the following: dualism, anthropological dualism, dualistic anthropology, mind-body problem, body-soul problem, Christian anthropology, and dualism in Korean Christianity. The problem of dualism in Korean churches and church education was outlined by means of an analysis of dogmatic material such as confessions, catechisms, minutes of synods and publications by theologians. Texts with educational relevance such as documents written by church educators, synod minutes, typical sermons and home education publications were also analyzed.

1.6.1.2 DIALOG-search

A DIALOG-search was conducted using the following key words: dualism, anthropological dualism, dualistic anthropology, mind-body problem, body-soul problem, Christian anthropology, and dualism in Korean Christianity. Several of these computer searches were conducted as the research progressed in order to keep abreast of the latest thinking about the problem.

1.6.1.3 The Problem-historical method

The problem of dualism in education is one with a long history in Korean church

education. In view of this fact, it was important to review the history of dualism (in Korean church education), and to assess the various historical changes it underwent in the light of prevailing historical conditions as well as in the light of Scriptural principles. One of the most recent contemporary methods of philosophical historiography is the problem-historical method which is based upon Prof. Dr. Vollenhoven's pioneering work (Van der Walt, 1978a: 6). Use of the method was a great help in providing the skeleton of a given philosophical system. Van der Walt (1978a:27) says that the problem-historical method is an attempt to gain insight into a philosophical conception by concentrating on the basic questions and answers concerning the cosmos as well as the movements or streams in the development of philosophical thought.

The problem-historical method entails asking two fundamental questions, namely about the chronological sequence of time currents, and of the nature of recurrent type. The latter is concerned with the former. The answer to the first question supplies us with information regarding different underlying philosophies or ideological streams. The answer to the second question indicates the type of anthropological dualism in question.

1.6.1.4 The Transcendental-critical method

The transcendental-critical method of theoretical thought is based on Herman Dooyeweerd's philosophy (as an adaptation of Kant's thinking). One of the main aims of the transcendental-criticism of theoretical thought is to provide a basis of agreement upon which communication and co-operation would be possible. On this basis, Dooyeweerd maintains, real contact is possible between different philosophical schools. He also seeks to articulate the conditions that make scientific/theoretical knowledge possible. According to Dooyeweerd (1948:77), the transcendental-critical method

appears to be the only way to establish real contact or discussion between the different schools of thought, which at first seems impossible for lack of any notion of the true starting points (Dooyeweerd, 1948:77). The transcendental-critical method supplies answers to questions such as the following:

- ◆ What is abstracted (or bracketed out) by the theoretical attitude of thought of the particular author? (And how is this abstraction possible?)
- ◆ What makes inter-modal synthesis (in this case, a logical concept versus non-logical *Gegenstand*) possible in this theory, in this case view of man?
- ◆ What makes critical self-reflection possible?

1.6.1.5 Fundamental reflection

After the application of the problem-historical and the transcendental-critical methods, the researcher sought to establish a Biblically founded and properly (principally) founded view of man (i.e. anthropology). In the process, he searched for God's law for the cosmos and for the human being as a part of that cosmos. This enabled him to find a means to eradicate the problem of anthropological dualism in Korean church education. This research focused chiefly on pastor's teaching in church in accordance with the tradition of the Reformed church.

1.7 Structure of this Research Report / Division into Chapters

This research report consists of the following chapters:

1. Background, statement of the problem and outline of the research methodology
2. Christianity in Korea: history and current situation
3. Traditional religious influences on Korean Christianity

4. Western Christian influences on the Korean church and its doctrines
5. Anthropological dualism in Korean Christian church education
6. The Biblical teaching about man: a normative view
7. Findings, conclusions and recommendations

1.8 Conclusion

After now having briefly outlined the research report, the research aim and the methods that were applied in conducting the research, the first step in reporting on the actual research that was done will now be taken. In the next chapter, the history, cultural and religious background and the current state of Christianity and the Christian churches in Korea will now be described. This will supply the necessary background for understanding the insidious problem of anthropological dualism in Korean church education.

2 CHRISTIANITY IN KOREA: ITS HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATION

2.1 Introductory Remark

It was only a little more than a hundred years ago that Christianity was first introduced to Korea. Christianity in Korea has achieved great development during this century. The development is surprising considering it is such a short time, and that there have been many problems in the process of establishing it and to have it answer to its calling. In this chapter, a relatively brief overview will be given of the history of Christianity in Korea, especially as it impacted on education. The current situation concerning Christianity in Korea will also be discussed.

2.2 Protestant Mission Work in Korea

2.2.1 Early Protestant Contact with Korea

Although there is no written record, traditionally it is believed that the first contact between Korea and Christianity was through the Nestorians in the 8th century (Min, 2005:3-5). The first documented evidence of contact with Christianity was with Roman Catholicism in 1592 during the War between Korea and Japan (Clark, 1971:48).

Following this, there was occasional contact with Catholicism in China and Japan. Especially from the 17th century onwards, contact took place with the Jesuits who were in Beijing, China, and in the 18th century through a Korean scholar of the *Silhak* school of Catholicism. These initial contacts were regarded not as religious but rather as a form of learning, known at the time as *Suhak*, i.e. Western Learning (Min, 2005:25-31).

After these first contacts, in 1784 a Korean named Lee Seung Hoon went to Beijing, was baptized and on his return to Korea held a meeting in Seoul, the Korean capital city. This meeting is regarded as the formal beginning of the Catholic Church in Korea. At

that time, Catholicism being a forbidden religion, the Catholic Church was repeatedly persecuted, especially in 1791, 1801, 1839, 1846 and 1866. These events are referred to as the Five Persecutions (Kim, 2004a: 53-61).

When the first Protestant missionary entered Korea it was 20 years after the final Catholic persecution, and also after the national isolation policy had been abolished. There was no more political persecution such as had been encountered by the Catholics. In other words, at the time of the introduction of Protestant Christianity to Korea the political situation had changed and was conducive to accepting Christianity (Lee, 1996:13).

In 1836, Carl A.F. Gutzlaff (1803-1851), a German who had served in China under the Netherlands Missionary Society, arrived in Korea. The East India Company sent him as an interpreter with the British ship *Lord Amherst* to investigate the possibilities of opening the northern ports of China for British trade. Robert Morrison, who was his friend and also a missionary, sent with Gutzlaff a large stock of Scriptures in the Chinese language to be distributed along the coast. Gutzlaff's visit to Korea was too brief to leave any significant results, but he expressed the faith that the results would not be lost (Clark, 1971: 60-61). The next Protestant missionary who was known to have made efforts to enter Korea was Robert J. Thomas (1839-1866), a member of the London Missionary Society who had worked in China. At the end of August 1866, he visited Korea as an interpreter on board the American trading schooner *General Sherman* which was attempting to open trade. The *General Sherman* entered the mouth of the Daidong River, Pyeongyang, but a skirmish broke out between her crew and a Korean patrol force. The encounter resulted in the massacre of the whole crew and the burning of the ship. Thomas and the others were killed on 2 September 1866 (Paik,

1979: 50). Thus Thomas' attempt to introduce the Christian faith into Korea through the spreading of the Bible ended in tragedy. Thomas is generally considered the first Protestant martyr for the cause of Christianity in Korea. His mission, which had apparently ended in failure, was to bear fruit in later years (Kim, 2004a:68-69).

2.2.2 Beginning of Gospel Works in Korea

The signing of a treaty between Korea and the United States of America (May 22, 1882) stimulated among Americans an interest in Korea as a possible mission field. A plea for commencing religious activities in Korea came forcibly to American churches through their representatives in Japan and China. Initially, American churches were indifferent about the Korean mission, mainly because of their ignorance of Koreans and the conditions in Korea. Also, there was no treaty granting permission to do religious work (Lee, 1996:32). American missionary agencies therefore did not take positive steps to open a mission in Korea until after the establishment of its first Embassy there (1883-1884) (Paik, 1979:81). Dr Horace N. Allen, who had been a medical missionary in China, and who belonged to the Northern Presbyterian Board (PCUSA), came to Korea as physician to the newly established diplomatic mission in Seoul, and at the same time to secure a foothold for Protestant missionary work. He arrived in Korea on 20 September 1884 and two days later he was in Seoul (Park, 2004a:372). He was at once appointed physician to the American legation and the other diplomatic groups in Seoul, the British, Chinese and Japanese. After a month, his family moved to Seoul from China and thus became the first resident missionary family in Korea (Kim, 2004a:76; Min, 2005:112).

Toward the end of the 19th century, the Korean political situation was in utter disarray.

On 4 December 1884, a political revolution by protagonists for modern liberal Government reforms took place, but failed. On that day, the conservative leader Min Yeong Ik, who was a near relative of the Queen, was badly wounded. He was lying at the door of death when Dr Allen was summoned to care for him. It took three months of constant medical care before Min was out of danger. By saving his life, the most powerful conservative leader, Dr Allen won the favour of the court and was appointed physician to the royal court. He won the confidence and friendship of the King and Queen and thus paved the way for unhindered missionary work (Min, 2005:111-113; Clark, 1971:89). This opened the door for Protestant missionary work in Korea.

The Royal Hospital *Gwanghye-weon* was opened in Seoul on 10 April 1885 (Lee, 2001a:17; Park, 2004a:388). Dr Allen took over the management of the hospital as its superintendent. He was the first American missionary doctor there, and he later served as the United Resident and Counsel General (1897-1900), also as Envoy Extraordinary and minister Plenipotentiary (1901-1905) (Lee, 1996:34).

Six months after Allen's arrival, on Easter Sunday 5 April 1885, the first clerical Protestant missionaries landed at Jemulpo in Korea via Japan. They were the Rev Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916), a Northern Presbyterian, and the Rev Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902), a Northern Methodist. Thus, from the beginning, Korea was dominated by two types of Protestant missions – Presbyterian and Methodist. Methodist missionaries Dr William B. Scranton, his wife and his mother Mary F. Scranton followed them. In June of the same year Dr and Mrs John W. Heron also came to Korea (Min, 2005:111-116; Kim, 2004a: 76-77; Seo, 2005b: 61-64).

From the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia, the Rev J. Henry Davies and his

sister Mary T. Davies came to Korea in 1889. Six months later, the Rev Davies died in Busan. After his death, the Australian Presbyterian Church was concerned about its Korean mission (Kim, 2004a:77).

The British Anglican Church began work in Korea in 1890 with the appointment of Bishop Charles. J. Corfe, and in 1892, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (commonly called the Southern Presbyterian Church) also began working there with the arrival of the Rev Lewis. B. Tate and his sister Mattie S. Tate, as well as of Miss Linnie Davis, the Rev William D. Raynolds and the Rev and William. N. Junkin (Min, 2005:117-118).

In August 1896, the Rev C. F. Reid arrived in Korea as the first missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South). In December 1893, the Rev William John MacKenzie came to Korea as independent missionary and went to live at Sorai, North Province, Korea, where he exerted a wide influence throughout the region. He died on July 1895. His death served to awaken the Canadian church to needs in the field. In 1898, Dr and Mrs Robert G. Grierson, the Rev and Mrs William R. Foote and the Rev Duncan M. MacRae, arrived in Korea and began work in Hamgyeong Province, the north-eastern province of Korea.

Though the Presbyterians and the Methodists completely dominated the picture in Korea, some mention should also be made of other denominations. A number of Missions such as the Baptist Church, The Salvation Army, the Plymouth Brethren, the Oriental Missionary Society and the Seventh Day Adventists Missions also began work in Korea (Kim, 2004a:78-79).

2.3 The Rise of the Korean Church

2.3.1 The First Korean Churches

When the first missionaries came to Korea, the situation in the country was very tense and the Korean Government gave no permission to perform Christian missionary work. The first missionaries learnt to be very careful. They first started working in the fields of education and medicine. They concentrated on the founding of schools, hospitals and orphanages.

The missionaries at that time emphasized a distinction between politics and religion. This was done out of fear of the Korean Government (Kim, 2004a:82). Although medical and educational work provided the means for starting the first Christian work in Korea, the eventual purpose was winning Korea for Christ.

The first Sunday church service in Korea was held on June 28, 1885 with the Allens, Scrantons and Herons present. On April 25, 1886, the first service of baptism was held, at which occasion the infant daughters of the Appenzellers and Scrantons were baptized. In July 11, 1886, Noh Tosa, a Korean, was baptized. He became the first native Korean adult in Korea to be baptized (Park, 2004a:506-507). On October 9, 1887, the first public Methodist service of worship for Koreans was held in a house that Mr Appenzeller had bought in the southern part of Seoul and which was called "Bethel Chapel." This chapel developed into the first Korean Methodist church, the Jeongdong Methodist church (Park, 2004a:516-519; Kim, 2004a:95-97).

On September 12, 1887, the first Presbyterian church, the Saimoonan church, was constituted. The congregation met first in Mr Underwood's home in Jeongdong and then moved to a small building near his home. There were 14 charter members present, with one more joining the following Sunday. Two elders were elected and ordained on that

Sunday (Clark, 1971: 96-100; Park, 2004a:509-512; Seo, 2005a:73-74).

There were already some Korean Christians in Sorai, Hwanghai Province before the establishment of the two churches in Seoul. In 1886/1887, the first Korean Protestant church was founded in Sorai by Mr Seo Sang Ryoon and his brother Mr Seo Gyeong Jo, both secretly baptized by the Rev Underwood in 1886/7. Seo Gyeong Jo became one of first Presbyterian ministers in Korea in 1907 (Kim, 2004a: 95-97).

2.3.2 The Growth of the Church

By 1890, there were 11 missionaries and 155 baptismal members, including both Presbyterians and Methodists, in Korea. This number increased to 582 baptismal members in 1895. By 1900, there were 2 500 church members and some 400 catechumens. The South Korea District was composed largely of churches scattered throughout the wide area south of Gyeonggi Province (Clark, 1971:126).

From about 1898, Pyeongyang became the centre for Evangelical work in the north-west. This was the area where the first colporteurs had brought the Ross Gospels (the Ross version of the New Testament Bible) years before. Apart from the amazing growth of the church in Pyeongyang itself, there were soon Presbyterian centres in Pyeongan Province. In the northeast, medical and evangelistic work was started in Weonsan and carried on by the Northern Methodists until it was turned over to the Southern Methodists in 1902. The Northern Presbyterian Church also began work here, later turning their activities over to the Canadian Presbyterian Mission. In the central part of the country, three Missions were at work: the Northern and Southern Methodists and the Northern Presbyterians.

In Seoul, after the Saimoonan Presbyterian and the Jeongdong Methodist Churches had

been organized, some other churches followed. The Southern Methodist and Northern Methodist Missions were working in northern Gyeonggi and Gangweon Provinces.

The Australian and Northern Presbyterian Missions were working in the south-eastern part of the country. A report from 1906 shows 6 church buildings, 280 communicant members and 262 catechumens in south Gyeongsang Province. In the south-west, the Southern Presbyterian Mission was at work in Mokpo and Gwangju. The report for 1905 shows 112 groups and 751 communicant members for the two Jeolla Provinces.

By September 1907, there were 989 churches, about 70 000 church members, including 19 000 communicant members and 53 elders in the Korean Presbyterian Church. This number reached 167 000 for all Protestant church members in 1910 (Kim, 2004a:100-102).

The independent Korean Presbyterian Church was established on September 17, 1907 in Pyongyang. There were 33 missionaries and 36 Korean elders present at this occasion (Park, 2004b: 61-62). The seven men who had just graduated as the first class from the Pyongyang Theological Seminary were ordained as Ministers of the church. The Confession of faith was promulgated and adopted at this occasion. The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church was held on September 1, 1912 in Pyongyang (Kim, 2004a: 136-139; Park, 2004b:69).

In the Methodist Church, the first Session of the Korean Annual Conference was opened in 1908 in the building of the Northern Methodist Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church (southern) held its first Annual Conference in 1914. The two Methodist Churches held a united Methodist Church Annual Conference (called the *Chosun* (Korea) Methodist Church Conference) on December 2, 1930 in Seoul (Kim,

2004a:142-143).

2.4 The Great Revival of Christianity in Korea

In the period from 1900 to 1910, Korea underwent sudden changes. The conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 made the country a Japanese protectorate. This led to its full annexation by Japan in 1910. When Japan proclaimed the protectorate in 1905, the Marquis Hirobumi Ito was sent to Korea as the first Japanese Resident-General. Generally speaking, he made a sincere effort to carry on orderly Government, and shipped back to Japan many of the Japanese ruffians who had endeavoured to take advantage of the situation for personal gain. Laws were promulgated and the Government was reorganized. Meanwhile, pressure was being brought to bear upon the Emperor of Korea to get him to abdicate in favour of his son, the Crown Prince. The Emperor finally abdicated on July 17, 1907. Many young Koreans then emigrated to the China, Siberia, and the United States, and pursued their political activities against the occupiers from abroad (Kim, 2004a:117-121).

One of the problems of this period, as far as the Christians were concerned, was created by political events. Patriotism seemed to demand that the Christians should rise in opposition against the Japanese encroachment upon their national sovereignty. As a result of this, the church felt the need of a spiritual rebirth (Min, 2005:186-192).

2.4.1 The Great Revival

Without question, the most important influence in the life of the church at that time and for many years after, was the Great Revival of 1907. Many local revivals had characterized the life of the church from the beginning. The Great Revival was, however, a movement that swept the country and affected the entire Christian movement (Clark,

1971: 159).

The revival movement led to the advancement of Christianity in Korea. It is worth describing in some detail since it marks the spiritual rebirth of the Korean church. It met the spiritual needs of the people. It affected individuals, but flowing on from that its full impact was felt on the life of the whole church. The revival movement from 1903 to 1910 swept through the country with no regard to region, denomination or church group. The movement was of great spiritual significance and displayed manifestations of the religious zeal of the newly formed Korean church.

2.4.1.1 Origin of the Great Revival (1903)

The origin of the revival may be traced to a meeting in 1903, when a group of Methodist missionaries came together for a week of prayer and Bible study in Weonsan under the leadership of visiting missionaries of the Southern Methodist Mission in China. Miss Mary. C. White, and Dr Robert. A. Hardie who had come to Korea as a medical missionary of the Canadian Colleges' Mission but had joined the Southern Methodist Mission in 1898, were present. Dr Hardie had been working in the northern part of the Gangweon Province, where he made slow progress, so slow that he was led to examine his own heart and motives - with the result that he experienced a great filling by the Holy Spirit (Paik, 1979: 367). The result of this earliest movement of the Spirit was seen in the transformation of the lives of the church members whose morality was lifted to a plane of sincerity and purity never before achieved (Park, 2006: 35-45).

2.4.1.2 Development of the Great Revival (1904-1906)

In 1904, the Weonsan missionary Bible conference was repeated with an even greater outpouring of blessings than the previous year. The second wave of revival swept over

Korea the next two years (1905-1906). Spiritual awakenings began in northern Korea in 1905. The missionaries of Pyeongyang, having heard what had happened at Weonsan, desired to have a Bible conference, and in August of 1906 invited Dr Hardie to lead them. The members of both the Presbyterian and Methodist missions joined in a week of conference for the deepening of their spiritual life (Lee, 1996: 126; Park, 2006:46-49).

2.4.1.3 Climax of the Great Revival (1907)

The missionaries made special efforts to bring their hopes to fruition during the time of the Annual Bible Conference that met at Pyeongyang in the beginning of January of 1907. The conference, attended by 900 people, was for men from the country. The evening sessions were open to men from the city and drew more than 1 500. Women were excluded for lack of room. Different missionaries and Korean leaders had charge of the evening meetings, all seeking to show the need of the Spirit's control in their lives and the necessity of love and righteousness. At one of these evening sessions, the outbreak of the Great Revival took place. The meeting studied the first chapter of John, which afterwards became the text book for revival work. On 14 January 1907, after a short sermon, Graham Lee of the Northern Presbyterian Mission took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. The large audience broke out in audible prayer. Man after man rose to confess his sins. The Great Revival movement of 1907 developed into the most striking awakening in the still very young Christian church (Clark, 1971: 159-166; Lee, 1996:125-128). This conference is generally known as the "Korean Pentecost" or "The Great Revival Incident of 1907" (Park, 2003:63).

The emphasis at this early stage of the revival was on a renewal of life by the Holy Spirit. Sins were confessed in public, debts repaid, hardened wrongdoers converted and

people who had been estranged from each other were reconciled. Similar manifestations were reported in other meetings: a period of confession and restitution settled upon the city of Pyeongyang. Reports of what had happened in Pyeongyang spread to the home towns of the men who had witnessed the outbreak of the revival, and it spread all over the country. The movement, quietly begun by Methodist missionaries at Woensan Beach, had by then received a new impetus and was destined to spread nation-wide (Kim, 2004a:122-128).

2.4.1.4 The Results of the Great Revival

The revival movement achieved lasting results. As one of its consequences, dawn prayer meetings started by the Rev Gil Seon Ju at Pyeongyang, became the devotional tradition of the Korean church. The Korean churches also instituted regular Wednesday evening prayer services. Following the Great Revival of 1907, it became normal practice to hold an evangelistic campaign in each church in a circuit at least once a year. The greater part of the responsibility for this task fell upon the Koreans, many of whom became very skilled in this area. This led to an increase in indigenous evangelism. The Great Revival marked the spiritual rebirth of Korea, resulting in better understanding and fellowship between Koreans and missionaries, an improved moral tone in the Christian community and the establishment of the religious habits of Bible reading and prayer (Paik, 1979: 364).

In the year of the annexation by Japan (1909-1910), a nation-wide evangelistic campaign known as the "Million Souls for Christ" was inaugurated. It was a continuation of the revival movement of 1907. When the general council of the evangelical missions convened in Seoul in October, 1909, the group decided to enlarge

upon the idea and adopted the slogan “A Million Souls for Christ” for the entire evangelical constituency in Korea (Paik, 1979: 385). At that time, there were 167 000 Christians in all of Korea (*The Institute of Korea Church History Studies*, 1989:192).

2.5 Korean Christianity as a Civilizing Movement

2.5.1 Medical Work

The fact that the first resident missionary in Korea, Horace N. Allen, was also a doctor meant that the medical work of the missions was there from the outset. As the church grew, this particular need became less urgent, but it was realized that Christian medical work had a part to play in the care of the sick, of whom there were many, in the name of Jesus, as a demonstration of His concern for the needs of men, and of training young men and women to continue this same service for the love of Jesus (Seo, 2005b:125-127).

Both Methodist and Presbyterian Missions made it a policy not to open new centres of missionary work unless there was a doctor located there. As time went on, hospitals were set up in Seoul, Pyeongyang, Syeoncheon, Chairyeong, Weonsan, Cheongju, Deagu, Busan, Gwangju and other centres (Clark, 1971: 280). The medical work up till then had been undertaken by the Northern Presbyterians and the Northern Methodists. The Methodists emphasized medical care for the poorest strata of society, whilst the Presbyterians concentrated on the development of hospital work and the provision of an indigenous medical service. The Southern Methodists did not begin medical work until 1899, when they opened a dispensary in Songdo. In 1902, a similar work was begun in Weonsan. Australian medical work began in 1902 with the arrival of Dr H. Currel, who worked in Busan and also in Jinju. He built the Paton Memorial Hospital, which became

the first and only modern hospital in South Gyeongsang Province (Park, 2004a:545).

Medical work was greatly expanded during and after the 1890s. In the 1900s, medical work continued to increase, although there were some setbacks, such as the closure of the hospital run by the Northern Methodists in Seoul. From 1893, the Government hospital, *Gwanghye-Weon*, was placed under the care of Dr Oliver R. Avison, whose ability lay in organization, fund-raising and the reform of its administration (Park, 2004a:543). A dispensary for women and children was established by the Presbyterians. The Methodists, besides continuing their already established work in Seoul, opened a dispensary for women in Pyeongyang 1894, and began work in Weonsan in 1896. Anglican missionaries assisted in the Methodist hospital in Seoul, and established a small unit of their own in Seoul and another one in the port of Jemulpo.

More importantly, the serious task of medical education, the raising up of a corps of indigenous doctors skilled in Western medicine, was addressed through the foundation of the Severance Union Medical College in Seoul in 1900. This College owed much to the generosity of the American philanthropist Louis H. Severance. Medical education involved three things: the provision of medical textbooks, the training of doctors and of nurses. Mission doctors were giving practical training to young men, awarding them certificates of proficiency at the end of such training (Seo, 2005b:50-51).

In the 1910s, medical work advanced in many places and in many ways. By 1913, nearly thirty medical missionary institutions were in operation across the country. The initial idea had been that medical work should be used to open the door for evangelism as medical care was considered one of the most effective methods to win the hearts and minds of the people (Lee, 1996: 281). In the cholera epidemic of 1895, the medical

missionaries rendered great service to the stricken people, of whom 5 000 died in Seoul and vicinity alone. The early small beginnings were beginning to expand and show promise for the future.

2.5.2 Education

Educational work was as important for the mission to Korea as medical work and the Great Revival movement. The Christian educational revolution in Korea not only introduced modern education to the country; it was also a wedge in the liberation of Korean women from the centuries-long imposition of Confucian tradition. It is widely acknowledged that 19th century Korea Christian missionary work achieved unusual success in the field of education. For many centuries, Koreans had set a high premium on learning, having adopted both the system of, and reverence for, education from China. As early as the time of the three Kingdoms (37 B.C. – 935 A.D.), Koreans employed the curricula used in China. Thus, for nearly fifteen centuries Korean education was dominated by the traditional Chinese model.

From the time of the *Silla* dynasty, Korean education was largely dominated by Confucian ideas. Many Confucians for example in Chosun dynasty controlled *Seodang* (primary schools), *Hyanggyo* (middle schools), and *Seonggyun-Gwan* (colleges). In 1911, there were 16 540 *Seodang schools* and 141 604 students nation-wide in Korea (Kim, 2004a:85). The Korean traditional education system before the advent of mission schools focused primarily upon the study of the Chinese classics, in the process neglecting science and technology. Women in particular suffered up to the late 1880's, when modern mission schools came into being, since classical education was reserved for men. The latter used it almost entirely as a means for personal success rather than

for improving society. In such an atmosphere, no attempt was made from the inside for the renovation of the traditional patterns of education. This state of affairs could, however, no longer survive the gradual and steady social changes brought about by frequent contact with the outside world, mainly through missionaries in the late 19th century. At about the time of the Korean-American treaty of 1882 and a short time afterwards, the Korean Government began to show its awareness of the need for new learning by taking initiatives to promote modern Western education (Paik, 1979:82-83).

Educational work started at the Seoul *Baejae-Hagdang* for boys (Methodist). This was the typical new modern style school in the field after the closing of the Presbyterian boys' school in 1897. With the growing popular interest in education and the need for training of adults in the church, it was recognized that Christian training and education should start with the children. Day schools were therefore started in many places to encourage character-building and to help provide future leadership for the church (Clark, 1971: 141).

In 1910, there were 796 Christian schools, including 501 Presbyterian and 158 Methodist as well as 2 250 other private schools authorized by Government (Lee, 1987: 95-96).

In 1900, an academy was opened in Pyeongyang - the first in Korea. In the same year, the Severance Medical College was founded in Seoul as the first medical college. By 1905, 102 students attended the College. The Northern Methodist Mission had no secondary mission schools in Pyeongyang, but the calls for higher education were urgent and there was a feeling that a Union (i.e. state) college would be better than a denominational one. When the school opened, the two Missions, without any formal

agreement, worked together in the one institution. In 1906, a college department was opened with 12 students in two classes. This was the beginning of what was later *Soongsil*, a Union Christian College (Kim, 2004a: 86-87).

2.5.3 Breaking down Conventionalities

Some of the early missionaries were apprehensive about Korean customs and traditions. They therefore urged Korean Christians to break with these traditions and conventions. In doing so, they contrived to get rid of bad customs in the society.

Firstly, they targeted social problems like alcohol abuse, smoking, and drug addiction. They argued as follows with regard to alcohol abuse: drinking injured people's health, and it obstructed the development of civilization. Smoking was also forbidden because it was bad for health, morality and the economy.

Secondly, they tried to break down superstition. Superstition included ancestor worship, fortune-telling, and wind and water magic. Shamanized Buddhism was also regarded as based on superstition.

Thirdly, weddings and funeral ceremonies were associated with evil. These ceremonies had been attended by two evils for centuries. One was early marriage, and the other was marriage on the basis of parental choice: people were expected to marry persons they had never set eyes on before. Christianity brought about a new approach to marriage, and some Koreans actually started marrying according to the new approach. Traditional funeral ceremonies also used to be red-tape formalities and were basically irrational. The Christian churches tried to change the nature of the funeral ceremony. At first, the changes brought about by the church antagonized the Korean people (Lee, 1968: 201-202).

Fourthly, the Christian church played an important part in the extension of women's human rights. Christianity asserted the equality of the sexes in a male-dominated society. The Church spread the idea of the equality of the sexes among young people and church congregations as well as school communities and opinion formers (Lee, 1987: 114-119).

2.6 State and Church: Christianity under Japanese Colonialism

2.6.1 Nationalism and the Free Korea Movement

The Japanese imperialists insisted on the conclusion of the Eulsa Treaty in 1905 which denied Korea the right of independent diplomacy, and they began a hasty program of dismantling the nation. In 1907, through the plea of an emissary to The Hague, they forced King Gojong to abdicate, and in the same year they forced the Korean Government to approve the "Treaty of Seven." appointed a Japanese assistant secretary, seized the rights of the Korean administrators and disbanded the Korean army.

In 1907, the year of the Great Revival, the numbers of Christians increased and many churches were built. The first revival campaign set itself the task of considering purely religious matters, but it also forecast possible social and psychological effects of the revival campaign to come. Uncertain individuals, when they thought about Korea's critical situation, went to the churches to obtain new hope. The churches were aware of the need to consider this psychological uneasiness and put a great deal of effort into mission activities.

In the enthusiasm of the Great Revival campaign, the Korean churches tried to revamp their organization. The Methodist churches began to promote Korean deacons and reverends, starting in 1901. In the Presbyterian Church, seven Korean reverends were appointed (Lee, 1996: 63-64).

After 1905, the Korean Christians expressed their anti-Japanese sentiment in several ways. Firstly, there were mass meetings that included prayer and worship. In November, 1905, a prayer meeting for the country was held for a week following the Presbyterian Church Association's adoption of a resolution proposed by Gil Seon Ju. In the same month that the Eulsa Treaty was announced, thousands of people gathered in a church every day under the leadership of Jeon Deok Gi and Jeong Soon Man to pray for the country. Around 1907, prayer meetings for the country progressed in the context of an organic connection among the churches.

Since these meetings seemed to encourage resistance to the colonialist regime, those who went to church were placed on a blacklist. Prayer meetings for the nation were regarded by the Japanese imperialists and their sympathizers as major venues for save-the-nation drives. Such assemblies sponsored by the Christians rose violently in the north-western provinces in 1909 when the Korean Emperor made an observation tour of that area.

Secondly, the save-the-nation drives became demonstrations. After the announcement of the Eulsa Treaty, many Christians took to the streets and made violent speeches, and there people joined them in fighting against the Japanese military police.

Thirdly, the Christian anti-Japanese drive and the drive for the recovery of rights were connected to the assassination of the so-called chief instigators in the late Chosun period.

Fourthly, there was an economic aspect to the save-the-nation drives: refusal to pay taxes on houses, alcohol, and cigarettes because this was regarded as leading Korea to ruin. Korean citizens fought actively against the taxes. The Christians urged participation in the campaigns, not only in the resistance drive against illegal taxation,

but also in the contemporaneous debt compensation drive in which contributions were solicited to pay legitimate business debts owed to the Japanese.

Fifthly, the anti-Japanese and the save-the-nation drives of the Christians became systematic political activities. These activities were led by groups like the YMCA, the North-Western Organization and the *Sinminhoe* (New People's Association) in which many Christians participated. These organizations not only worked for the common enlightenment drive in order to recover their national rights, but also called people's attention to political matters.

These anti-Japanese and save-the nation drives could only expect to undergo severe repression under the Japanese occupation of Korea. The 105 People Incident is an example of this. Despite the repression, Korean Christianity solidified its organizational role, in the process providing leadership in the 1919 independent movement and functioning as a fortress of the anti-Japanese and nationalist movement all through the era of Japanese occupation of Korea (*The Institute of Korean Church History Studies*, 1989: 308-323).

2.6.2 Korean Independent Movement against Japan

Korea was under Japanese rule from 1910 onwards. It was a period of military despotism, characterised by a system of arbitrary and drastic measures with the aim of forcing the Koreans to a complete relinquishment of their nationality and of assimilation with Japan. The results of such policies were the opposite of what the Japanese expected: the Korean national consciousness strengthened rather than weakened. All the material benefits which Japanese rule introduced, including the improvement of agricultural method, building of roads and railroads, new public schools, banking and

postal-saving systems, hygienic regulations and other things, could not atone for the overbearing attitude of Japanese officers of the law in their treatment of the Koreans.

When, therefore, the Great War (1914-1919) brought an end to German militarism and led to the acceptance by the victorious nations of the principle of self-determination of conquered peoples, new hopes were born in the breasts of patriotic Koreans of becoming liberated from their intolerable conditions (Kim, 2004a:177).

A passive resistance was organized, a "Declaration of Independence" was drawn up and signed by 33 leaders, and for two months beginning March 1, 1919, demonstrations were held in Seoul and throughout the country, in which the Koreans uniformly refrained from any act of violence and contented themselves with merely parading and shouting "*Mansei*" (literally "ten thousand years") of freedom, a patriotic expression used much like "Hurrah" in English (Korean: *Samilundong*). In these demonstrations, no arms were used and no violence permitted. This campaign was supported by the Christians (Clark, 1971:198).

The unarmed demonstrators were promptly fired on, sabered, bayoneted, arrested, beaten and tortured by the Japanese military police, and a period of violent and shocking repression ensued. Within a few months, the prisons were full to overflowing everywhere. 631 Koreans were killed, 49 811 arrested (March 1-May 30, 1919), 10 592 flogged and released (March 1-Oct. 31, 1919) (Kim, 2004a:179).

The missionaries, who were wrongly suspected of complicity in the independence uprising because of the large number of Korean Christians who took part in it, came in for their share of insult and injury. Discrimination by the Japanese officials against the Christian movement was plainly noticeable. 47 churches were totally destroyed and 24

others partially so. A report of the Presbyterian churches in October 1919 states that 336 pastors, elders and helpers had been arrested, as well as 2 124 male and 531 female members, 41 had been shot and killed, 6 beaten to death, and 1 642 were in prison. Other demonstrators suffered similar retribution (Kim, 2004a: 181).

Politically, the movement did not bring freedom to Korea, and yet it was not an entire failure. As far as the Christian church was concerned, there were certain important results. Firstly, this experience identified the church with the rest of the Korean people as nothing else had done. Secondly, the imprisoned Christians, when released, testified to great spiritual blessings received in prison. One effect of the Independence Movement was that the church enjoyed a period of popularity and that many young people came to the church. But as time went on, many found that they had come in under a misapprehension of the real nature and purpose of the church. The church's program failed to appeal to them. They began to turn away from the church and to criticize it (Kim, 2004a: 183-184).

2.6.3 Early Christian Policy under Japanese Colonialism

An iron control was exercised over every part of the lives of the people during the Japanese occupation (Lee, 1987: 151). The Japanese language was made the only official medium of communication and the only language of instruction in the schools. No independence of thought or action was permitted; the Japanese life-style was to prevail and the word of the Japanese representative was law. The extent to which control was exercised becomes evident from the fact that during the period of Japanese occupation 90 per cent of the trade was with Japan. The local inhabitants did derive some benefits from the presence of the Japanese, but these were, so to speak, fortuitous - it was clear that Government in the colonies was being carried on for the advantage of

the Japanese (Park, 2004b:156-159).

Also, Japanese colonial Government had been brought to bear on a Korean people that showed national consciousness; many Koreans were arrested and summarily convicted. Many Christians in Korea were severely persecuted in the process, particularly during “the Korean Conspiracy case” in 1911 and “The independence Movement” (Clark, 1971:186-190). The Japanese colonial Government took oppressive measures to weaken the Korean national consciousness and also employed an appeasement policy for purposes of influencing international opinion.

The Japanese furthermore carried out a policy of separation between politics and religion; this limited the work and influence of the churches and of religion to the areas of evangelism and instruction. The Japanese interfered in the Korean Church’s regular services to God (Lee, 1987:152-155). This was intensified after the Korean leaders’ active participation in the March First Independence Movement of 1919 which, in the long run, forced Japan to change its colonial policy in Korea, if only cosmetically. In this transitional era, many Koreans developed a positive nationalism through their association with the Christian faith, schools and churches (Lee, 1987:127-135).

Many Korean nationalists sought new hope through Christianity. The missions made their own direct contribution to the growth of nationalism through the medium of education. The mixture of Christian faith and nationalistic consciousness in Korean Christianity was the main factor which made them the object of Japanese persecution.

In the 1920’s, a chief cause of tension between the Government and the missions was the matter of education. After the 1919 Independence Movement, the Governor-General changed regulations to allow for two kinds of schools, “registered” and “designated.”

“Registered” schools were those that fully met Government standards, including exclusion of religious instruction. However, under the regulation in which the mission schools were “designated,” the Japanese authorities kept one condition that was later to be used against the mission schools. It was that the objective of education was the making of “loyal, good subjects” (Lee, 1996:180). This would serve to bringing up to standard the teaching staff, the equipment and so forth.

These conditions were accepted and in the years that followed, the Gyeongsin Boys’ High School in Seoul was the first to receive “designation”. In 1922, other High Schools followed until all the high schools, two arts colleges and a Medical College were all “designated”. An important victory had been won for the cause of Christian education in Korea (Clark, 1971:196).

2.7 Korean Christianity under Siege (1930-1945)

2.7.1 The Japanese Shinto Shrine Worship Problem

Shintoism is the indigenous and national religion of Japan (Park, 2004b:679-681). The appellation “Shinto”, however, is of Chinese origin and was first used in Japan when it was necessary to distinguish between the national faith and Buddhism, which was introduced in the middle of the sixth century A D. Basically, old Shinto was the Japanese indigenous religion before Buddhism or Confucian influence affected it. At the time of the Meiji Restoration (1868) it was revived, combined with Emperor worship, developed into the State religion and strongly combined with Japanese nationalism (Lee, 1962: 19).

The Emperor was believed to be a living god and the centre of the political power. The Shinto problem did not become a serious issue in Korean religious life until 1935 when

the Government ordered all schools and colleges, including Christian mission schools, to show obeisance at Shinto shrine ceremonies as part of a “spiritual mobilization programme.” From this time on, Shintoism emerged as the most serious challenge yet to confront the missions and the Christian churches of Korea. The conflict with Japanese Shinto nationalism began to have an impact on the Christian school system, and particularly on the mission community (Park, 2004b:689-691).

The conflict of Shintoism with Christian education began to reach its climax in the north in November, 1935, when the Governor of South Pyeongan province ordered teachers to go to the shrine and do obeisance to the spirits enshrined there. Dr George MacCune, the principal of Union Christian College in Pyeongyang, and Miss Velma L. Snook, the principal of Sungeui Girls’ School, refused to do so on conscientious grounds. In retaliation, the Government revoked their teaching permits. They were eventually relieved from their positions on 20 and 21 January 1936 respectively, and forced to leave Korea (Kim, 1970: 179; Park, 2004b:692-697). The Japanese Governor-General demanded strict adherence to Shinto ceremonies in worship, and faithful attendance at shrines by all Koreans. The majority of Korean Christians rejected the plea and engaged in a radical resistance to it as being no less than idolatry and a violation of God’s commandment. In an attempt to make all Koreans observe Shinto ceremonies, the Government took the position that these were not religious exercises, but patriotic acts (Lee, 1996: 184-188).

The Roman Catholics, instead of their former attitude of 1918 and 1931 that participation in shrine ceremonies amounted to idolatry, sacrificed their principle in 1936 for the protection of the church. On 25 May 1936, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome issued an instruction or norm of practical behaviour for

Catholics (Lee, 1987: 183-184). The Methodists, the second largest Protestant group, also chose to accept the Government's interpretation of shrine worship. After consulting with their leaders in Korea as well as in America, they decided in 1937 to comply with the Government's demands on the basis of an official assurance that shrine attendance was a patriotic rather than a religious act.

The turning point for the Christian churches, especially the Presbyterians, was the approval of Shinto shrine worship by the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1938.

After Government authorities had succeeded in forcing Christian schools to submit, it began to concentrate on enforcing shrine worship on the church. The pressure of the Government upon Christian churches to participate in Shinto ceremonies increased significantly. The General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian church in Pyeongyang held on 10 September, 1938, was coerced by the use of police power to resolve that shrine worship was not religious in nature and that all Christians were to be encouraged to participate in it. The proposal was moved and seconded by presbytery moderators specially designated by the police. The moderator of the Assembly declared the motion carried. After the session, the vice-moderator, together with representatives of each presbytery, was appointed to go to the shrine in the city in order to represent the assembly. This was a most humiliating experience for the Korean Presbyterian Church (Lee, 1996:207, Kim, 2004a:217-219, Presbyterian Church of Korea, *Minutes of the 27th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea*, 1938: 6).

2.7.2 Resistance and the Anti-Shinto Shrine Worship Movement (1938-1945)

Now we come to a different aspect of the confrontation, viz. that of Christian protest, resistance, witness and suffering. Those Christians who remained faithful to the end

were few in comparison to those who had compromised and surrendered their faith to the secular authorities (Lee, 1996: 219). Although between February and September 1938 most of the public organs of the Korean Church declared their acceptance of the Shinto shrine worship, most Christian teachers and believers objected to it, and some of them individually became involved in a movement that was formed in early 1939 (Kim, 1996: 112). The resistance movement to shrine worship had three centres, two in the north (Pyeongang and South Pyeongan Provinces) and one in the South (Gyeongsang Province).

In Manchuria, under the influence of the Rev Bruce F. Hunt (1903-1983), there was also a strong anti-shrine worship movement led by Koreans. The force behind this movement was the Rev Ju Gi Cheol's Sanjeonghyeon Church in Pyeongyang. He actively opposed Shinto shrine worship and was arrested four times. He remained confined until dying for his convictions on April 21, 1944, in the Pyeongyang Prison. A number of other religious leaders helped build a unified, systematic movement and spread it all over the country at considerable risk to themselves. The leading figures in this struggle were the Rev Lee Gi Seon in North Pyeongan Province, the Reverends Han Sang Dong and Ju Nam Seon in South Gyongsang Province, the evangelists Lee Ju Weon in South Pyeongan Province and Son Yang Weon in South Cheolla Province, woman evangelist An Eui Suk, as well as Jo Su Ok and Choi Deok Ji (Lee, 1987:188).

The movement against Shinto shrine worship in the South Gyongsang Province began with Rev Han Sang Dong's sermon about the resistance to such worship in Choryang Church in Busan (on October 24, 1938). He and other leaders met in January 1940, and decided on the following guidelines and objectives for their movement: (1) to break up the present presbytery; (2) to censure the defensive position of those ministers who

accepted Shinto shrine worship; (3) to organize a new presbytery composed of believers who opposed Shinto shrine worship; (4) to organize mutual assistance for those opposing Shinto shrine worship, and (5) to concentrate their efforts on group worship and the recruiting of followers (Kim, 1996: 113-114). Their activities were not very successful, not because of a lack of appropriateness of the ideas, but because of the oppressive measures imposed by the Government authorities. The plan for a new uncompromising presbytery was never realized because of the arrest of the leaders of the movement (Lee, 1996:233-234)

In conclusion, there must be some note of the significance of the shrine issue in the history of the Korean Church. The Shinto shrine issue manifested in a theological conflict between liberalism and historic Christian faith. In general, the conservative nationals and missionaries were more strongly opposed to shrine worship than those of liberal background (Chun, 1979: 226). The Shinto shrine issue also served to spread liberal theology and in doing so, shifted the leadership in the Presbyterian Church in Korea towards the liberals. The year 1938, especially when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church officially approved the worship of Shinto, was a watershed in the progress of liberal thought. From this year on, conservative Reformed leadership became weaker and even disappeared.

The only Presbyterian Seminary (or: Divine School) in Pyeongyang that had maintained conservative theology was closed in 1938 because of this very reason. Foreign professors and the majority of the missionaries were evacuated from the field by the autumn-winter of 1940 and they left the country. During this same year, two Korean professors in the Presbyterian Seminary, Dr Park Hyeong Ryong and Nam Gung Hyeok, fled to hiding places in Manchuria, and other resisting pastors who had escaped prison

left the country (Lee, 1996: 235-236). In this process, liberal churchmen in union with Japanese colonial policy spread their influence, the conservatives lost their leadership in the church and were removed effectively from the church courts. Taking advantage of the closing of the conservative Presbyterian Seminary, the liberalists opened two new liberal theological Seminaries in Seoul and Pyeongyang (Kim, 2004a: 229-230; Min, 2005:515-518). In this way, the Korean Presbyterian Church experienced a change from conservative to liberal control. This theological change greatly influenced the on-going life of the church (Conn & Kim, 1997: 103-106)

2.7.3 Korean Church under Suffering (1941-1945)

During the years of the Pacific War, also during the Shinto shrine worship period, the Korean Christian Church suffered increasing pressure as the war frenzy mounted. Over 200 churches were closed, over 2 000 Christians were imprisoned and more than 50 church workers suffered martyrdom (Lee, 1987: 189). In many places, churches in the same area were forced to close down, except for one single church to which all were told to go to worship. In 1942, the churches were ordered to stop using their denominational names and to use the name *Kyodan*, the name for the united Japanese Church. In 1943, the Holiness, Seventh Day Adventist and East Asia Christian (Baptist) churches were closed down. On August 1, 1945, the Protestant Churches were forced to organize the *Chosun* (old name for Korea) Division of the Japanese Christian Church (Min, 2005:513). Anyone who did not favour this forced union was imprisoned, driven from the pulpits or placed under house-arrest.

The Japanese authorities attempted to remove foreign missionaries from positions of authority in the church, and eventually to deport them from the country. Almost all the

foreign missionaries left and the mission boards were closed. Government control of the Korean Church was also intensified. Public worship was restricted, the use of the Old Testament, especially the Books of Moses, Daniel and Ezekiel were forbidden, and the New Testament was heavily censored. Many church buildings and Christian schools were commandeered for military purposes. Increasing pressure was applied to ensure participation in Shinto observance, and even in receiving Shinto baptism. At that time, over 50 Korean ministers received the Shinto baptism from Shinto monks in Seoul and Busan (Conn, 1987: 171; Park, 2004b:790-794).

Many of the leading clergy were forced to resign and several of the younger clergy were conscripted as labourers in industries connected with war preparations. Much of the church life was forced underground or found expression in family and private worship (Lee, 1996: 303-305). In these processes, the former 700 000 Protestant Christians were reduced to half that number (Clark, 1971: 231).

2.8 Christianity in a Free Korea (1945-2000)

2.8.1 Divisions in the Christianity in Korea

With the defeat of Japan at the end of the Pacific War, liberation came to the country on August 15, 1945. The dreams of forty years were at last fulfilled. However, the joy was clouded by the fact that the 38th parallel divided the country into two parts. Liberation was, nevertheless, a joyful occasion for everyone in Korea, but particularly for the Christians (Clark, 1971:233-234; Park, 2004b:800-802).

Many were freed from prison where they had spent months or even years for their convictions. Others who had gone underground now came forward to work in the rehabilitation of the Church. In Pyeongyang, Presbyterian Church workers were

released from prison. Just after the Liberation in 1945, the first task of the Korean church was the reconstruction of the church and of general order (Park, 2004b:801-802). For three years after the Liberation from the Japanese rule, Christianity in North Korea suffered severe persecution in the early stage of the development of socialist and communist North Korea. In the process, the Christians became the leading anticommunist group. The persecution of Christianity in North Korea was based on Marx's and Lenin's antireligious policies and on their theories regarding the extirpation of religion, which was attempted in the process of Kim Il Seong's communization and socialization in North Korea. Many clergy and followers fled to South Korea seeking freedom. Anticommunism became a strong sentiment among most Christians (Kim, 2004a:237-240).

The Korean War (1950-1953) was an incident that took place in the Korean peninsula, an area that constituted a sort of link between the two world powers, the USA and socialist Soviet Union. The damage that this war brought about was severe to both Koreas. More than a million South Koreans were killed, 85% of them civilians, and about 1 500 000 people were killed in north Korea (Kim, 1996: 163-166). More than 80% of the industrial and public facilities and transportation works, three-fourths of the Government offices, and one-half of the houses were destroyed.

Regarding the state of the Korean Christian Church after Liberation, the imprisoned who had kept their faith under the pressure of the colonial policy of Japan tried to clean up the church system. Sectarian dissension made it impossible, however, to change the Korean churches. The failure to clean up the church system can be attributed to the social circumstances of those times, in which President Lee joined pro-Japanese groups

to secure political power (Lee, 1987: 194-195). Conservatives from the South were released from prison and gathered to plan the reformation of the church. Statements of principle regarding the rehabilitation of the church were formulated and accepted at "Cleansing Meetings," presbyteries made formal confessions of sin regarding their shrine worship, and the 34th General Assembly took action for the purpose of rescinding the shrine action and declaring a day of repentance for their deeds. In 1954, at the 36th General Assembly, these deeds were rescinded for the third time. A good many Christians, however, felt this to be little more than a gesture without real repentance for the sin of shrine worship. In May, 1951, the General Assembly pushed matters to the point of cutting off the Korea Seminary group (the "Cleansing group") from the Assembly.

The Korea Seminary group then formed a presbytery of its own. In July, these churches registered themselves as "the Korean Presbyterian General assembly" (now called *Kosin*) (Conn, 1965: 10; Park, 2004b:962-965)

A year after the Kosin group was organized, presbyteries within the remaining body began dividing again. In June, 1953 another body claimed to be the "legal General Assembly" of the Korea Presbyterian Church. This happened when efforts to deal with the liberal sentiments of Kim Jea Jun and the Chosun Seminary were resisted. From it came the so-called Kijang group, supported by the United Church of Canada Mission and espousing outspokenly liberal and Barthian sentiments (Park, 2004b:944-952; Min, 2005:545-546).

In 1959, another major division tore the Korean Presbyterian Church apart. From it emerged two churches - the Korean Presbyterian Church (the Hapdong group) and the

Korea Presbyterian Church (the *Tonghap*, also called the WCC group, because of the World Church Council membership problem at that time) (Kim, 2004a: 259-262).

2.8.2 Korean Christianity in the 1960s

The 1960s was a period of upheaval during which Korean history changed course dramatically. Korean Christians were forced to open their eyes because of the shock of historical events and to begin to recognize their own nature and develop their own way. Movements such as the Church Union Movement, the Nationwide Evangelism Campaign, the Common Believer and Documentary Mission Movement arose. There were many events that spoke of human alienation and the materialistic worship of money: the student revolution of April 19 (1960), the military revolution of May 16 (1961), the departure of the Third republic (1963), the Korean-Japanese diplomatic agreement and the demonstrations against it (1965), the promulgation of martial law, the constitutional amendment for a third election and the protest against it (1969), and the rapid industrialization and civilization caused by the two five-year plans for economic development.

After the student revolution, many Christians and their leaders renewed their consciousness about politics and social affairs. However, the church could not go to the front line in converting people during the April (1960) revolution, nor could it argue about right and wrong during the May 16 (1961) revolution (Kim, 2004a: 279-281).

In the mid-1960s, the most salient activity of Korean Christianity was the attempt to promote an indigenization of theology by uniting various research programmes for the formation of a Korean theology with missionary motives. Another activity was the rise of industry mission such as the *Missio Dei* theology that recognised the human

alienation and conflict brought about by the processes of industrialization and urbanization. The former was a religio-cosmic theology; the latter a socio-political theology. The rise of the latter had to wait for the rising of the *Minjung* (people's) theology in the 1970s (Kim, 1996: 171-172).

The 1960s was also a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization in which the urban churches also grew rapidly. Many large churches were formed in cities. In the same period, other major religions and some newly-risen religions also prospered. The Christian population nevertheless increased in number (Kim, 2004a:283-284).

2.8.3 The Korean Political Situation under Military Power in the 1970s, and Christianity

In the 1970s, the social and political order was maintained by the oppressive power of the military culture and the Revitalizing Reform. This was the period when the Government considered fast economic growth as the highest aim of national administration. Industrialization and urbanization accelerated, and the conventional industry structure, which had put agriculture on the highest plane, broke up, so that an industrial working class emerged. Farmers moved to the city, which increasingly filled with low-wage labourers and the poor, and there was a loss of self-esteem within these classes. The myth of growth became a social religion, and interest in acquiring material wealth increased, which amplified the phenomena of alienation and conflict. Furthermore, the ideological conflict over human life and the division of the Korean peninsula went from bad to worse. Korean Christianity reacted to the realities of the 1970s by dividing into two streams, those of the conservatives and the radicals (Min, 2005:585-587).

Conservative Korean Christianity revealed the following characteristics. It insisted on

separating politics from religion and was politically neutral; thus it was quite passive in the struggle for a democracy and for human rights. Also, whether intentionally or not, it maintained the position that it would cooperate with the current political powers. Conservative Christianity, believing that the human body was separate from the soul in the matter of salvation, put the problems of the personal soul on a higher plane. It concentrated on the soul's quantitative growth, physical healing, prediction, and so on. Conservative Korean Christianity may, to be sure, have positive aspects although this position is clearly based on a dualistic anthropology – the division between a higher soul and a lower bodily life (Kim, 1996: 173-175; Lee, 2001b:214).

Large churches, like the Yeoido Full Gospel Church, were formed in this period. This Church, the largest in Korea, teaches the “quintet of salvation and triple time blessing.” “Triple time” here means spirit, soul and body (which is also a dualistic approach). This church has nevertheless exerted great influence on Korean Christianity. Many churches, including a good few Presbyterian churches, try to emulate the approach of this church (Lee, 2001b:202).

In the 1970s, Korean people became tense because of a war threatening to break out between South and North Korea. They also began to feel anxious about the new city life, so they grasped at religion to provide blessing and comfort and to get rid of a sense of unease and tension. These were indirect reasons for the rapid church growth in that period (Kim, 2004a: 283-284-365).

The radical Christians in the 1970s, on the other hand, stressed communal social salvation for the whole human being, something which the conservatives fell short on; the radicals defended the rights of the poor labourers and low-income urban people,

groups that surfaced in the course of industrialization and urbanization. The latter also resisted the dictatorial military Government, engaging in theoretical criticism of it. Radical Christianity, as an important agent for social change in Korea, returned to the core of Korean national history.

2.9 The Current Situation in Korean Christianity

2.9.1 Extreme Denominationalism

More than two centuries have passed since Catholicism was introduced to Korea, and over a century has passed since the introduction of Protestantism. Members of the Protestant denominations have grown to over ten million during this period. Korean Christianity had to overcome denominationalism and recover the integration of catholicism and the holiness that the church originally enjoyed. It had to try to effect a unity of the churches without any judgment or prejudice.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945, the organization and functioning of the Korean Presbyterian church were disrupted because of conflict caused by Shinto shrine worship which the Korean church had indulged in during the Japanese colonial period. As indicated above, the Korea Presbyterian Church, the largest denomination in Korea, has since also split into many groups. The same situation is prevalent in other denominations. The problem is that each denomination seeks for its own benefits, not for that of the whole of the Korean church (Kim, 2004a:362-367).

2.9.2 Church Individualism

Another problem in modern Korean church life is church individualism, viz. that “the individual church’s maintenance and extension works are given top priority in deciding on church goals and policy, work, using man and material resources in the church” (Roh,

1989: 40). Church individualism has diffused gradually since the Korean War and has been deepened through the rapid spreading of industrialization and urbanization in the 1970s. It has recently become worse because churches are being regarded as businesses.

The major reasons for church individualism in Korean Christianity are the following:

(1) there are too many local churches in a certain area, therefore each church considers other churches as competitors; (2) Korean Church worship service heavily concentrates on the sermon part of a service so that congregations seek for excellent preachers (Kim, 1994, 117-119).

2.9.3 The Faith of mere Seeking for a Blessing

The faith for only seeking God's blessings can be based on personal motives but it is not sufficient for true faith. Many people follow religion to receive a pardon and suppose the pardon to be the most important of religious experiences. They do not understand that ethical sanctification is based on a spiritual life in God.

Evangelism and missionary work have always taken the first place in Korean churches, while salvation is regarded as subservient to these activities. The Church as such in Korea has become a congregational individualistic church, hence the believers' inclination to comply with their preacher's tastes. As a result of this, many churches centre their activities on the preacher. The believers do not fully understand that they are parts of the body of Christ, members of a church community supposed to help each other. Their ethical consciousness seems to have diminished (Kim, 2004a:369-371).

From the end of the Korean War to the 1960s, many people fell ill, starved and were in need of living necessities like food, clothes and medicine. They needed support and encouragement. Despite this, the churches tended to emphasise the importance of health,

material possessions and blessings in this world. An example of this was the Yeoido Full Gospel Church, led by Rev Jo Yong Gi, who persuaded other churches to accept the same concept. Among others, Rev Jo said:

Poor people in our town have a little interest in heaven or hell. All they are concerned about is what to do for a living. They cannot afford to pay any attention to their future. They want good food, clothes and houses and they do not care for abstract ideas (Jo, 1997: 188).

He preached about God's blessings in his sermon, and referred to the "triple time blessing." "Triple time" means "if the soul is getting along well, all may go well, and one will enjoy good health" (3 John: 2). At that time, messages of materialistic comfort were attractive to people who needed economic support. This approach has developed into a spiritual movement promoted by the revivalists of the Pentecostal churches. Many congregations have since leaned on the concept. The Korean Protestant Church has also been drawn toward this movement (Kim, 1999: 133-193). People seek for a blessing first, instead of a fruitful life in the Holy Spirit and a thankful life for the grace of Christ as the Redeemer. They prefer staying in the faith for the purpose of seeking for blessing (Kim, 2004a:369-372)

2.9.4 The 'Catholicism' of the Protestant church

Church individualism is apt to lead to curialism, i.e. the notion that the church has absolute authority itself, in the process ignoring any sanctions by other institutes. In such cases, the church minister is considered as a charismatic leader, one who has the position of a small pope. As a despot, there are many possibilities for him to become a corrupter and to go the wrong way. In the Korean Church, many congregations also

have experience of Shamanism: in this religion, the shaman is a mediator between god and man, hence some Church-going people take the minister for a shaman. The result of all this is that the Korean Church, both the Presbyterian and the Methodist, has today become a sort of Episcopal Church (Kim, 2004a: 363-368; Kim, 1994: 119-120), one which has lost its catholic character.

In contrast to the Western Protestant Church where ministers are treated the same as any other member of the congregation, the ministers in Korean churches are seen as the highly respected spiritual leaders who possess absolute authority. Although the Old Testament depicts the prophets as men of God, the Korean minister's authority seems to be assumed to be based on the Confucian tradition and its virtual caste system (Ryu, 1990: 157).

2.9.5 A Lack of cultural and historical sense, and the faith-practice dichotomy

Korean Christianity has an important task: to have a sense of history founded in a cultural and historical base. It has indeed made contributions to Korean culture and temporal-cultural bequests. If believers had no sense of Korean history and culture, they would seek only blessings from God and would not feel any responsibilities toward their communities. The Gospel of Jesus Christ was propagated in the traditionally multi-religious society in Korea. Korean Christians live together in a community that has the same historical and cultural background but believes in different gods. To live harmoniously with others, Christians have to know about the history and culture of Korea. They also have to position Korean history and culture against the backdrop of the dictates of God and should not follow cultural customs and habits without any understanding of where they might be wrong or sinful (Kim, 2004a: 383-384).

The church in Korea still practises specific Western theology uncritically, and values it as absolute truth. It has already been more than a century since Protestantism was introduced, and sermons in the churches are still entirely dependent on Western references. Hopefully, sermon references to, for instance, Korean literature and sermon books will soon become available. Hymns, including traditional Korean melodies and lyrics, have to be sung, and churches should contribute to the development of church music by introducing Korean music. Korean church buildings already combine Western architecture with the Korean traditional style (Ryu, 1990: 189-190).

One of the important tasks of the Korean Church today is the elimination of the prevalent faith-practice dichotomy, which is a form of dualism. Even though the Korean Church has grown rapidly in the sense of increasing numbers of believers and local churches, it has not yet succeeded in persuading Korean society and Christianity to change. Among others, this is because of the dualisms still prevalent in Korean Christianity. One of these dualisms is the secular distinction between public and private life (where religion belongs). Korean Christians practise their faith with enthusiasm in their churches, but they do not succeed in applying the principles of their faith in their daily (public) lives.

Other forms of dualism are the distinction between the spirit and body of the human being, and the division between what is regarded as sacred and as secular. These ideas were inherited from Western philosophy, especially from Hellenistic thought, but also from traditional Korean Shamanism. Such dualisms have influenced Christians' views of occupation and of labour (Lee, 1989: 259-263).

2.10 Conclusion

The growth of the Korean church was phenomenal. According to a recent report (*Chosunilbo Almanac*, 2001: 524), there are approximately 8.76 million Protestants, 19.6 % of the total population of South Korea. The beginnings of the Korean church however was not easy. When American Protestant missionaries came to Korea in 1884, a century after the introduction of the Roman Catholic Church which had been extremely persecuted by the Confucian Government, they were also confronted with a cultural clash (Kim, 1988: 57-58). The clash was, however, not so severe because state authority and Confucian dominance had begun to collapse. The refusal to indulge in ancestor worship was no longer identified as an attack on the state and the social order. The martyrdom of many Protestant Christians was no longer due to the rejection of ancestor worship, but rather to the rejection of the Shinto rituals during the era of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). During the Korean War (1950-1953), many Christians were killed by the communists because of their reluctance to give up their faith (Jeon, 1987: 305-313). Despite many obstacles, the Korean Protestant church has gradually grown and contributed to the development of culture and society (Min, 1981: 95). Modern education and medical systems were introduced by American missionaries. Missionaries and Korean co-workers founded schools and hospitals. The equal right of women to education was proclaimed and schools for girls, who up to then had been excluded from education, were founded for the first time in history. Old customs and habits, such as drinking, smoking, drugs, early marriage and superstitions were also called to reform.

The stigmatization of the old religious habits and customs as idolatrous gave rise to a conflict between traditional culture and Christianity. By opposing these customs and habits, Christians contributed significantly to the “modernization” of Korean culture and

society (Kim, 1988: 67). A conflict between conservative and progressive Christians in the campaign against shrine worship however led to the disintegration of Christianity in independent Korea (Lee, 1987: 194-195). After the liberation from Japan, the Korean War and social anxiety made people depend on religion and to desire to become rich under the Government strategy of economic development. These desires induced them to attend church since they believed that their dreams would come true through the Christian religious life.

Christianity is no more a minor religion; it has become a powerful movement with the power to control society (Kim, 1988: 68). In the post-Liberation period, however, Christianity in Korea did not contribute significantly to Korean thinking and culture; in many respects it has conformed to the surroundings (Lee, 1994: 7-9). Because of this neglect, the desire to fulfil economic and emotional desires, the traditional and innate character of the Korean people was re-emphasized and a form of 'aboriginal Christianity' arose. This new approach has been influenced by theologies of social revolution based on social evangelism and an increase in the quality of life.

Despite the rapid development of Christianity in a short time, the changing social and political conditions and the conflict with traditional thoughts and religions, Christianity in Korea has indeed reached some of its goals (Kim, 1996: 170-177). Korean Christianity has faced many tasks: to defend the Gospel and true Biblical principles in this plural religious society, to overcome denominationalism and to recover Protestant 'catholicism', to conquer the dualisms in the church, to transform the culture by helping it conform to Biblical thinking, to cooperate with people who believe in other religions, in a Biblical sense, to answer God's summons and to play an active role in history, while at the same time expressing God's glory about His creation and sovereignty to Korean

society (Kim, 1996: 177-180). However, as has been indicated in this chapter, the church has largely failed to overcome the problem of dualistic thinking, also in terms of education in the context of the church itself.

In the next chapter, a brief description and evaluation will be done of the various religious influences on Korean Christianity, also with the aim of discovering anthropological dualisms.

3 THE INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS ON KOREAN CHRISTIANITY

3.1 Introductory Remark

Korean society has been formed and influenced by non-Christian Oriental religions for thousands of years before the first Christian missionary arrived in the country. Shamanism, the general primitive religion of Korea, spread over Mongolia, Manchuria, Japan and the Ural Altaic tribes, and became the first and great influence on Korean society. Buddhism, one of the major world religions, was introduced in the fourth century A D. Between the fifth and the fourteenth centuries (the end of the Koryo Dynasty), it became the dominant religion. Society was under the influence of Confucianism between the fifteenth century (the early years of the Chosun Dynasty) and the end of the nineteenth century. Several world religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity now co-exist, and none of them can claim support of the majority of the population. As a result of this, Korea is now a plural-religious society (Lee, 1990:11). Christian missionaries to Korea faced various cultures and plural-religious traditions and this caused many conflicts and troubles. Christianity, the last to be introduced among the religions of Korea, could not avoid the influence of the other religions which have dominated Korean society for about 5 000 years. These other religious beliefs affected Christianity deeply in both positive and negative ways (Kim, 1988:47-48).

3.2 Korean Society and the Multi-religious Situation

3.2.1 Korean Christianity in a Multi-religious Society

A multi-religious society and secularization are prominent features of the religious

scene in modern Korean society (Yoon, 1997:34). This situation has different significance in Western, and in non-Western societies such as the Korean. In Western society, the problems arising from a plural-religious situation coincide with the process of secularization. Western society did not suffer to the same degree as in the East from differences between cultural traditions because it has been founded on broadly the same cultural tradition and philosophical / life-conceptual backgrounds. The main conflict there was a socio-economic one caused mainly by a clash of interests regarding society and economy. In other words, in Western society the conflict was little more than a social struggle between different factions belonging to the same religion and life-view (Yoon, 1997:41). The multi-religious situation in non-Western societies, especially in Korean society, is totally different. In Korean society, as in other Oriental societies, several religions have co-existed in harmony for a long time. They succeeded in doing this despite differences in religious tradition by arranging social stratification according to the standings of the different religious communities. The harmony flows from the tolerance typical of the Oriental religions that allows social overlapping.

Korean society has created a complex religious culture in terms of mutual relationships as Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism dialogued with one another. As a result, Oriental people tend to have multi-layered religious minds in which they invoke religions concomitant with their contingent situations (Yoon, 1986:214-215). When Christianity entered the fray, different types of multi-religious society developed as religions from completely different backgrounds interacted.

The situation in Oriental societies is therefore quite different from the multi-religious societies of the West. In the Korean case, a double structure, composed of the native religions as well as Christianity was created. This double structure represents both

traditional and modern value systems. On the one hand, traditional religions try to learn organized religious management from Christianity and to re-interpret their own dogmas, while on the other hand, Christianity, which emphasizes catholicity, at times tries to adapt to Korean society (Yoon, 1997:46-48). The multi-religious situation in Korean society confronts Korean Christians with unique problems.

A multi-religious situation entails diversity of not only absolute value systems but also of relative standards. In other words, a multi-religious society is a situation where pluralism has become the absolute or core value, and this causes a confusion with respect to the value systems in an individual's inner or personal existence. Such a plural-religious situation naturally also influences Christianity. Christianity, on the other hand, has shown no reciprocal generosity toward Korean society and culture, and bears an extremely exclusivist attitude toward traditional Korean culture and religion. This is not a serious problem for theology and for Christian social ethics in the West, where Christianity is virtually the only religion. In Korean society, however, Christianity is only one of many religions operative in society (Lee, 1990:25).

3.3 The Influence of Shamanism and Animism on Christianity

One of the most widely spread and the best known religions in Korea is Shamanism. Shamanism itself is rooted in Animism. Animism is a form of poly-demonism (Ryu, 1975:15-16). Animism—the term comes from *anima* (spirit)—is a primitive religion centred on worshiping nature and which believes that everything, also inanimate objects, has a spirit. Primitive people believe that the spirits leave the physical bodies at death, and that they then acquire super-natural power. They believe that the world is full of these spirits or ghosts that cause disease, famine and all kinds of disaster but can also

bring luck and good fortune.

Korean Shamanism has not disappeared completely; nor is it today the primitive religion of uncivilized people. It is one of the ancient religions that have survived in Korean cultural history, a religious phenomenon that survived in the form of private beliefs in a modern Korean society that has also accepted tenets of more advanced religions (Lee, 1995:24).

3.3.1 Shamanism and Animism

The word “Shaman” is found in the Tungus language, where it means a magic working religious worker; in the Pali language *Shamana* means “mendicant monk”. Shirokogoroff asserts that the word “Shaman” was introduced to the Western world by Russian scholars in the 17th century (Eliade, 1964:4). According to the historical records *Samguksaki* and *Samgukyusa*, Korean exorcist religions started as early as the 1st century A D, in the time of *Namhae*, the second king of the Silla Dynasty. Historians suspect, based on recent research, that it could have been even earlier (Kim, 1973:1).

Exorcism has continued to exist in the form of private beliefs and has even survived occasional restraining policies. Recently, as interest in Korean local culture has been expanding and believers in exorcism organized a group to protect their rights, the number of exorcists and exorcism houses has increased, and the numbers of scholars on exorcism have risen. Koreans have never relinquished Shamanism with its dogma of exorcism, despite the growing number of Christian churches and Buddhist temples.

The word “Shaman” refers to an exorcist; Shamanism is therefore an exorcist religion. Eliade (1964:8) defined it differently by calling it a form of mysticism, rather than a religion, because it is an ecstatic technique that can be used within the framework of

more mainstream religions. In fact, Shamanism is too wide to be grasped in a single definition or concept. From the point view of cultural history, it is a “religion” existing today that began in prehistoric times and survived in older hunting, pasturage and farming cultures. Geographically, it covers a wide area, including North Asia, Middle Asia, North and South America, Indonesia and parts of Australia, but is mainly based in Northeast Asia. It is the largest religious phenomenon spread among peoples all over the world except Africa and Europe. Functionally, it is very diverse, covering areas such as spiritualistic media, enchanting treatment, prophecy, fortune-telling, singing and dancing (Ryu, 1975:61-62).

Tylor (1970:9,10) defines Animism as an act “to investigate the deep-lying doctrine of Spiritual Beings, which embodies the very essence of spiritualistic as opposed to materialistic philosophy.” He uses the term to cover “the general belief in spiritual beings” and prefers it to spiritualism, which has acquired ambiguity due to the emergence of a sect by that name. Tylor was interested in the problem of how “primitive” man differentiated between the living and the dead. The animist believes that the soul’s living spirit was extended to be in objects. All the religions that were imported into Korea have absorbed aspects of Animism, and therefore Animism did not maintain independence as a separate “religion.” The assimilation of Korean Animism into each of the imported religions has given each of these religions a distinctive Korean character (Shearer, 1968: 9-11).

3.3.2 Characteristics of Shamanism in the context of other Korean religions

Shamanism has satisfied the religious needs of Koreans for a long time. Religious desire forms the basis of their enthusiasm for life. Since religion is holistic, human-centred,

and noble (Van der Walt, 2002:32-30), Shamanism, which has passed from generation to generation in Korea, has been exerting great influence in Korean life, indeed shaped life itself. It can be said to have formed the national character of the Korean people and their desires for life. It has also influenced the religious toils of Koreans (Ryu, 1975:33; Kim, 1988:49).

3.3.2.1 Characteristics and Functions of Shamanism

The first characteristic of Shamanism is dependency. In Korean Shamanism, all events occurring in life are not decided by human power; they are the responsibility of the gods. It is believed that the gods' wills decide human life and destiny, so everyone should entrust themselves to the gods (Lee, 1995:46). Good and bad luck, good and bad fortune are nothing but life's destiny. A person does not take active responsibility for him- or herself, nor do they take decisions about their lives and destinies. There is no moral motivation, and even one's belief in the spirits is left entirely to the whims and vagaries of the exorcists (Lee, 1990:49-51).

The second characteristic of Shamanism is conservatism. Traditional conservatism is a vice among Koreans; it is hard to find a progressive tendency among them. They tend to behave without responsibility and moral determination for reality is regarded as not only apathetic toward self-development and environmental reform. Nothing is one's own responsibility; everything occurs according to transcendent gods' wills. Basically, factors inspiring cultural development are missing in this belief system (Ryu, 1975:34).

The third characteristic of Shamanism is realism. Religion is generally future-oriented, as can be seen in Christianity. However, Korean Shamanism aims at providing a comfortable and fortunate life without bad luck and discomfort, because it is concerned

with only the present. Such “present-orientation” is strongly rooted in the mindset of Koreans.

The fourth characteristic is its recreational character. Shaman worship is basically through dancing and singing. Recreation is a natural part of exorcist religion rituals, which include drinking, dancing and singing (Ryu, 1975:209-210).

Korean Shamanism has four functions, namely fortune-telling, praying for luck, repulsing bad luck, and recreation. Considering the fact that there is a mutual relationship between worship and praying for luck, disease treatment and repulsing bad luck, fortune telling and prophecy, it can be said that the recreational function was added to the first three.

3.3.2.2 Shamanism and Korean Religion

Shamanism is not peculiar to Korea. Even in a narrow sense, it is a common phenomenon among people in East Asia. One significant characteristic of Korean exorcist religion, from the perspective of cultural history, is that it has a deep connection to several more advanced religions. For this reason, most Korean religions are mixed, and Shamanism is always at the heart of the mixture. Korean Shamanism with its infinite tolerance embraced Buddhism when Buddhism became very popular, and Confucianism when Confucianism became very popular. Since Christianity is becoming quite popular right now, Shamanism may now be in the process of embracing Christianity. Shamanism is flexible, and can preserve itself by flowing into a more advanced religion by supporting and reinforcing it (Society for Korean Cultural Theology, 2002:47-52). Conversely, other religions have been influenced by exorcist religions, either intentionally or unintentionally, and still are being influenced. When

Buddhism and Taoism encountered Shaman culture, they went through transformation toward Shamanism to a considerable degree.

Buddhism is considered to be one of the world's mainstream religions, but it has also become Shamanised. So far as we know, nobody, even Buddhists, seems to deny this fact. Korean Buddhism has been strongly influenced in many aspects by the shamans' techniques (Kim, 1996:103).

3.3.3 Influences Resulting in Dualism

As mentioned above, Koreans have a shaman mentality. Exterior shocks and interior anxiety have pushed people toward Shamanism since it aims at the abundance and the stability of self, the family and the town. Because of this characteristic, it has a tendency of growing when the political situation becomes unstable and public discipline becomes slack. Furthermore, the more people are satisfied with their realistic circumstances, the more they desire to preserve their current status. At this point in time, anxiety seems to be increasing and people tend to believe in Shamanism even more to settle the anxiety. Since the 1960s, the instability and changes in Korean society have moved the people to look for stability in their religions. Christianity, under the influence of exorcist religion, experienced a similar situation, as manifested in the growth of the charismatic movement. Today, the charismatic (or pentecostal) movement in Korean churches displays anti-structure, anti-church, anti-authority and anti-formalist tendencies (Seo, 1984:95). This belief results in blind faith, and emphasises material things. The purpose of some Christians' faith has been changing; the view that worship is the only form of receiving God's blessings shows that Christianity has been influenced by shamanistic mentality (Hard, 1977:142). Such a change in Christian faith causes a weakening of

dogma and also becomes an obstructing factor in making the truth of the Gospel a part of life. Most importantly, this change gives impetus to a dualistic belief system.

3.3.3.1 Religious Syncretism

Ryu (1984:44) refers to the Korean mentality as a *Bibimbap* philosophy. *Bibimbap* is a Korean traditional meal consisting of mixing rice with many sorts of vegetables. He suggests that the Korean traditional religion reflects this kind of mixture. Christianity, which is the last major religion to enter Korea, also has been included in this mix, and has as yet not succeeded in transforming it.

There are certain levels of syncretism in Christianity. A shaman, for instance, is considered a person that can bring down gods to earth and has the right to choose between good and bad fortune, and luck. Shamanism is also more concerned with the present world rather than with the hereafter. Such beliefs exist also in Christian circles, thereby creating a third belief system (Christianity, Shamanism and syncretism) (Ryu, 1975: 430). This third belief system takes the form of seeking material blessings for the current life, church attendance to settle anxiety, and conditional investment in religious activities. Moreover, worship is considered a technique or a performance by a designated executor; it has power in itself, whereas the spiritual is considered a secondary matter (Hard, 1977:142).

Christianity clearly has become a mixed religion affected by both Shamanism and other traditional religions (Kim, 1975:14-15). Instead of rejecting Shamanism, Christianity has accepted many of its tenets and made compromises with it in order to expedite the spreading of the Gospel. According to Choi (1995:63), "There is a joke that says that a famous pastor of Yeouido church is the eldest male shaman exorcist."

Many of the tools used by exorcists originated in Buddhism. Their songs and dances have also been influenced by Buddhism. Confucianism, on the other hand, is usually considered a philosophy of life, not a religion. Its *Book of Changes* is the most important among the Confucian writings, the zenith of the Eastern philosophy. Yet, in Korea, it has been degraded to a text book for fortune-tellers. Its five elements theory was originally aimed at acquiring knowledge by studying medicine, time and astronomy. It has now become a tool in the hands of shamans for purposes of practising physiognomy, wind-and-water magic and horoscopy.

Buddhism and Confucianism were clearly also influenced by Shamanism.

3.3.3.2 Prosperity Teaching

As mentioned above, the religious ideology of Koreans has emphasized praying for good fortune at the cost of spiritual salvation. Shamanism, very influential in the Korean religious mentality, interferes with the witness of the pure Gospel. Prosperity teaching is very common in Korea. Praying for present blessings can be considered the first step to religious belief. A trend in the Korean church is to permit or even encourage praying for good fortune instead of transforming it into the true belief system (Kim, 2004b:37).

Prosperity teaching is done in Korean churches in the following ways.

Church members are expected to *give offerings* in order to receive material blessings (in contrast to the teaching that one should give in response to God's love). There are even some revivalists who, on the pulpit, give praise and applaud those who give big offerings, and curse those who contribute only small amounts of money (Kim, 1975:18).

Another approach is to *pray* for blessings. In such prayers, believers ask for various things without asking for the will of God. These are prayers without taking into account

the teachings of the Bible and without a heart that seeks the reign of God, thus without an attitude of “praying in the Holy Spirit” (Jude 1:20). “When you ask, you do not receive, because you ask with the wrong motives, that you may spend what you get on your pleasures” (James 4:3). The Bible tells believers to “seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well” (Matthew 6:33).

A third, and more Scriptural, approach is to *worship* for the purpose of invoking blessings from God. The Presbyterian Church of Korea publishes a *Guide to Worship* that gives specific directions for worship:

Worship is a representative act of believers who are children of God believing in Jesus as the Saviour. Through worship, they respond to God’s grace. Believers can worship anywhere and anytime since God is omnipresent, but it is good to offer a public worship together in the specifically designated place on the day of Jesus’ resurrection.

The important point here is that worship is for believers who have already received the blessing of salvation and through worship they now respond to God. Worship can be defined as the all-pervading recognition of the absolute rule and governance of God. It is an act in which believers return affection and express private beliefs in God who reveals himself morally through Jesus. Worship is, first and foremost, to give oneself, and then to receive from God at the same time (Han, 2000:83).

Some churches have, however, downgraded worship to a religious ritual for the purpose of receiving blessings from God. Koreans attend worship services, but there is a strong tendency among them of considering worship attendance only as a means for getting relief and consolation since the purpose of attendance is not to give oneself to God, but

rather just to be present.

The fourth approach is assuming that blessings come from the *spiritual authority of the leader* and from the believer's efforts to *obey* it. A Shaman has absolute authority (at the level of God) over all events as a person who has experience of religious mystery. Today, many pastors in Korea rule "their" churches autocratically and with a strong assertion of their opinions. Some of them possess charisma and powerful authority. In some cases, they reveal themselves not as obeying servants but rather as autocrats ruling with self-sufficient divine authority. The believers obey this authority diligently in order to receive blessings (Min, 1988:32-33).

All these approaches to prosperity teaching in the churches, all of them based on a "praying-for-blessings or good fortune" point of view, result in the degeneration of Korean Christianity to the level of an enchantment faith with an anti-social tendency since it deviates from the Gospel taught by the Bible. Meetings to invoke Christian blessings (for example, on New Year's Day) degenerate into shamanistic "prayer-for-luck" meetings. Wonder workers and spiritual healers act like shaman mediators. The seeking for blessings and miracles aims at gaining individual profit rather than at promoting cultural and social reformation. It also shows little regard for ethics and social well-being. Some Korean churches have consequently lost an accurate understanding of history and resorted to transcendentalism. This is the attitude of solving all problems in reality with faith only, one that results in depending on others and on miracles (Kim, 1988:51-52).

The influence of Shamanism was especially obvious after the Korean War (1950-1953). In this three-year long war that covered the whole Korean peninsula with extreme

hostility and ideological confrontation, Korean society collapsed materially and mentally. Survival became the absolute standard for all the values during the war, but the state was not able to ensure the survival of the country during, before, and after the war. The same applied for other societal structures such as families. People were suffering from extreme discomfort, inability and economical difficulties, and began to rely on religion as a way of overcoming their problems. During the process of responding to this demand, churches and belief systems became even more prosperity-oriented (Kim, 1999:195-202).

3.3.3.3 A Sensual Empiricism

The members of the Korean Christian churches tend to be sensual and emotional in their church lives. Korean Protestant churches also tend to be subjective. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant Churches allow all their believers to read and interpret the Bible. They are also allowed to preach without having been ordained as preachers or priests, and there is no special form of prayer. Everyone repent on their own for their sins and wish to hear a declaration of forgiveness from God. Such a subjective belief gets firmly settled in through revival and other similar meetings. These meetings cause people to seek for a subjective experience since they place a high premium on conversion and regeneration experiences (Lee, 1987:47-48). While this does not mean that they are into religious fanaticism or heretical mysticism, the net result is that the Korean Protestant churches tend to be more subjective and more sensual than Protestant churches elsewhere in the world.

This tendency is also related to the historical situation and national character of the Korean people. Teaching that is quite subjective and sensual helps believers to become

even more sensual. Sensual beliefs in the Korean church can be divided into two groups. The first places undue emphasis on *mysterious* experience. Mystery here does not mean Christian mysticism according to the Bible, but rather a heretical form of mysticism (Lee, 1988:92). Mysterious experience entails direct experience of the Holy Spirit. Such experience of the Holy Spirit is often compared to religious ecstasy in Shamanism. According to Kim (1981:234-235), everyone who claims to have had experience of the Holy Spirit puts forward proof of it only in terms of exterior activities such as trembling of the hands and body, body heating, speaking in tongues, visions and spoken revelation. People wish for direct communication with God in which they receive direct commands from him, which they consider an experience of the Holy Spirit. There are those among the clergy and believers who put more emphasis on individual experiences rather than on the words of God. They especially emphasize experience of the Holy Spirit through prayer. A prayer made in a certain prayer centre provides an example:

Most of the people take the bus heading to prayer centres from Yeoido Full Gospel Church and return in the evening are house wives. This group is mainly constituted of people who do not want their families to know they are going to the prayer centres and their families actually do not know about it. They have praying assemblies in an air of excitement likely to be expressed as “madness.” These assemblies are held with the motive to have power to escape from disease or family troubles. They want to speak in tongues and feel the presence of God and the intensity of these assemblies seems to be deeper and more primitive than that of any other assemblies. Certain rhythm of the body is made through applause or hymn, and utterances are made. High voice, explosive sound, and strong sound of the wind are “rampant.” Tears and wailing follow

(Jeong, 1984:133).

There are those who emphasize experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit, others heighten their emotions (especially a feeling of solidarity) through fast music and hand clapping. In some cases, they perform a spiritual dance. The most important part of sensual faith is the gift of the Holy Spirit, especially tongues and healing. Some believers say that speaking in tongues is the proof of spiritual baptism, and those who have received spiritual baptism are endowed with the ability to cure disease (Kim, 1999:170). The largest church in Korea, Yeouido Full Gospel Church, is a church that especially emphasizes divine healing. It declares among others, "The Church has rituals such as baptism, the Lord's supper, and divine healing and these are the rituals that must be continued as long as the church exists" (Jo, 1997:164). It further insists that divine healing must occur in churches and that believers have a Biblical obligation to beseech blessings for curing diseases as long as the church exists on earth (Jo, 1997:164).

3.3.3.4 Absence of Ethics; Shamanism hardly has any values or morals

"The more the better" seems to be the core value of Shamanism. It also adheres to other values such as "promoting righteousness and punishing evil." The value that no person should face death with a grudge in the heart can be traced back to the shaman's fear of ghosts. According to Shamanism, good gods give blessings while evil gods bring disasters. Even a good god will cause disaster if not served well. The most important aspect of the relationship with the gods does not lie in the character of a particular god, but rather in how that god is served. For example, people serve the god of disease due to the fact that doing so would prevent troubles despite the fact that he may be an evil god.

Believers serve gods with a certain calculation of the benefits they might receive (Choi, 1995:43). Good and evil are therefore understood as something materialistic, not as an objective ethical standard. Because of this approach, it can be said that Shamanism lacks ethical standards. There is no need to change one's ideology or life style in order to attain salvation or life after death. A believer is allowed to return to a past way of life without any change once an exorcism has taken place. According to Choi (1995:77-79), the disorder of Koreans comes from this non-ethical and non-systematic characteristic of exorcist religion that finds its core in ecstasy.

Lee (1990:49-51) describes a few other dysfunctions of Shamanism:

In the first place, Shamanism is chaotic in nature and structure. According to its ideology of chaos there should be a return to the world that existed before any order.

Secondly, Shamanism lacks self-reflection. There is a danger of a person not being able to achieve moral maturity through ego-discernment by self-reflection and therefore experiencing reconstruction in the ego.

Thirdly, Shamanism does not have a clear view of history or of the nation. Excessive realism and tribalism, usually based on family or town, obstructs a view of nation and weakens a view of history that allows one to see the future in perspective. Furthermore, tribalism can result in self-centredness.

In the fourth place, Shamanism does not have a value system based on metaphysics or abstract thinking. It does not provide a favourable context for abstract and metaphysical values such as ideology, beliefs, doctrines and morals to be applied to daily life or to become a motivation for life. People tend to seek values without purpose rather than developing them to a deeper and higher level.

Fifth, Shamanism tends to be purpose-oriented. Pragmatism, as one of the characteristics of Shamanism, means that any method can be used to achieve the goal of happiness in the present life. This form of pragmatism might be considered as a strong flexibility or adaptability to survive, but it has the potential of becoming an indiscrete purpose-oriented philosophy that ignores the ethical values concealed in the methods.

Sixth, Shamanism has a tendency towards self-rationalization. It promotes harmony, union, reconciliation in symbiosis while avoiding dialectic opposition and confrontation as a method of overcoming reality, and has a strong potential of lapsing into indecisive relativism or eclecticism, or into compromise without principles. A compromise orientation denies critical self-reflection and criticism about oneself, and holds the danger of promoting a habit of praying for self-centred ethical rationalization.

All of these dysfunctional aspects of Shamanism are also reflected in the Korean church of today. They impact on the religious mindset of believers, thus promoting an egoistic and family-oriented faith with anti-social tendencies (Seo, 1982:375).

3.3.3.5 Misconception of Demonology

One of the popular activities in the Korean churches today is the driving-out of demons. This can be described to an inappropriate demonology. It may be true that Jesus drove away demons, but not only is Jesus' exorcism different from what the Korean church is doing today, but also the demonology itself is different. According to the Bible, demons are evil angels who were driven from heaven along with the devil who had tricked the whole world (Ezekiel 28; 16-17; Revelation 12:9). Some Korean pastors now define ghosts, however, as the after-life spirits of non-believers (Kim, 1985a: 179). These demons cause all sorts of trouble and disease by entering into living people (Kim,

1985a: 173). They also assert that the demons descend to the deepest levels of the underworld after 120 years of living with devils and their envoys (Kim, 1985a: 187). For example, a deaf person is deaf because a ghost who died as a deaf person entered his / her body. This theory also suggests that all troubles are caused by the ghosts of dead people. Kim Ki Dong, a supporter of this theory, has created a denomination called the Korean Christian Southern Baptist Convention with a large church called the Sung-Rak Church in Seoul. The fact that a large number of pastors have been educated in the Beroea Academy established by Kim Ki Dong means that his influence continues to expand. Their interpretation of the cause of disease shows that they have been influenced by Shamanism. Kim Ki Dong constantly points out that ghosts are the cause of diseases, and driving out ghosts is an indispensable part of worship service in the church. These notions and the basic mentality structure of the belief itself are similar to Shamanism (Choi, 1995:65-67). Moreover, both Shamanism and the demonology of the Beroea Academy promote the idea of a body and soul dualism: ghosts are seen as spirits without physical body.

3.4 The Influence of Buddhism on Christianity

Buddhism was introduced in Korea in 4 B C. Its influence on Korean culture, particularly the religious culture during the Three Kingdoms era, the United Silla and the Goryeo Dynasties, is inestimable. Although it came from India through China, Buddhism became a Korean religion, and 70 to 80% of government-designated historical buildings or objects are currently connected to Buddhism (Choi, 1995:286).

3.4.1 The Characteristics of Korean Buddhism

Mahayana Buddhism was the form of Buddhism introduced to Korea. This form of

Buddhism originated in the reign of King Asoka in 270-233 B C. During his reign, a wholly new type of Buddhism arose, and from his time onwards, Buddhism was divided into two "vehicles," the *Hinayana* (*Soseung* in Korean) or small vehicle, and *Mahayana* (*Deaseung* in Korean) or large vehicle. The former type is found in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Myanmar, the latter is found in all Northern Asia, including Korea and Japan.

Kim (1996: 109-115) typifies Korean Buddhism as "Shamanised Buddhism." According to him, there are commonalities between Korean Shamanism and Buddhism such as the following. Firstly, salvation through the concept of *Bodhisattvas* (descendants of Buddha) in Buddhism can be compared to salvation through the divine spirits in Shamanism. Before Buddhism came to Korea, there were religious celebrations held by Shaman kingdoms such as *Dongmaeng* in *Goguryeo* Dynasty and *Sodo* in the *Baegje* Dynasty (Park, 1973: 105). Once a year the king and the people gather together to worship and to pray for the welfare of the kingdom or for rain. After *Mahayana* Buddhism came to Korea and was accepted by the three kingdoms, this national celebration or worship was replaced by monks' prayers for rain, the *Palgwanhoi* or special worship for the welfare of the nation (Kim, 1981:239). The roles of Korean shamans are as follows:

- ◆ Mediator for rain, obtained through the power of divine spirits
- ◆ Mediator for salvation of lost souls who have fallen into the underground world (*Jiog*, Korean for "hell")
- ◆ Mediator for good fortune through divine spirits' powers (Lee, 1968:1)

These three roles were taken over by the monks in the Buddhist temples. By doing so, *moodangs* (Korean shamans) and monks now share the same mediator roles.

Secondly, the prayer to *Bodhisattvas* to obtain good fortune in Buddhism can be compared to similar prayers to divine spirits in Shamanism.

Thirdly, the concept of the *Bodhisattvas'* power—acquired through scriptures, incantations (*Na-moo-ami-ta-bul*), or prayers—in Buddhism can be compared to the concept of the divine spirits' power acquired through amulets, magic spells or prayers in Shamanism. Korean monks in the Buddhist temples usually use incarnations (*Na-moo-ami-ta-bul* or *Gwan-se-um-bo-sal*), amulets (containing magical or mysterious power), magic spells (*yojigyeong* and *milgyojip*) or divination to promulgate Buddhism. It is common to see such mysterious activities held in temples.

Mahayana Buddhism began to be shamanised in the early period of the Silla Dynasty. There are many reasons why Buddhism began to be intermingled with traditional Korean Shamanism. One of them is that the monks in the *Silla* and the *Goryo* Dynasties wanted Buddhism to be rooted deeply and strongly in the general public life. There is also a political reason. When the Chosun Dynasty arose, the royal class regarded Buddhism to be corrupt and misleading the people, so they began to suppress it. The monks and temples reacted by moving their temples to secluded areas in the mountains, where they created an aura of mystery that interested the people.

Fourthly, the Western concept of paradise (in Buddhist terms *Geugrag*) and the Buddhist one of the eight-stage hell can both be compared to the concept of an underworld and heavenly place of *Oghwangsangje* (heavenly master of all divine spirits) in Shamanism. The concept of life hereafter in Buddhism became contaminated by that of Shamanism. According to Shamanism, evil people are destined to live in the underworld, but good people go to a heavenly place where the master of the heavenly

place, *Oghwangsangje*, lives with his people (regarded as divine spirits).

In the Silla Dynasty, the monk *Won Hyo* developed a syncretistic combination between Shamanism and Buddhism, and tried to spread *Mahanaya* Buddhism to the general public. *Won Hyo's* influence was so strong that later generations of Buddhist orders completely embraced his notions (An, 1982:244). Despite the fact that the Chosun Dynasty was founded with Confucianism as its state philosophy, Buddhism has been frequently persecuted through the years; it consequently looked for a way to survive, and discovered it by becoming more deeply intermingled with Shamanism.

3.4.2 Buddhism's influence on Korean Christianity

Korean Buddhism has existed in Korea for almost 1 500 years. Therefore, whether conscious or not, Buddhist ideology is strongly reflected in the mentality of Koreans. Moreover, Buddhism was appreciated as the national religion for almost 1 000 years from the beginning of its activities in Korea to the end of the Goryo Dynasty. Therefore, it is safe to say that Korean Christianity is influenced by Buddhism, which has deep roots in Korean religious thinking. Furthermore, the history of Korean Christianity is not very long and did not have much chance for renewing itself and purging itself of the influences of other religions. Because of this, the influence of Buddhism still exists in Christianity and in the churches.

3.4.2.1 *Escape from reality*

Buddhism teaches all humans to give up any attachment to this world. This is one of the reasons that Koreans have a tendency towards fatalism. Buddhism also emphasizes isolation in lonely places such as mountain retreats where people can observe the monk's divination in temples, a shamanistic technique. Emphasis is placed on salvation,

nirvana and seclusion from the world as well as on denial of the physical world (Kim, 1984:78). In essence, Buddhism possesses the potential of leading people to mental and spiritual impotence, inhumanity and unethical behaviour. Because of Buddhism's passive nature, Buddhists are reluctant to become involved in actual problems and reformation programmes. It is also not progressive enough to strive for world reform. Its world denial leads to an escapist view of life. Under its influence, a large number of Christians try to deny the challenges of their actual daily lives instead of making reforms and struggling to improve their conditions. The influence of Buddhist escapism can be discerned in the prayer centre movement. In each of the many centres in Korea, the emphasis is on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, mysticism and escapism. When troubles occur, many Christians therefore prefer not try to solve them, but rather try to escape from reality by leaving family and job, and retreating to prayer centres. This can be considered a result of Christianity having assimilated the notion of escapism from Buddhism (Lee, 1995:169).

3.4.2.2 *A Blessing-centred Faith*

The main ceremonies carried out in Korean Buddhist temples can be divided into three groups. First, there are rituals associated with Buddha's works such as celebrating his birth, entering the priesthood, attaining Great Wisdom and salvation and other rituals such as worship and lecture meetings. Second, there are rituals associated with praying for the next life such as *Sa sip gu je* (the 49th day sacrifice) and *Beak je* (the 100th sacrifice), prayers for the dead, *Suryug je* (the sacrifice for land and water) and *Sa ryeong je* (the sacrifice for dead spirits as a memorial ritual for the dead). Third, prayers are offered that centre on paradise in this life, such as the seven-stars prayer, *San sin gi do* (the prayer to the mountain spirits) to wish for successful business, and *San jung gi*

do (the prayer on the mountain) to wish for the avoidance of disease and disaster.

These rituals follow the structure of a Buddhist temple: The main part, the *Dae Woong Jeon*, represents Buddha's works; *Myeong Bu Jeon* represents rituals; and *Sam Sung Gak* represents prayer. *Myeong Bu Jeon* is not found in many temples. The temples themselves constantly carry out prayers that are consistently about paradise in this life, desire-fulfilment, the avoidance of disease and disaster, a long life and happiness.

These aspects of Buddhist faith have by now become part and parcel of Korean mentality (Lee, 1995:138-144), and have resulted in some forms of Christianity and Christian church life in reducing Christianity to a blessing-seeking and blessing-centred faith.

3.5 The Influence of Confucianism on Christianity

Confucianism has also affected the Koreans' lives and mentality (Ryu, 1990:77).

3.5.1 The History of Confucianism in Korea

Confucianism is a "religion" inspired by Confucius (552-470 B C). It teaches the virtues of gentleness and justice based on six scriptures (*Si, Seo, Ye, Ack, Yeok, and Chun Chu*) (Ryu, 1990:68). Confucianism can be divided into *Hsin Hsueh* and Neo-Confucianism. The latter became the mainstream "religion" in Korea. The scholars in the Sung Dynasty of China reformed Confucianism after contact with Buddhism. Although *Chu Hsi* was against Buddhism, his ideology became similar to Buddhism, which explains why Koreans in the tradition of Silla Buddhism have accepted Neo-Confucianism (Ryu, 1990:70-71).

When exactly Confucianism came to Korea is not known, but it is thought to generally share the same history as Buddhism. According to Choi (1995:151-152), it is thought to

have been brought to Korea in the era of *Han Sa Gun* (the four Chinese armies led by Emperor Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty) before the Three Kingdom Era. The most important event in the history of Korean Confucianism occurred at the end of the Goryeo Dynasty, when Neo-Confucianism was introduced to Korea. For 500 years, Confucianism gradually developed into the national ideology, together with the establishment of the Chosun Dynasty. This Dynasty chose Neo-Confucianism as the basic ideology of the country, and applied its values to all facets of society, from the King to the common people.

3.5.2 The Influence of Confucianism on Christianity

Due to the fact that Confucianism became the religion and ideology that governed society and personal ethics in Korea for almost 500 years, it also influenced Christianity in Korea (Kim, 1988:60-63). It impacted in various ways on the personal and national lives of Koreans, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.5.2.1 Intolerance and Factionalism

Korea's 500 years of Confucian history was often riddled with party rivalry. There are several reasons for this, but they all relate to aspects of Confucianism. Confucianism tends to stimulate factionalism, for instance between the "wise" and the "small-minded person." People prefer to see themselves as "wise people" and all others as "small-minded." This is the basis of all Korean party rivalry (Ryu, 1990:81-82; Kim, 1988:64).

This trend is exacerbated by strong family ties, another trait of Confucianism. The family is regarded the basic unit of society, a prototype of society. It is at once the basis of society and a standard for societal life. In Confucian society, blood relations and regional relationships based on family determine all other relationships. Special human

relationships consequently dictate personal value systems and ethical behaviour. Human relationships based on family, relatives, and parties are keenly developed, but result in faction fighting and party rivalry. In this sense, Confucianism has fostered intolerance and exclusivism in Koreans' minds; in politics, they do not have much inclination for cooperation and for contributing to public welfare (Ryu, 1990:85-85, 92).

This mentality was also assimilated by Christianity. It became the root cause of fundamentalism and self-righteousness in the churches and among the individual believers, and of the desire to promote each congregation at the expense of the broader church. It also resulted in a superfluous multiplication of denominations (Lee, 1993:148, 171; Kim, 1988:65). There are, for instance, already nine major Presbyterian denominations (Presbyterians being the largest group among Korean Protestants) according to statistics announced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. 120 Presbyterian denominations belong to the Council of Christian Denominations in Korea, an organization formed by the small denominations (Korea, *Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2002; Council of Christian Denomination in Korea, alliance religious order: 2002*).

3.5.2.2 Vertical Relationship

One of the five moral disciplines propounded by Confucianism is *Chang Yu Yu Seo*, which means that order in society is formed according to age and preferences. According to this principle, high and low ranks or classes have been distinguished in society and the standards for interactions among people of different classes have been clearly laid down. However, only the obligations of the lower classes to members of the higher classes are generally emphasized. An individual can interact with others only

once his/her place has been determined by the particular group of which the individual forms part. This mentality provides the basis for the complex system of honorific words and grammatical functions in the Korean language (Choi, 1995:158-162).

The tenet of *Chang Yu Yu Seo* refers to the goal of upward mobility. The goal of Confucian scholars was to get a post in the Government, and this desire gave birth to a vertical social structure and a mindset according to which rank, class and / or status are important. This approach is also being applied in Korean Christianity, resulting in class-consciousness among the believers in the churches. The competition to attain a high position is enormous and its side-effects severe (Lee, 1995:91-92). This is one of the reasons why members of Korean churches wish to become elders or pastors. They regard these as high or important positions in the church. This phenomenon is an effect of a social structure based on Confucian tenets.

Korean churches have in the past tried to rid themselves of these problems by reforming the church. The moderator of a synod, for instance, is now only elected as the chair for a particular synod and is allowed to perform certain duties in that capacity only until the next synod (*Constitution and Church Politics of the Korean Presbyterian Church*, Chapter 13 Clause 104; Jo, 1998:161). The Presbyterian churches are creating more levels in the church hierarchy. The Methodist and the Baptist Churches instituted the office of elders, whereas originally they did not have this office (Kim, 1994: 122-123).

Chang Yu Yu Seo reinforces authoritarianism. People have a strong tendency to acquire more and more power. Confucianism also tends to emphasize only the obligations of the younger towards the older (Choi, 1995:162), a principle that allows social classes to continue to exist. It requires absolute obedience not only to elders, but also to people of

higher class and those who are in positions of authority (Lee, 1993:90). As a result of this, congregants seem to regard their pastor as someone of a higher rank or status than an “ordinary” believer. An associate pastor is thought to be subordinate to the senior pastor. This hierarchy in churches is not unusual to people used to the bureaucraticism sprouting from the Confucian world-view (Kim, 2004b:310).

5.2.3. Formalism and Dualism

According to Confucian ethics saving face and honour is considered important; shame is to be avoided. This attitude is typical of the externalism of Confucianism. It considers courtesy as very important. While initially courtesy in itself was important, Confucianism now tends to drive people towards external and superficial niceties only (Choi, 1995:183). The tenets of saving face and protecting one’s honour can today be detected in the Christian churches in the fact that, for instance, pastors prefer to be addressed as “doctor” rather than as “pastor.” This tendency correlates with the high premium placed on scholarship and education in Confucian society. It is not a coincidence that the most essential scripture of Confucianism, *The Analects of Confucius*, commences with the word *hak*, a Chinese word for studying. Confucius himself expressed a strong desire for education believing that a person can only be transformed through education (Choi, 1995:175). For pastors to try to get degrees regardless of the actual authority behind them amounts to mere formalism. Such formalism influences other aspects of church life as well — it stimulates faith without action and gives birth to hypocrisy in the sense that it leads to neglect of every day life and to the belief that the religious life can only be practiced inside the chapel (Lee, 1993:180-183). This is clearly a form of dualistic thinking.

3.6 Conclusion

Korea, a country with a five-thousand-year long culture and history, is not a Christian society but rather a multi-religious one. Korean Christians are familiar with the non-Christian culture(s) that has/have existed for thousands of years. The history of Korean Christianity itself is only slightly longer than one hundred years. Because of the dominance of other religions and views of life that have a longer presence in Korea, Christianity has up to now been strongly influenced by them. Many converted Christians still adhere to these traditional religions as the root and the background of their mental structure (Lee, 1995:8). This leads to two observations: (a) Korean Christianity has been deeply influenced and affected by the traditional cultures and religions of Korea, and (b) Christianity in Korea ought in principle to be hostile to these traditional cultures and religions.

Christianity in Korea, however, does not seem to have been quite as hostile to the other cultures and religions as could have been expected on fundamental grounds. Korean Christians believe in God, much as they had been doing before the advent of Christianity in the peninsula. The object and content of faith is Biblical, but the manner of practising the faith is still much as it used to be in pre-Christian times. Koreans go to church, just as in the past they went to the shaman shrine or the Buddhist temple to pray for material blessing, empowerment and for recovery from sickness. The pastor, whose workplace is the church, has in many cases taken the place of the shaman, the priest or the Buddhist monk as a mediator who prays for the recovery from sickness or for success in the college entrance examination. This image of the church and of the role of the pastor are reinforced by the Biblical image of the church as a sanctuary for believers (Kang, 2000: 10).

The history of Christianity in Korea and of the various influences exerted by the traditional cultures, religions and life-views on Christianity reveals that Korean Christians have traditionally been inclined towards a whole plethora of dualisms: this present life, for instance, is not as important as the next (or vice versa); the material existence of daily life is not as important as the spiritual (or vice versa); material riches are more important than spiritual riches (or vice versa); the problems of daily life can be conquered by praying to God and even through exorcism and ecstasy. Class distinctions (higher and lower) remain in place. Pastors are accorded more respect and esteem than ordinary church members. Believers find themselves trapped between two religious worlds: the traditional and the Christian, and in some cases also the world of syncretism. Modern Koreans commute between their private lives (where religion is taken to belong) and their public lives (where religion has no role to play). This is a dualism that Koreans inherited from the West, as will be shown in the next chapter.

4 WESTERN CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES ON KOREAN CHURCHES AND THEIR DOCTRINES

4.1 Introductory Remarks

The early Korean church was conservative and evangelical, and the early Christian missionaries practically all held conservative evangelistic beliefs (Conn & Kim, 1997:10). The theological conflict in the American Presbyterian Church of the 1920s soon leaped to Korea, and as a result, Korean churches became influenced by liberal theology, and divided several times because of this (Kim, 2004a:152-154, 289-291). After 1960, the Korean church also began a nativistic movement, and forms of radical Western theology that had not been in Korea before were introduced. Examples of these are secularization, situation ethics and non-ecclesiastical forms of Christianity, the death of God theology, the liberal theology of South America, and popular theology (Lee, 1987:25).

On the other hand, Koreans also began to wish for blessings and consolation because of economic and social changes, and the deteriorating security in their country because of the North-South animosity after 1960. Especially the Pentecostal Church capitalised on these factors (Min, 1988:114-117).

The influences mentioned above are only the most recent in the long history of the Korean churches, and more specifically on Christianity there. This history will now be traced in more detail.

4.2 Ancient Greek Philosophical Thought in the Early Christian Era

Western Christianity is deeply rooted in Greek philosophy. It is not easy to determine how precisely it has affected Korean Christianity since Western Christianity and the

Western churches had already been strongly affected by it before they even appeared on Korean shores. When highly educated philosophers converted to Christianity in the middle of the second century A D, they began developing a dialectical defence against attacks on Christianity. In the process, they explained the tenets of Christianity and its theology in Greek philosophical terms that were familiar to their listeners. By using this method, they connected their Christian theology with their classical Greek education (Han, 1970:32). One of them, Justin Martyr, even employed more of Platonism than of Paul's teachings in his defence of Christianity. According to Justin, Platonism was rather similar to Christian dogma and theology; these similarities were due to the fact that Plato had already accepted some of the ideas of Moses and the other prophets. Plato had done so before any other philosopher, he claimed. He also wrote about Jesus in terms of the *logos* concept that was familiar to his readers, and in the process caused a confusion between the Biblical *logos* concept and that of the Jewish-Greek philosopher Philo. He also made the mistake of turning the Gospel into a philosophy rather than reforming Greek philosophy according to the Gospel.

4.2.1 Platonism

Plato conceives the world / reality as dual. The real world is the world of ideas or abstract concepts. The "good is god," the origin of everything good and beneficial. The human spirit exists first. It originally belonged to the world of ideas and is therefore immortal. The way to being with God is by escaping from the present concrete and material world. Plato, under the influence of the Orpheus religion, understands a human being as a combination of physical body and spirit, two basically different entities. In his dialogues he suggests that the physical body is not a medium of the spirit, but rather a polluting substance or entity that interferes with the spirit (Je, 1998:8).

This cosmology was employed by Christian philosophers, later also by Christian theologians, in forming their own views. Somewhat later, Neo-Platonism came into the picture as a mixture of Platonism, the religious moralism of the late Stoicism, the ideology of the Jewish philosopher Philo, and also, to some degree, certain Oriental notions. Neo-Platonism played a crucial role in affecting the Christian concepts developed by Augustine. Plato distinguishes between idea and concrete or material situation. The former is regarded as the superior entity in this dualism. The world of ideas is the goal of the human life and ethics, whereas the visible and tangible world is evil, and should be avoided, rejected or escaped from. The physical body contaminates the spirit and blocks the abilities of the spirit so that it is unable know its divine origin and nature.

This ideology was typical of the Alexandrian school of Clement of Alexandria, and was later inherited by Augustine. Augustine is the father of medieval theology and church life (Walsh & Middleton, 1984:132-137). In due course, this ideology also effected Korean Christianity through early American missionaries. Its dualistic nature can be detected in its concepts of life, society, labour as well as in the separation of religion and politics by the Korean church (Lee, 1987: 53-55).

Dualism divides human life into the realms of the work of the Spirit of God and of the physical human body, and concludes that the work of God such as worship, glorification, praying, meditation, preaching, evangelism, pastoral duties and salvation is a blessing and a task of endless value whereas family or social life cannot be considered as a work of God and is therefore of less value (Lee, 1985:114).

4.2.2 Origen and the Allegorical Method

Origen was a Greek Church Father born in Alexandria in about 185 A D. He was educated by his mentor Clement of Alexandria in the Catechism school of Alexandria from whom he inherited Platonism. Before Platonism came to the Christians at Alexandria, Jewish beliefs had already been influenced by the ancient Greek philosophical mentality, as can be seen in the work of Philo. He was a well-educated Jew who did not interpret the Old Testament literally but preferred to do so allegorically according to the philosophy of Plato. His approach made it more acceptable to the Greek cultural spirit of those times. His thirty two texts of documents on the Mosaic Law influenced Judaism and Christianity in Alexandria. In their interpretation of the Bible, all Alexandrian Fathers, including Clement and Origen, used allegorical interpretation of the Bible (Han, 1970:67).

Origen developed Pre-existentialism under of the influence of Platonism, and his anthropology was based on Plato's Law of the Thirds. He suggested that human nature was constituted of three factors, mind, spirit, and physical body, and that the highest among these was the mind, followed by the spirit; the physical body was least important (Lee, 1997:81-86).

Origen also suggested that even though the Bible operated with the notion of Divine Providence, there were many hidden points of doctrine hidden in the Bible that people could not understand due to human weakness. A literal understanding of the Bible would therefore be inadvisable. The Bible should rather be understood spiritually and allegorically. The allegorical method of Origen is a reflection of the transcendentalism of Plato. He did not apply this approach to all parts of Scripture since, to his mind,

some parts could indeed be interpreted more literally. In general however, he usually rejected a literal (what he termed a “character”) interpretation and followed a spiritual interpretation (Lee, 1997:137-149).

The allegorical interpretation of the Alexandrian school was subsequently applied by several theologians, among them Augustine. In this way, the Platonic world-view influenced Christian theology and philosophy for more than ten centuries. In due course, this approach to the interpretation of the Bible also had considerable effect on Korean Christianity through early American missionaries.

According to Jeong (2006:18-19) in his discussion of the preaching of the first missionaries to Korea, most of their preaching was dualistic in that on the one hand, it centred on material blessings and the punishment of evil, and on the other it was allegorical and spiritual. This trend lasted for more than a century in the Korean missionary church.

4.3 The Approaches of the Early American Missionaries

The Korean church before independence from Japan in 1945 was under the strong influence of the first missionaries (Lee, 1997:31). Influences from other Western ideologies came more recently. It was the American missionaries, however, who imprinted their theology on Christianity in Korea. Their influence in the development of the theology and belief structure of the first Korean Christians was decisive, says Lee (1997:31-32).

Coming from a conservative theological background, most of the first missionaries were conservative in their view of the Gospel of Christ. The same was true of the pastors who received their theological education from these first missionaries as well as for the

Korean churches that were served by these pastors. According to Chun (1979:67), this was not surprising if one took account of the conservative and fundamental divine background of these first American missionaries.

4.3.1 Puritanism

4.3.1.1 Background of the Puritanism of the Early Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea

When the doors to Korea were opened to missionaries at the end of the 19th century, most of the Western missionaries were American Presbyterians. Their theology had a profound influence on Korean Presbyterianism; the theological ideology, system, and character of the Korean Presbyterian Church were all transplantations from the American Presbyterian Church.

Most of the British immigrants to America were Puritans, and they played important roles in shaping the American Presbyterian Church (Conn & Kim, 1997:85-88). Korean Presbyterianism later inherited the conservative and Puritan theology of the American Presbyterianism through the agency of the American missionaries. The first missionaries to Korea belonged to the so-called the old Princeton school (Lee, 1997:38-40).

The Princeton Theological Seminary where most of the first missionaries of the American Presbyterian Church were trained gradually came under the influence of a more progressive liberal theology.

Although the number of students graduating at the American McCormick Theological Seminary was smaller than that of Princeton, its influence was also considerable. Missionaries such as Samuel A. Moffet, who established the only Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1901 and was its first principal, and William M. Baird who

was a Professor at this school, were regarded as stalwarts of the early Korean church. McCormick Seminary, which is located in Indiana, United States of America, was a typical Christian school that started each day with hymn singing, Bible reading, and praying before classes started; the professors taught in Sunday schools; the president led the afternoon prayer in the chapel (Presbyterian Church of Korea, *Education Board of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, 1973:51; Park, 2004a:469-472). The Seminary was established to educate pastors and missionaries, and aimed at devotion and the indomitable inculcation of a spiritual attitude in a spirit of strict conservatism and Puritan strictness (*Education Board of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, 1973:59)

Moffet's theology was aimed at realizing Puritan objectives. According to him, when a person became a Christian she also became a new person who, with the grace of Jesus can escape from evil and sin, and can follow a new ethics and moral life (Lee, 1997:73-74).

Not only the American missionaries, but also the first missionaries from the Canadian Presbyterian Church were faithful to the tradition of Calvinism, especially to belief in the Westminster Confession. This was also true of the missionaries from the Australian Presbyterian Church. The missionaries sent by the American Southern Presbyterian Church were people who breathed a spirit of conservative theology based on in the Westminster Confession, the Puritanism in the 17th Century, and the Calvinistic fundamentalism of the 16th century (Lee, 1997:41-42).

The general manager of the American Northern Presbyterian Church Mission, Arthur J. Brown (1919:540), concluded that Puritanism was also the basis of the first Korean

Presbyterian Church theology, and that the missionaries who had been working for 25 years after the door to the Gospel had been opened in Korea were people of Puritan conviction. Park Hyeong Ryong, a conservative Korean theologian, supported Brown's conclusion (Kim, 2003:16-17).

4.3.1.2 Puritan Influences in the Early Korean Presbyterian Church

Puritanism is strictly conservative. According to Joo (1998:70-74), the approach of Samuel A. Moffet can be used as an example of the conservatism of the early missionaries. He regarded the Bible as the final and unfailing expression of God's will since it was inspired by his Holy Spirit. He was also convinced that the historical Calvinist doctrine and confession of belief were based on the Bible. The only way to receive salvation from God was to accept the basic principles of belief contained in the Westminster Confession (1648), and to firmly believe in the truth of the cross.

These early missionaries were so conservative in their theology that they would have rejected the so called higher criticism of the Bible as a betrayal of the truth and a form of heresy (Park, 1992:104).

The missionaries worked according to the Nevius Plan to inculcate this conservative theology and ideology in the hearts and minds of Korean Christians. The policy was developed by the American missionary Nevius, and propounded the principles of self-propagation, self-support and self-governance for missionary work. The final purpose of the policy was to let the indigenous people construct their own independent churches (Park, 2004a:607-615).

Because of this policy, the Korean church grew rapidly and soon became independent. On the other hand, the policy resulted in growth without a well developed and

sophisticated theological foundation. Economic considerations were also constantly at the back of the minds of the missionaries. Despite all of these factors, the missionaries succeeded in letting the Korean church inherit their basic theology and view of the church as well as their belief structure (Song, 1987:74-75).

In the second place, Puritanism uses conversion theology as the basis of missionary work. For this reason, the Presbyterian missionaries aimed at converting the Koreans, and they only blessed the converted after they had shown evidence of their conversion. This approach was also followed with regard to church membership. A person who wished to become a member of the church had to attend a church for a certain period of time to be accepted as a catechumen. The catechumen then had to qualify to be blessed by faithfully and correctly discharging his/her duties as a member of the church for at least six months (Ryu, 2001:105). The missionaries then decided whether or not the person had truly converted to Christianity. The next step was for the catechumen to participate in a strict interview where he / she had to give evidence that they had abandoned all heathen behaviour such as participating in rites for the ancestors, and that they were ready to confess their sins and accept Jesus as their personal Saviour. Those who then received blessing were expected to do evangelism from home by home and on the streets on Sunday afternoons (Kim, 2003:107-109).

This approach paid off as evidenced in the growth of the church up to 1897 (Kim, 2003:99-104). The growth can also be ascribed to the Great Revival or Awakening as described in a previous chapter (see 2.4). The system where people receive blessings after conversion and education is still maintained in the Korean Presbyterian Church as part of its tradition.

Thirdly, Puritanism demanded strictness in ethics and religion. The missionaries of the American Presbyterian Church demanded that Korean Christians keep to the prescriptions laid down for them. The missionaries considered rites for the ancestors as idolatry and expected newly converted Korean Christians to abandon it. Concubinage was also considered ethical apostasy. Whereas this practice had been natural in feudalistic Confucian society Christianity rejected it.

Drinking and smoking were also banned. Those who worked in environments that allowed drinking, selling or producing liquor could not qualify for blessings. Drinking was totally banned; it was such a serious offence that persisting in it could lead to excommunication (Park, 2004a:630; Min, 1991: 86-87). Smoking was frowned upon, not only as a matter of health and hygiene, but also as bad for the economy. Gambling was likewise banned (Ryu, 2001:105-113).

It was difficult for the early Korean Christians to observe all of these prescriptions in the prevailing heathen society. From time to time some reverted to their old customs. The missionaries carried out strict punishment for those who broke the rules (Ryu, 2001:123). The Christian lifestyle in the end led to the modernisation of Korean society by destroying observance of the old customs and promoting a life based on Biblical ethics and values. The lifestyle of the Christians distinguished them from non-believers, but also led to greater emphasis on exterior behaviour rather than on personal growth. This emphasis was a form of dualism, as will be discussed in more detail later (see chapter 4).

Fourthly, Puritanism demanded the faithful observation of Sundays. The missionaries placed special emphasis on this aspect. To them, the keeping of Sundays was a way of

distinguishing Christians from non-Christians. The medical missionary Woodbridge O Johnson said, for instance, that “if a Korean kept Sundays, he is a Christian. If not, he is not.” There was no compromise (Ryu, 2001:106-107; Kim, 2004b:111). On Sundays, catechumens and confirmed believers were expected to study the Bible, attend prayer meetings, stop all work for living and participation in entertainment activities.

Christian Newspaper (1897.5.7) published during early Christianity in Korea, published an issue on “the theory of keeping Sundays.” According to the author, working for oneself and even thinking of working were inadmissible on Sundays. Christians could only talk about what God had ordained and demanded. Time had to be spent on meditating about the depth of the Bible and the words of the Sunday sermon. Women had to prepare food and clothes the day before; even needlework was forbidden on Sundays. *Christian Newspaper* (1897.5.27) also contained the following guideline for conduct on Sundays:

... record what you cannot do on the Lord’s Day, but on Sundays talking of what you do or what you do for your work should be properly banned even though it is hard. Meeting friends or other people on Sundays to speak of what Jesus has restricted upon you is the right thing to do and will make you happy. Moreover, parents should teach their children to keep them out of mischief with other children, not buy any food or fruits outside home, and it is the right thing to do to take their children to the church and meditate on the words of the complete New Testament and the Old Testament they hear in the church in order to teach their meaning and love of Jesus (to their children) (*The Institutes for the Korean church history*, 2003: 217).

The missionaries used such guidelines to ensure devotion to the church. Unfortunately, the emphasis on the faithful keeping of Sundays stimulated the development of a dualistic mentality among Church members. They got the impression that only Sundays were holy and the others days were not, and they began to excessively juxtaposing “worldly matters” with “holy matters” appropriate for Sundays.

Fifthly, Puritanism operated with a separation of church and state ideology. Korean Christianity had to contend with the feudalistic social order that had prevailed on the Korean peninsula up to then. Christianity played an important role in the decline of this social order that had been based on the teachings of Confucianism. This change played a crucial role in the social modernisation of Korea (Min, 1981:95-96).

After the Japanese takeover of Korea, the colonial Government expected the missionaries to support the new rulers in their reformation of Korean society according to Japanese guidelines. The new masters underscored that they were not only modernising Korea but were also stabilizing the political situation. They contended that for the missionaries, being foreigners, the modernisation of Korean society should not be an issue. Many missionaries acceded to these demands and said that they “only had interest in delivering the Gospel.” *Korean Mission Field* (Oct., 1907: 155) therefore advocated “a strict neutrality” with respect to political issues (Kim, 2004a:160).

The principle of the separation of church and state enabled the missionaries to formulate the following policy regarding church and state / politics at the Presbyterian Church Mission Council in 1901:

- ◆ We pastors do not interfere with any matter related to Korea, the Government, and government offices.

- We will act according to the treaty made between Korea and other countries; it is not the duty of the church to interfere with government affairs. Moreover, we shall teach that governmental issues are not something to be interfered with.
- Although the people of Korea became members of the church by entering Christianity, we will teach them to obey the offices and Government law, and to serve the emperor faithfully without neglecting the words of God since they are people of Korea before they became members of the church... (*Christian Newspaper*, October 3, 1901; *The Institutes for the Korean church history*, 2003: 243).

The main points of this policy were: separation between Government / state and religion / church, a sharp distinction of what affairs respectively belonged to the public / governmental / state and to the church / religious spheres, church members' obedience to the national law and devotion to the country, and the prohibition of church organizations to infringe on the political arena.

The Korean Christians became even more a-political during the restoration movement of 1907. The missionaries tried to restrict the interest of the Korean Church to church matters only. The principle of the separation of church and state was thus consolidated during the restoration movement. Christianity led the way in present life-oriented reality participation during the independence movement from 1919 onwards. A concomitant afterlife-oriented reality denial mentality developed as a result, and became an ingrained part of church life. This form of escapism was emphasized every time there was a large political movement. The Church began to insist that salvation of the individual spirit was the core traditional belief of Christianity, and it still does so to this day (Song,

1987:211-212). This conviction reinforced the notion of the separation between state / politics and church / religion, but also helped the church circumvent conflict and friction with the system. If and when it became necessary to criticize the Government, the church was silenced with the argument of church and state separation. This was done until recently (Lee, 1987:91-95; 136-141). It can be said that the missionaries neglected national tragedy by trying to address the problems of the country with prayers and restoration assemblies that were devoid of social and historical awareness.

Sixth, Puritanism cast belief and the world into a dualistic structure. An early missionary and the founder of the Sungshil professional school, Doctor William M. Baird, warned the students who neglected the study of the Bible and focused on studying English that, “considering English more important than the Bible is a sin” (Kim, 1956:174-175). The missionaries limited religious life just like the stoics in the medieval era. Their approach was based on a dualistic structure of good and evil. They centred their focus on Biblical principles but neglected to apply them to “worldly” knowledge, science and technology. The missionaries in Korea similarly opposed culture, not only because they regarded the traditional culture as wrong or evil, but also because of their Puritan inclinations not to expand the impact of religion to the social and public life.

Korean Christians, having abandoned their traditional culture and customs, began to feel alienated from society, and the churches also began feeling disconnected from society and culture. The core problem here was Pietism, i.e. the tendency to place emphasis on being free from (for instance, oppression or the demands of social life), and not on the Biblical perspective of being free from sin and free to (for instance, work as leaven in society to reform it, or to serve one’s neighbour). Despite the presence of active modern

cultural movements in the early Korean Church, and despite the fact that Christianity did have a significant impact on Korean culture, the approach of the early missionaries created the impression among the newly converted that the church (religion) and culture were on a collision course. As a result of this, instead of Christianity affecting, influencing, changing and reforming society and traditional culture, it became itself absorbed into the common culture (Lee, 1987:92-95).

4.3.2 Pietistic Evangelicalism

The Methodist missionaries were influenced by the theology of John Wesley (Lee, 2000:71). They therefore emphasised experimental belief, faith training based on praying and studying of the Bible, idealistic perfectionism aiming at a higher level of ethics, resistance against an unethical life, and a formal belief system. Joo (2003:109) adds group worship, Bible assemblies and pupil training to this list as evidence of Pietism in the Church.

These tenets of Pietism can be detected in the restoration movement started by the early missionaries. This movement was inspired by the revivalism and evangelicalism sprouting from the experimentalism of Wesley who connected European Pietism with Arminianism (Lee, 1997:37).

The restoration movement of Weonsan in 1903, which was the beginning of the early Korean restoration movement, also began with the experiment of individual repentance and sentience as expounded by missionary Robert A. Hardie, and developed into a massive repentance movement. The Great Korean Christian Restoration movement of 1907 started in Pyeongyang in August, 1906 with a prayer assembly of missionaries. The missionaries invited hundreds of Koreans and prayed that the Holy Spirit would

appear every day for an hour. This continued until January 1907 in the Pyeongyang Presbyterian Church and then rapidly spread out to other areas. It gave impetus to the pietistic mood of the Korean Church. Other restoration assemblies likewise focused on experiments of repentance and sentience that made people desire for a subjective divine experience. It also allowed them to enter an emotionally enthusiastic condition. Such subjective and enthusiastic experiences contributed to self-mission and self-evangelicalism among the converted and brought rapid growth to the Korean Church (Lee, 1987:48). The Pietistic movement also contributed to ethical innovation and subjective experience of the divine. As time went by, the movement became more emotional, with stronger emphasis on subjective experience, and on anti-logical empiricism.

Korean Pietism also developed into a sort of *sola fideism*. Pietists were passionate to observe keep religious rituals, but were reluctant to contribute to the renewal of social and national life (Conn & Kim, 1997:210).

4.3.3 Dispensationalism and Eschatology

Many evangelical Christians in America came to believe in post-millennialism, i.e. the idea that the millennium kingdom would arrive before the second coming of Jesus on earth. This was due to the influence of Jonathan Edward during the Great Awakening Movement of the 18th century in America. Pre-millennialism (the millennium after the second coming of Jesus) enjoyed great support after the American Civil War, but it became an issue in American evangelicalism in the 19th century. According to John Nelson Darby's (1800-1882) dispensationalism, human history can be divided into seven phases. Each phase has ended or will end in human failure. The Bible reveals

however that God will intervene and rescue sinners from destruction (Park, 2004b:294-301). Cyrus I Scofield (1843-1921) disseminated Darby's ideas in America. His Reference Bible (1917), in which he propounded pre-millennialism and dispensationalism, became a bestseller. Evangelists like Dwight L. Moody and Adoniram Gordon also supported dispensationalism (Park, 2000:181-182).

Until the 1920s, the American missionaries dispatched to Korea entertained eschatological views under the influence of people like Moody and Gordon. According to Brown (1919:540), the American missionaries dispatched to Korea before 1911 supported pre-millennialism. Missionary Floyd Hamilton supported this view by remarking that most of the missionaries between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries were supporters of (dispensationist) pre-millennialism. According to Park (2004b: 289-290), most of the conservative missionaries shared this eschatological theology. James Gale, under the influence of Dwight L. Moody, was especially instrumental in spreading dispensationalistic pre-millennialism in Korea. His publication of a Korean version of the Scofield Reference Bible together with Underwood, the first missionary of the Korean Presbyterian Church, proves how strong the influence of dispensationalism was among the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church at that time (Conn & Kim, 1997:42). According to this eschatology, the church will be taken up to the clouds (1 Thessalonians 4:10, Philippians 3:20-21) during Armageddon and the seven years of affliction (Lee, 1962:172). This view is typical of dispensationalism. The Korean Evangelical Church taught dispensationalism, pre-millennialism and the Second Coming (Park, 2004b:291-292). Between 1920 and 1930, many books on eschatology were written in or translated into Korean, and eschatology together with the restoration movement began to dominate the thinking of Korean believers. In this period, not only

Bible schools and theological seminaries, but also the publications of *Shin Hak Ji Nam* (the Presbyterian Theological Quarterly, published by the Pyeongyang Theological Seminary in the Presbyterian Church), other magazines and discussions of prophetic Bible books such as the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of John added heat to the discussion about eschatology.

Mok (1998:156) points out the following concerns about dispensationalistic pre-millennialist eschatology. First, the literal way in which the Bible is interpreted; second, the tendency to equate the Church with Israel that necessitates a different view of the salvation of the Jews; third, the idea of the literal restoration of Israel, and lastly, the idea of the millennium kingdom as a Jewish one.

Dispensationalism exerted considerable influence, especially with respect to how God's Kingdom should be seen, and how the Bible should be interpreted. Dispensationalism requires a literal understanding of the Bible and a focus on the future-directedness of the prophets. This emphasis on the future prevented Korean Christians from properly understanding the meaning of "heaven" and the significance of God's kingdom for present life (Crane, 1953: 301-309). One-sided emphasis on the afterlife distorts one's ideas of heaven, the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God. Christians experienced difficulties in understanding what it meant for daily, practical every day life to be a citizen of the kingdom of heaven (Kim, 1994:256). Lee (1962:172-174) contends that this preference for dispensationalistic pre-millennialism and individual devotion can be seen as a reason why Koreans could not stop worshipping in the heathen shrines during Japanese occupation.

Dispensationalistic eschatology had the negative effect of leading to confusion in the

minds of believers, especially after the introduction of an extreme eschatology known as 'limited period eschatology' in the 1990s (Mok, 1998:93-102). This eschatology reduced the authority of God to the sphere of individual inclinations and led to extreme individualism. In due course, this development created a dualistic mentality structure in believers. It also narrowed eschatology to discussions about when Jesus would come again (Park, 2000:198).

Despite its shortcomings, the millennium kingdom discussions helped Korean Christians survive the period of Japanese occupation and colonialism (Park, 1992:255-256).

4.3.4 Calvinism and Reformed Thought, Fundamentalism and Conservatism

There have been many discussions about whether the conservatism of Korean churches and Christians is due to Calvinism, Calvinistic Reformed theology or even fundamentalism. Lee, himself a conservative Calvinist, is convinced that the theology of Korean theologians of the Presbyterian Church who led the Church in the 1930s were adherents to a "fundamental theology", unlike the moderately conservative theology of the early missionaries (Lee, 1987:54-57). Chun (1979:67) agrees with him, saying that it was natural for the early missionaries to be conservative or fundamentalist since they were from the old Princeton school. Park (1992:71) shares this view, and points out that many texts of fundamentalist doctrine were published in the *Presbyterian Theological Quarterly*, a journal of the Pyeongyang Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church. Barthian concurs with these views by regarding the early missionaries as "ultra-conservative, fundamentalist and 'stone-headed'." Shin (2003:17) rebutted that such an assessment should not be done without careful examination of the background of

fundamentalism in the American Presbyterian Church, and without an appropriate historical view (Shin, 2003:17).

4.3.4.1 Principles of Fundamentalism

Harold B. Kuhn (1975: 233) defined fundamentalism in *Baker's Dictionary of Theology* as follows:

The term denotes a movement in theology in recent decades designed to conservative principles which lie at the foundation of the Christian system, and resists what was considered dangerous theological tendencies in the movement calling itself Modernism.

According to Kim (1992:7-10), the term “fundamentalism” was born in America after 1915. It was a theological view adopted by people who tried to maintain the biblical value and traditional belief systems in confronting the flow of Modernism that was charging in like a tide. Fundamentalism was synonymous with the work done at Princeton Theological Seminary. George M. Marsden (1980:225) suggests that fundamentalism developed among groups originally rooted in reformed theology. Shin (2003:21) agrees that fundamentalism can be seen as a trend of reformed theology aimed at fighting off Modernism.

Fundamentalism has two aspects: verbal inspiration and Scottish common sense philosophy. The theologians of the old school at the Princeton Theological Seminary firstly accepted the full verbal inspiration of the Bible as their starting point. The verbal inspiration made the Bible true and inerrant. They also applied Scottish common sense philosophy (later called the philosophy of common reality) in interpreting the Bible. The ideas of the Scottish philosophers Francis Hutcheson (1694-1736) and Thomas

Reid (1710-1796) in the 18th century provided the basis of the methodology of the old school at Princeton. This philosophy, which dominated thinking in the 19th century, was used as a means by American conservative theologians to defend a reformed theology, and was a philosophical attempt to provide a rational and logical foundation for a common sense view of reality (Kim, 1992:34-37).

Modernism, including higher criticism of the Bible and Darwin's theory of evolution, brought changes to 19th century America. Conservative theologians who felt threatened by them held a Bible Conference at a resort at Niagara in 1895. Stewart G. Cole mentions that five basic doctrines were formulated at this occasion, and that those who supported them were regarded as "fundamentalist" (Shin, 2003: 107). In 1910, the general assembly of the North Presbyterian Church of America confirmed these five doctrines as principles of the Church, and promulgated them as "essential and necessary." In 1923, the general assembly once again confirmed the five doctrines (Kim, 1992:108-112; Park, 2001:194). They were:

- 1) The Holy Spirit did so inspire, guide and move the writers as to keep them from error.

- 2) Our Lord Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary.

- 3) Christ offered up himself as a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice and to reconcile us with God.

- 4) Concerning our Lord Jesus that on the third day he arose from dead, with the same body in which he suffered.

- 5) That the Lord Jesus showed his power and love was not contrary to nature but superior to it.

4.3.4.2 Fundamentalism and the Theological Thought in the Korean Church

The Korean Church was founded in the context of conservative theology. What had been brought to the Korean pastors in the beginning was understood to be the only acceptable theology, and this also became the traditional theology of the Korean Church (Park, 1976:11-22).

The Korean Presbyterian Church sees itself as Calvinistic or reformed. “Reformed” here refers to the Reformation in the 16th century. The reason why “reformed” is also called “Calvinism” is because Calvin was the first to systematize its theology. A reformed theology emphasizes the power and sovereignty of God, and tries to seek God’s glory in the concrete lives of Christians (Shin, 2003:178-181). The reformed approach has often been confused with evangelicalism, fundamentalism and conservatism.

Despite the fact that most of missionaries who came to Korean were Calvinists, they seem to have failed in correctly transplanting reformed theology in Korean soil. Their failure probably lies in the fact that most of the Korean pastors were not well-educated; they could not understand Calvinism as a theological system based on a particular view of life (Conn & Kim, 1997:41; Paik, 1979:304).

The missionaries themselves also compounded the problem:

- ◆ They were not only unable to appropriately convey the tenets of Calvinism correctly to the converted, but they were too involved in other duties to pay due attention to this problem (Kim, 2004a:159).
- ◆ Most of the professors of the Presbyterian Church’s Theological Seminary at Pyeongyang were Calvinists, but some of them who did not have a clear view of reformed theology and could therefore not teach it to their students (Conn &

Kim, 1997:204).

- ◆ The first missionaries who came to Korea were not adherents of the “pure” Calvinism before the 18th century when the North Presbyterian Church of America was in charge, but rather of a “corrected” form of Calvinism. The Westminster confession of Faith, which contains all the doctrines of Calvinism, was “reviewed” in 1903 under the influence of the restoration movement. Some of the evangelists who came to Korea as missionaries such as Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899) had been influenced and inspired by restoration preaching. They therefore were more tolerant of other religions, but were strict in their rejection of Liberalism and the higher criticism of the Bible. In 1907, the Korean Presbyterian Church selected twelve Creeds, similar to that of the India Presbyterian Church. In doing so, they diluted the contents of reformed theology; a certain degree of evangelistic influence can be detected in these actions (Kim, 1992:148). (Evangelicalism is a term related to the restoration movements in America in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was indicative of the slow advance of Wesley’s theology and method (Ryu, 2001:94-56)).

In contrast to the third development mentioned above, there was an unmistakable tendency to steer The Korean Protestant Church in a more conservative direction. Whereas the Church initially had adopted a rather conservative belief system, some theologians steered it in the direction of fundamentalism, legalism, self-righteous separatism and a literal interpretation of the Bible. This trend can be observed in the teachings of Doctor Park Hyeong Ryong, an influential and representative conservative theologian. He and his followers were fundamentalists at war with Liberalism (Park, 1996:402-403; Jang, 1998:124-125). They regarded fundamentalism as synonymous

with Christianity (Park, 1960:12-24). Under their guidance, many leaders and believers of the Church became convinced that fundamentalism and dispensationalism were Biblically sound doctrines (Kim, 1992:198).

4.3.4.3 The influence of fundamentalism on the Korean Church

The fundamentalists mentioned above were convinced that the Bible was God's precise and inerrant Word, and they strongly rejected any form of Liberalism (Kim, 1988:154; Park, 1992:352-353). They stressed the study of the Bible, and a restoration of the church through Bible study groups. Such sentiments were expressed by the founder of the Korean Presbyterian Church's Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang, Samuel A. Moffet, in a jubilee memorial speech:

I have decided to deliver nothing but the evangelic cross of Jesus, as Saint Paul once declared (re-quoted in Shin, 2003:193).

It is hard to find any other church today that stresses the literal meaning of the Bible as much as the fundamentalists in the Korean Presbyterian Church did at that time (Kim, 1988:155).

Fundamentalism also enjoined Korean believers to lead pious lives. By converting the teachings of the Bible into legal, holy or fundamentalist doctrines and regulations, Korean Christianity was steered on a more conservative course (Kim, 1988:63).

In addition to this, fundamentalism was an important stimulus behind the movement of refusing to worship at the heathen shrines during the Japanese rule; it even inspired some Christians to rather prefer martyrdom (Shin, 2003:273; Lee, 1985:218). Harvie M. Conn (1973:160), a fundamentalist missionary in Korea and a professor at the Westminster Theological Seminary in America, regarded dogma as relatively

unimportant.

Fundamentalism itself is a mixture of diverse opinions, doctrines or dogmas that for instance, tends to reduce the God concept to the object of individual and personal piety. Occasionally, its appeal for the preservation of the purity of the church and its insistence on punishment for disbelief results in negativism, isolationism and haughtiness among church members.

4.4 Liberalism

The concept "Liberalism" is not easy to define. In Korea, the term refers to a theological approach that on the one hand maintains the truth of the Word of God while on the other, it rejects the conservatism of, for instance, fundamentalism. The Korean "Neo-Orthodox Theology" is considered as a liberal theology that developed to oppose 19th century Liberalism (Kim, 1994:151). Until the mid 1930s, the Korean Presbyterian Church was dominated by conservatism, whereas the Methodist Church was more liberal and open-minded. In reaction to the conservatism of the former, liberal theologians like Chung Kyung Ok appeared on the scene in the 1930s (Song, 1987:330).

The Presbyterian Church experienced difficulty with the form of Liberalism propounded by the Methodist Church and by some of the pastors working under the auspices of the Canadian Presbyterian Church (Park, 1992:147-174). The roots of Liberalism in Korea can be found in the teachings of Dr Kim Jae Joon, who studied in Japan and America. After his return to Korea he played an important role in spreading liberal ideas between 1930 and 1933 (Chun, 1979:147).

Liberal theologians criticised Korean conservatism as fundamentalist, in the process denying the verbal inspiration theory. When the Korean Presbyterian Church Seminary

in Pyeongyang had to close its doors due to its opposition to worshipping at the Japanese temples and because of the oppression by the Japanese colonial Government, the liberalists opened the Chosun Theological Seminary in 1940. The founders of this school denounced the conservatism of the Pyeongyang Theological Seminary (Conn & Kim, 1997:103). Chosun was the only theological Seminary of the Korean Presbyterian Church until Korea was freed from Japan in 1945.

After 1945, the Korean Presbyterian Church expelled Doctor Kim because he had denied the inerrancy of the Bible. His supporters then formed “The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea” for the purpose of protesting against his expulsion (Kim, 2004a:257-259, cf. Jang, 1998:362-276).

An assembly of the new Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea enacted a “Declaration” in 1972 (Lee, 1980: 149-165) in which it declared that the work of the Holy Spirit should not be restricted to the matter of Bible inspiration alone. The Spirit also has the power to regenerate the church and to lead to personal salvation (Lee, 1987:154-156). This “Declaration” contributed to the development of an indigenous theology, took the history of Korean Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea into account, and promoted the Korean form of Liberalism mentioned above (Kim, 2004a:292-293).

The Chosun Seminary and the Hanshin University, established by the Korean Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, are today renowned as the largest liberal theological seminary in Korea. After the 1960s the Korean Church became acquainted with the Death of God theology, Western secularism and progressive Liberalism, and political or liberation theology that connected theology to the political situation in

Korea, among others with the *Minjung* (people's) theology that devotes itself to improving the social and political conditions in Korea (Kim, 2004a:277-285).

Liberalism has the merit that it inspired interest in society and culture, something that had been neglected due to the doctrine of the separation of church and state based on conservatism. Because the conservative attitude of the Korean Church was so negative and passive about societal conditions, theologians from the Calvin Theological Seminary in America felt obliged to point out that the Korean Church had surprisingly little influence on society, and that it was indifferent to the poor (Kim, 1975: 272).

The later more liberal church showed greater interest in society, but it tended to err in the opposite direction: it reduced belief and church life to a struggle for eliminating social and structural evil (Kim, 1975:82). Although Liberalism modernised the church, it caused the church to transgress the sovereignty of societal spheres by eliminating the boundaries between the church and other societal structures. In doing away or by ignoring the border lines between the church and the other societal structures, the liberal church became unable to maintain the objectivity of the Gospel. Its denial of the special structure and functions of the church as a separate societal sphere played into the hands of secularists (Kim, 1970:208).

Liberalism freed itself from historical Christian doctrines by banning a dogmatic use of the Bible and by applying higher criticism of the Bible. The basis of a Biblical ethics is "freedom." The "Declaration" of the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea in 1972 referred to above, changed this basis to social reconstruction. The liberalists developed the *Minjung* (people) theology as a result of this. This theology focused on the salvation of the poor. As indicated above, the church erred by considering political

salvation of the people as an injunction of the Bible. In thinking this way, it made the church a champion of struggle (Kim, 1994:167-170). Despite this, one could observe *Minjung* theologians taking the lead in a variety of demonstrations and agitating for social and political objectives.

It also promoted another unbiblical and liberal view, viz. that of individuals and their right to be free to behave as they deemed fit as long as they did not infringe on the rights and freedoms of others.

4.5 The Charismatic Movement and Pentecostalism

The Korean Church experienced several spurts of growth in numbers. According to Korean Government statistics in the 1980s, the number of Protestants was 5 293 844, and the number of the churches was up to 20 109. The number of Protestants was only 300 000 in 1950 before the Korean War, and it grew to 1 000 000 in the 1960s. The Yeouido Full Gospel Church, a charismatic-evangelistic church, showed the most remarkable growth in membership numbers in the 1970s. The Pentecostal movement grew to almost 10 000 000 in 1985 (Joo, 1998:289-290).

A spokesperson of the Korean Pentecostal movement, Pastor Jo Yong Gi, defines Pentecostalism as follows:

The Pentecostal movement is a spiritual movement founded on the absolute authority of the Holy Spirit, who is part of the trinity of God based on Christian belief and the Bible (*Institute of International Theological Studies*, 2001:17-18).

The origins of today's Pentecostal movement can be traced back to the American restoration movement (Moon, 2003:25), a movement ignited by George Whitfield and Charles Finny, theologians with a Methodist-Armenianist background. The movement

received impetus from the work and theology of Reuben A. Torrey, its forerunner in California in 1890 (Moon, 2003:25-26). The general assembly of the Assemblies of God was established by the Pentecostal campaigners convened at Hot Springs, Arkansas from April 2 to 12, 1914 (*Institutes of International Theological Studies*, 2001:123-129). The Korean Pentecostal Church began with Miss Mary C. Rumsey entering Korea in 1928. In 1952, a missionary of the Assemblies of God in America, Pastor Arthur B Chestnut, came to Korea, and in 1953 the official Korean Assemblies of God were established, but were not yet generally known as the "Full Gospel Church" (*Institute of International Theological Studies*, 2001:196-220). Since then, The Korean Full Gospel Church with its Yeouido Full Gospel Church and Pastor Jo Yong Gi as its representative has experienced rapid growth (Ryu, 1984:17-21). The mission policy of the Korean Pentecostal Church in 1970 is contained in a document entitled *Understanding Church Growth* written by Donald A McGavran (Joo, 1998:295). This Church, like other churches, did not escape an identity crisis during and after the Korean War (Han, 1984:215-216), but still succeeded in playing an important role in alleviating the conditions of the poor and the neglected during and after the war.

The role of the Full Gospel Church has a few less commendable effects as well. The first of these is its anti-political and a-historical stance. By assuming this attitude, it tends to alienate its members from the world and the concerns of daily life (Han, 1984:221).

The second unfortunate effect is the neglect of social and environmental innovation and reform due to its emphasis on individual salvation. Social salvation and systematic innovation are considered much too limited, human and earthly (Han, 1984:220).

The third less fortunate effect is its interest in sensational experience, happiness, spiritual blessing, curiosity about the supernatural and in miracles such as speaking in languages and faith healing, its self-centredness, praying for good fortune, emphasis on spiritual history, a holy and pure life, blessings for prosperity and physical growth (Han, 1984:224). These aspirations can cause indifference among church members with regard to ethical conduct and correct worship of God according to his prescriptions in the Bible (Kim, 2004a:369-372).

The fourth somewhat negative effect is that, although as the largest Korean church it is handsomely placed for carrying out missionary, education and salvation duties, it prefers not to cooperate with other churches or denominations (Kim, 2004a:283-285).

4.6 Conclusion

The Korean Church grew rapidly in a relatively short time. It still bears characteristics of Western theology and church life and has not yet become adequately indigenised. The Korean Churches today embody an eclectic variety of ideologies and doctrines, and this causes them not to have a clear view of church structure and mission as outlined in the Bible. Because of all the different views and interpretations of Biblical guidelines and injunctions, the Korean churches (of all denominations) have absorbed in themselves (i.e. in their doctrines, their structures, their concepts of duty and ethics, and so forth) a whole plethora of influences, such as those described in this chapter.

As has already been intimated in this chapter as well as in previous ones, church life in Korea has since its inception been profoundly affected by diverse forms of anthropological dualisms. In the next chapter, we will now hone in on some of them in somewhat more detail.

5 ANTHROPOLOGICAL DUALISM IN KOREAN CHURCH TEACHING AND EDUCATION

5.1 Introductory Remarks

Korean Churches today have a tendency of concentrating on “heavenly faith.” It emphasizes “faith” and is interested in making “believers.” They assume that the relationship with God is the only scale of faith and that they have no responsibility towards their neighbours. This is a form of horizontalised faith. This reality of the Korean churches causes them to simply observe the collapse of morality and the crisis of community without really doing anything about it (Lee, 1994: 57). This attitude arises from the fact that Korean Christians have not yet established a clear worldview of their own; they wander between secular and sacred values. This is a dualism, and the reason it flourishes in Korea is because of the influences of oriental religions and Western philosophy. The religious character and thinking of Korean Christianity has been influenced among others by Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. This results in faith being regarded as only supernatural, causing the practice of faith in daily life to be neglected.

Korean Christians seem to commute between the secular and the afterlife. This stems from a dualism inherited from ancient Greek thought and integrated into their worldview (Kang, 1990: 1-9). When Christianity first came to Korea, the Korean church membership mainly comprised lower class people whose belief structure became conservative because of the fundamental(ist) nature of the theology and practice of the early missionaries. Korean Churches leaned toward fundamental(ist) faith, conservative society and a lack of political consciousness. This was exhibited in their devotion to the

ideal of personal salvation. This attitude caused a division of life into sacred and secular realms which distorted their lives and brought about a misunderstanding of who they were, what this world was and what their role in the world should be (Jeong, 1992: 6-11). This confusion was related to the misunderstanding about the “composition” of human beings and the relationship between spirit, soul and body (Lee, 1996: 2).

The Korean churches worked hard at strengthening the personal and self-centred faith of their members, but in the process neglected teaching them the need for also loving God and their neighbours. Without teaching them how to live as Christians in this world and with other people, there was little hope of them becoming ethically mature. The preaching, teaching and education of the Korean church should have been better balanced in the sense that it should have emphasized salvation and ethical life together; rather there developed a tendency toward selfish faith whose main consideration was material blessings (Kim, 2004b: 255-264).

5.2 Theoretical background of Dualism in the Korean Churches

Conservative churches in Korea maintain dichotomy and trichotomy as their basic views of man. Dichotomy is taught by the Presbyterian Church and trichotomy is taught by some sections of the Presbyterian and the Pentecostal Churches. These approaches are based on theologians’ points of view, which suggests that the ministers, pastors and other church leaders are being educated to think dualistically about the human being.

5.2.1 Dichotomy

Dichotomy is being taught by the Presbyterian Church which is a mainstream Korean church. The teaching of dichotomy in the conservative Korean Presbyterian Church is indebted to Park Hyoeng Ryong, a conservative theologian, and his followers.

5.2.1.1 Park Hyoeng Ryong and Dichotomy

Park Hyoeng Ryong was a powerful and influential conservative theologian. He was the founder and champion of Korean conservative theology (Han, 1996b: 83-84; Ryu, 1984:186). Jang (1998: 5) described Park as a great mountain in Korean evangelical theology. He was a professor at the Assembly Theological Seminary of the Korean Presbyterian Church, the biggest conservative order in Korea. He studied at Princeton Seminary in America in the 1920s so his theology was influenced by southern Presbyterian theology which was conservative prior to 1929. Princeton Seminary subsequently became more liberal in its theology (Kim, 2001: 164). The earlier theology at Princeton was influenced by reformed theology and Scottish common sense philosophy. Calvinism and Scottish common sense philosophy were used as tools of the 19th century conservative theologians in America to defend reformed theology (Kim, 2001: 173-175). Because of this, the earlier Princeton theology was regarded as fundamental(ist) theology by some scholars (Kim, 1992: 79-80). At least, it provided an important frame of reference for fundamental(ist) theology (Shin, 2003: 62). If so, one could possibly reason that although the theology of the conservative Korean church was formally advocating Calvinism and reformed theology, it was closer to being fundamental(ist).

Because of Park's position in the Korean church, his teaching was followed by the conservatives. Many scholars and pastors in the church accepted the *Dogmatic Theology* (7 Volumes) by Park Hyoeng Ryong and *Park Hyoeng Ryong's Complete Written Collection* (14 books) as the classics of Korean theology. They also followed the guidelines in his *A Great Man of Korean Theology* (Park, 1992:35). His *Dogmatic Theology* has been used as a textbook in many conservative Korean seminaries (Jang,

1998; 315).

His dichotomous view of the human being is well explained in his book *Dogmatic Theology* (volume 3, Anthropology). He commences by explaining dichotomy as follows (Park, 1977b:57):

In English ‘Dichotomy’ is a noun which means divided into two parts (διχα =in two, τεμνειν=cut). So in Theology we can say that human beings have two original parts: body and soul.

He tries to convince his readers that dichotomy was a teaching of the Bible (Park, 1977b: 58):

Dichotomy describes the human character in the Bible. The Bible suggests that human beings have two parts, namely body and soul. Also the Bible tells not only about נ פ ש and ψυχη, but also ר ה ו and πνευμα but doesn’t suggest a difference in the two kinds. Dichotomy has numerous biblical bases and is supported by reliable rational evidence.

Park also concluded that the human character was “two factors of unity” (Park, 1977b: 58-60; Na, 1997:68) by saying (Park, 1977b: 60):

Revelation is completely in harmony with self-consciousness in the Bible and this suggests Dichotomy.

Park compared the human nature to a two-storied house or a three-storied one. He concentrated on the defence of dichotomy and trichotomy rather than on explaining the unity of body and soul. There is doubt whether Park understood dualism and the wholeness / oneness of the human being because he claimed that dualism was advocated by Descartes. This shows that Park understood the human character to be

dichotomous or even trichotomous. He never referred to monism or the wholeness of the human being.

Some Korean scholars judged Park as not having developed his own theology but that he had “imported foreign theology” (Han, 1996b:106). Others thought that the core of Park’s theology was the systematic theology of Louis Berkhof and others like B B Warfield and A A Hodge. He was criticized for merely adding some footnotes to Berkhof’s views (Choi, 1996: 77). Park himself acknowledged that his *Dogmatic Theology* was based on Berkhof’s systematic theology and that his book was just “a bunch of flowers from someone else’s garden” (Park, 1976:11; Jeong, 1989:22).

Park and his followers maintained a dichotomous rather than a trichotomous view of the human being. In spite of his adherence to the theology of Berkhof, he was a follower of fundamental Puritan theology rather than of Dutch or European Reformed Theology. Whereas Berkhof followed Herman Bavinck (Park, 1977a: 38), he followed American Presbyterian theology that came from Scottish and Irish Puritanism. As a result, Choi (1996: 76) regarded Park not as “a pure Calvinist,” rather as an exponent of old school Princeton theology or a theologian from the Dutch reformed school who did not understand all the subtleties and differences of the Reformed tradition (Choi, 1996: 80-81).

5.2.1.2 Louis Berkhof's Anthropology

As Park said in his *Dogmatic Theology*, Berkhof was a famous dogmatist and the Principal of Calvin Theological Seminary. His standpoint appeared in Park’s book and tuition. Park’s book was used as the textbook of conservative Korean Theological Seminaries. Berkhof’s *Summary of Christian Doctrine* and *Manual of Christian*

Doctrine have also been widely used as textbooks at universities and church schools.

Among others, Berkhof said the following of the human being (Berkhof, 1971: 192):

The prevailing representation of the nature of man in Scripture is clearly dichotomic.

He also stressed that the Bible taught the view of the nature of man as a unity, and not as a duality, consisting of two different elements, each of which moved along parallel lines but did not really unite to form a single organism. He urged recognizing that because of the complex nature of man, the human being should not be presented as a dual structure. He also stressed that every act of the human being should be seen as an act of the whole human being. On the other hand, however, one should be careful of the distinction between the body as the material element, and the soul as the spiritual element of human nature. In the Old Testament, he said, Genesis 2:7 contained evidence of the dual composition of man's nature. To illustrate this, he highlighted words in the Old Testament such as "flesh", "dust", "bones", "bowels" and "kidneys" that denoted the lower elements in man or parts of it, and "spirit", "soul", "heart" and "mind" that denoted the higher elements (Berkhof, 1971: 192-193).

Concerning the relationship of the body to the soul, Berkhof said that the theory of realistic dualism was that the body and the soul were distinct substances which interacted with each other (Berkhof, 1971: 195). He stressed the unity of human beings but also maintained the basic duality of the human being. He was vague about the composition of human beings and the relationship of body and soul. He therefore made his readers concentrate on the dichotomy while on the other hand trying to teach the unity of the body and soul.

5.2.1.3 Park Yoon Seon and Dichotomy

Dr. Park Yoon Seon, who was a colleague of Park Hyeong Ryong, influenced the Korean church considerably (Han, 1996a: 132). He was called “a man of the Bible” by his followers and he worked hard at writing a Bible commentary, the *Commentary of Park Yoon Seon*. He became noted as one of the three writers of commentaries in the 100 years of Korean church history and a representative of Korean church tradition (Han, 1996a: 133). His approach differed from that of Park Hyeong Ryong because he accepted the Dutch reformed theology and devoted his life to reformed theological exegesis. In spite of that, his viewpoint about the human being was not different from Park Hyeong Ryong’s. Regarding 1 Thessalonians 5:23 he wrote in his commentary (Park, 1967: 422):

In this verse, “spirit, soul, and body” do not amount to a trichotomy. The Bible says that human beings have two parts, soul and body (Matthew 10:28, 1 Corinthians 2:14, 15, 15:44, 46). ‘Spirit’ and ‘soul’ refer to two aspects of the soul, so ‘spirit’ has a function of religious separation and general perception.

When we accept this explanation, Paul also didn’t oppose dichotomy.

5.2.1.4 Lee Sang Keun and Dichotomy

Lee Sang Keun was a Presbyterian minister. His *Commentary* had a substantial influence on many Korean pastors and believers for a long time. He said that trichotomy was based on Greek philosophy and that it was the general view of most of the early Church Fathers such as Ireneus and Chrysostomus (but not Athanasius and Theodoret) who succeeded the early Church Fathers. The Alexandrian Church Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa) also defended trichotomy but the Biblical idea

was always dichotomy with certain notable exceptions (e.g. in I Thessalonians 5:23, Hebrews. 4:12). He takes this position in a special note on the “dichotomy of man” in his commentary on I Thessalonians (Lee, 1979: 84-85).

5.2.1.5 Other Korean Systematic Theologians

Dr. Hwang Seong Soo supported dichotomy and trichotomy in his book *Anthropology* (Systematic series 3). Like others, his theology was influenced by Berkhof’s. He wrote that trichotomy did not come from the Bible but dichotomy did. Trichotomy came from Greek philosophy and was used by heretics. According to him, dichotomy meant a division into two parts. This came from the Greek διχα = in two, τεμνειν = cut (as Berkhof also says). Thus, the human being in the Bible is a dichotomy (Hwang, 1995: 35-44). Descartes also supported realistic dualism like Berkhof and Park Hyeong Ryong (Hwang 1995: 45-46).

Lee Bum Bae said, “Man consists of two parts, body and soul” as the essential elements of his human nature. He supported dichotomy and trichotomy but he too was a dichotomist first. He quoted the theories of A H Strong and Louis Berkhof, and maintained that trichotomy did not come from the Bible but from Greek philosophy and that it had been adopted by philosophers in England and Germany. As it could not withstand interpretative criticism it should not be accepted. Dichotomy, on the other hand, is supported by Genesis 2:7, Job 27:3 and many other verses from the Bible (Lee, 2001: 290-297).

Hwang Seung Ryong was the author of *Systematic Theology* written under the auspices of The General Assembly of Korean Presbyterian Church (*Tonghap*). This book also supported the notions of dichotomy and trichotomy but Hwang was basically a

dichotomist. Quoting the *Abriss der Dogmatik* by Horst G. Pohlmann, he wrote that trichotomy came from Greek philosophy. The term “soul” did not refer to a part of the human being but to the holistic character of the human being; because of this, trichotomy could be rejected. Yet, dichotomy needed to be supported on Biblical grounds. If the human being is seen as a unity of soul and body, we should rather speak of “realistic dualism.” To do this would mean accepting the standpoint of Charles Hodge who rejected the dualism of Greek philosophy but regarded dichotomy as faithful to biblical teaching.

Ju Man Sung remarked that dichotomy had been accepted for a long time in church history; most evangelists accepted it. He wrote this in his book *Outline of Reformed Systematic Theology* (Joo, 2003: 124-125).

Lee Hoon Goo also thought dichotomy was in agreement with the Bible but that trichotomy should be rejected as a theory regarding human beings (Lee, 2003: 73-74). He was supported by Yeom Myeong Soo who also regarded dichotomy as more biblical than trichotomy (Yeom, 2000: 171-172).

In conclusion, it can be stated that a dichotomous view of the human being has been widely supported by Korean scholars and by most conservative / traditional churches, but that trichotomy has been rejected because it purportedly comes from Greek philosophy.

5.2.2 Trichotomy

Trichotomy is supported in some circles, however. A representative example of trichotomy can be found in Pentecostal (Charismatic) Theology. The Pentecostal Theology of the Yeoido Full Gospel Church has influenced all other churches, including

many Presbyterian churches.

5.2.2.1 Pentecostal Theology in Korea and Pastor Jo Yong Gi

It is not possible to think of Korean Pentecostal Theology without talking of the Yeoido Full Gospel Church and its Pastor Jo Yong Gi with his charismatic style (Kim, 2004a:284). This church is the flagship of the spiritual movement in Korea that has spread throughout the world (*Institute of International Theological Studies*, 1993: 180). The Yeoido Full Gospel Church is the largest church in the world and whenever we think about preaching in Korea we are reminded of Jo Yong Gi and his preaching prowess. His preaching has been a driving force that has made a huge contribution to the history and growth of the church (Synan, 1995: 82). In a sense, this church has become the symbol of Korean church development.

Korean Pentecostal Theology came from America. Pentecostal Theology is not contrary to conservative Theology though it concentrates more on the theology of immediacy which is connected to experience of the Holy Spirit. This becomes evident in the *Statement of Truth* (No. 5) drafted by the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (1948) and which declares as follows:

We believe that the full Gospel includes holiness of heart and life, healing for the body, and baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.

Pastor Jo Yong Gi emphasized “The five-fold Evangelism” and “The three-fold Blessing” because of his Pentecostal theological background. The Five-fold Evangelism entails salvation (regeneration), the fullness of the Holy Spirit, divine healing, blessing, and advent. The three-fold blessing, also called the triple-time salvation, entails the

blessing of spiritual well-being, the blessing of our general well-being and the blessing of being in good health. This Korean Pentecostal Evangelical Theology is the result of integrating tenets of Armenianism, Wesleyanism, Calvinistic Puritanism and evangelical spiritual gift theology (Jo 1997: 33-42; Lee, 2000: 115-147).

The Pentecostal (Charismatic) Movement also influenced the Korean Presbyterian Church gradually, and even Calvinistic reformed theologians expressed their appreciation of its spiritualism. Some of the Presbyterian churches even became “pentacostalized” (Shim, 1995: 178). According to Shim (1995: 180),

If this situation continues, the Presbyterian church will exist only in name and will actually be a mixed church with Pentecostals. So we have to call it the Semi-Presbyterian Church or the Semi-Pentecostal Church.

The impact of the Pentecostal approach and of Jo Yong Gi on all the Korean churches is considerable, as Shim’s observation illustrates.

5.2.2.2 Anthropology of Pastor Jo Yong Gi

Jo’s views can be read in his book *The Truth of the Full Gospel* (vol. 2). He supports a trichotomous view of the human being. According to him, God is a Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the human being, too, has a created spirit, soul and body. Triune God has three different functions; man’s spirit, soul and body have also been created for different functions. The spirit is the bowl of God and the soul is the bowl of the self. Thus, the soul contains knowledge, emotion, will and character. The body is the bowl of world. We can experience everything in the world through the five senses of the body (Jo, 1980a: 258-261).

He also discerned in man’s death different destinations for the spirit, the soul and the

body (1980a: 300-301). In his *Gospel of Regeneration (Salvation)* he says that man is a spiritual being and so his spirit cannot die. According to I Thessalonians 5:23, the spirit exists with the soul and the body (Jo, 1997: 54). He describes the relationship of spirit, soul and body as follows (Jo, 1997: 54-55):

When man was created, the spirit had the Word of God as a result of the relationship with God, and so the spirit reigned in self-consciousness; the soul ruled the body by the Word of God and ruled the sensible the world. This means the body belonged to the soul and the spirit from the beginning to the end. But as man degenerated, the soul died. As a result, the order of creation was changed: the body ruled the spirit and soul ruled over the spirit. Nevertheless, the Christian who has been delivered and created anew has a spirit, a soul and a body; the spirit controls the soul in accordance with God's will; the soul controls the body. This means that now we have recovered a beautiful and harmonized personality.

Jo insisted that God's creation principle was that the body should be ruled by the soul, and the soul by the spirit.

Jo explained trichotomy in more detail with reference to the three-fold blessing. The three-fold blessing originated in 3 John verse 2 which consists of the blessing of spiritual well-being, the blessing of our general well-being and the blessing to be in health. He explained the creative order in terms of spiritual life, training the soul, and the way the body is destroyed. With regards to the blessing of spiritual well-being, Jo explained the relationship of spirit, soul and body (Jo, 1997: 276):

The first phase of the new order is restored and our spirit becomes well. After

this all may go well and we may be in health. But if we want to accomplish the new order we have to suffer pain because of breaking with the old order. The person, who has recovered and progresses well, feels the repulsion of the soul by this broken and torn pain. But we can overcome this by the power of the Holy Spirit. When our spirit has recovered, the soul will be our servant and the body will be our home.

Jo maintained that the three-fold blessing was the result of holistic salvation (Jo, 1997: 251).

Another theologian in the Pentecostal tradition, Park (2001: 41), also said that this was holistic salvation and a challenge to traditional theology which stressed salvation of the soul only.

The Yeoido Full Gospel Church puts forward the following perspective on the human being (*Institute of International Theological Studies*, 1993: 127):

The three-fold blessing symbolizes the unity of salvation. Salvation doesn't mean the result of complete salvation; rather it is related to deliverance.

Although this perspective relates to salvation, it is difficult to see the connection between the three-fold blessing and salvation.

The General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church (*Tonghap*) wrote a report about Pastor Jo's views in which it says that his understanding of man is trichotomous, i.e. makes a distinction between and even divides spirit, soul and body. The functions of knowledge, emotion and will are given to the soul only and the spirit remains impersonal. This is typical of a "mysterious" view of man. The authors of the report judged that if character were limited to the soul, spirit remains impersonal and relates

only to God, then God's character, which is essentially Spirit, is inconsistent with man's experience (*International Theological Seminary*, 1994: 173).

To address this problem, the Yeoido Full Gospel Church teaches trichotomy as the Christian way to understand the human being. Jo said that he did not divide man's character into spirit, soul and body. Rather, he suggested a "functional three-division" view that focuses on the function and unity of spirit, soul and body (*Institute of International Theological Studies*, 1994: 173-186).

Nevertheless, Jo's theory of man remains trichotomous: he insists on dividing the human being and her functions into spirit, soul and body. On the other hand, his three-fold blessing actively frees Christians from the dualism of Plato which wasn't concerned about physical life.

In spite of this, his theory of the three-fold blessing is a misleading norm for success and health. According to it, Christians sense the following: if all goes well, this is a message of hope from God, but when difficulties and diseases arise, they are a dark, heavy and ominous message from God. Jo wrote that God's plan for disease and suffering is hidden within the strong three-fold blessing. Although Jo's preaching can be seen as a relief from Shamanism and / or materialism, it does not preach holistic salvation (Kim, 2004b: 47). According to a more balanced view of the human being, blessing and health cannot be restricted to the spiritual realm only, the best things are not spiritual while others are subordinate or of less significance. To make a distinction or a division between these aspects of human existence boils down to a dualism that separates the material body from the spirit, and the secular from the sacred. This dualism can cause disharmony and a chasm between the church and social life (society)

and can prevent Christians from leading full, whole (holistic) lives (Jeong, 1992: 3).

The five-fold Evangelism and three-fold blessing have been used in Korea as norms for spiritual growth also with respect to the size of a church. A church with a large membership and much money can be regarded as healthy. It can also cause pastors and church members to use inappropriate and unethical methods to reach this standard (Kim, 2004b: 50).

5. 3 Kim Ki Dong and his Demonology

Kim Ki Dong is the senior pastor of Seoul Sungrak Church, the president of the Berea Academy where people study the Bible, and the director of the Berea International Theological Seminary. This Church, which was founded in 1968, has 40 000 to 50 000 members. Originally the Church was Baptist but it founded the Southern Baptist Convention of Korea after breaking away from The Korean Baptist Convention in 1987 (Choi, 1990:24). It now operates under the name The Baptist Convention of Korea. Many Korean ministers and church members were influenced by the Berea Academy. Publications from the Berea Press especially influenced the demonology of Korean churches (Hong, 1989: 170).

5. 3. 1 Kim Ki Dong's Theology

Kim started his study of demons because of his experience with the resurrection of a dead person. When his neighbour died he went there, said "Get up!" and she got up. After that he slapped her, and she said, "I am leaving." When he asked her, "Who are you?" she said "I am a demon. I am Choi; I died 3 years ago in front of this house while I was spraying agricultural chemicals." After this experience he became interested in the study of demons and he established his own, unique demonology (Kang, 1979: 95-98).

His demonology rests on his anthropology. He explained the purpose of human beings as follows (Kim, 1985a: 68):

Angels were created to serve God but because they betrayed God, He made human beings purposely to punish the angels. Humans were made to judge demons.

He also propounded the dual-Adam theory. His theory of man's creation is divided into the creation of respectively spiritual man and man-like animal that doesn't have a spirit. Man was first created like an animal without personality. Man and woman in Genesis 1:27 were bestial, without personality and eternity. Despite this, Adam was the most advanced animal on the earth, so when God said "be fruitful," he filled the earth; then God chose one of his descendants, and put His breath into him as a second Adam (Kim, 1985(1): 810). This is his dual-Adam theory (Chong, 1997:52).

About salvation he said: The purpose of the creation of the world is shut up in corrupted demons and man's creation is the tool whereby those demons must be punished. Man is very poor in catching demons, so God gave salvation as a compensation for that shortcoming (Kim, 1985b: 37, 39, 56). God's other intention was to "exterminate demons because demons betrayed God in heaven; unbelievers' dead spirits are also demons" (Kim, 1996: 51-52). The span of a demon's life is 120 years (Kim, 1985a: 180). According to Kim, the following are due to the activities of demons: disease, accidents, poisoning and suicide (Kim, 1985b: 170-174).

Since none of these views conform with the traditional teaching of mainstream churches (Kang, 1992: 95), most Korean churches declared Kim and the Berea Academy as heretics (Chong, 1997:27-35).

5.3.2 Kim's Anthropology

Kim insisted that demons were dead unbelievers; they had personalities when they lived in the human being (σωμα), but out of the body they become eternal beings (πνευμα).

This view amounts to the following (Kim, 1985a: 167-168):

Body + demon = personal (σωμα)

Soul + demon = spirit (πνευμα)

His anthropology was as follows:

- ◆ The spirit of man is not eternal; in a restricted sense, the soul is a personality. The soul and the body together become a personality (Kim, 1985a: 80; b: 62).
- ◆ The essence of the body can become an eternal personality when it dies (Kim, 1985a: 167).
- ◆ When the body disappears, personality cannot appear and hide in the spirit. In spite of being a personality there is no intellect, emotion, or volition (Kim, 1985a: 167).

Kim accepted trichotomy (spirit, soul and body) with the soul at the centre of personality. According to his trichotomous views, the soul becomes a personality (Choi, 1990: 92; Chong, 1997:54). His dual-Adam theory has been found acceptable in some circles because of the different narratives regarding the creation of the human being in Genesis 1 and 2. His views on demonism and exorcism also make sense to some believers (Chong, 1997: 52-53).

There are, however, no teachings in the Bible to substantiate any of these views (Choi, 1990: 76).

5.3.3. Kim's thought, Korean demonology and Dualism

Most countries in the world have their own demonologies, but in Korea, demonology is at the heart of Shamanism from where it has consistently influenced the consciousness and practice of Koreans (Mok, 1992: 47-48).

According to Mok, Kim's demonology is a mixture of Shamanism and Christianity. As indicated in chapter 2, Korean Shamanism is based on animism which believes that everything has a spirit. This world is filled with all kinds of spirits, including the spirits of the dead. After death, people become good or evil spirits; evil spirits are demons. Among the demons, there are the restless ghosts of those who died young, died violently, in a foreign land and/or died in unfortunate circumstances. These souls wander around in the world and torment people until they are relieved of their grudge. They also invade people's bodies with diseases (Mok, 1992: 50-52). Because of their shamanistic background, Korean Christians can not understand biblical demonology. They accept instead Kim's demonology as a matter of course because it is in harmony with the traditional demonology which has become so deep-rooted in their consciousness (Mok, 1992: 59).

Kim's demonology affected many churches and the resulting damage was more serious internally than it appeared on the surface (Choi, 1990: 29). A feature of Korean Shamanism is its centredness in the present world. The present world is the hub of faith and life. Its purpose is to seek blessings and remove misfortune. Kim's demonology leads Christians to lean toward the same attitude and to focus on present life (Mok, 1992: 50). This belief deviates from a Biblical view of religion and demons, and tends to concentrate church members' desires on aspects of traditional culture. It destroys the

Biblical view of man and causes confusion concerning man, demons, spirits and the body. For such people, the world is full of evil demons, many temptations and diseases that come upon good people (Do, 1992: 105). Demons are blamed for people's sin.

5.4 Dualism in the Sermons of Korean Preachers

The Reformers understood preaching as a meeting between God and his people. Reformed Christianity is therefore a religion of preaching. The sign of a truly reformed church is that the words expressed in sermons, in the preaching, are the truth of God.

Preaching is also a mirror of the age and of the church. When we study the preaching of a certain period, we can discover what the theology and social problems were at that time. So the history of preaching is also the history of the church and its ideology (Jeong, 2006: 1).

Preaching is the essence of Christianity. Whether preaching is biblically faithful or not determines the quality of the church (Kim, 1975: 4).

5.4.1 Preaching of Missionaries

The early missionaries who came to Korea were passionate about mission but they didn't have the experience of guiding churches and of relevant preaching, so they used the topic-based preaching that had been developed in America. This preaching method also became the preaching tradition in Korea for at least a century (Jeong 2006: 18, 30-32):

In the preaching of most missionaries, we can see dualistic elements. Their preaching was simply to teach about the promotion of virtues and to reprove vice; this made them very weak in testifying to God's grace which came to us freely. Their main theme was allegorical preaching (Jeong, 2006:18-19).

Clearly their topical preaching and the examples in their preaching led to a lack of interest in dogmatic preaching. They had the passion of Puritans but lacked theological knowledge and insight.

5.4.2 Preaching at the Birth of the Korean church

When the Gospel came to Korea, the country was in dire straits because of the destruction of the Chosun Dynasty after an invasion from Japan. The missionaries' promotion of civilization and of the Gospel of Christ became the light of the country (*Independence Newspaper*, 1896. Aug. 20, re-quoted in Jeong, 2006:64). The preaching of the early Korean church included nationalism and Jesus' teachings; these became the new standard of ethics and of the salvation of the nation. However, due to lack of theological knowledge and insight, pastors couldn't distinguish between preaching and speeches. Koreans also couldn't express their minds through writing because of Japanese oppression (Jeong, 2006: 69). This resulted in many preachers emphasizing only spiritual salvation by Jesus (Jeong, 2006: 75).

The Korean churches preached so-called pure Gospel to prevent a conflict with the Government and the public (Han, 1996a: 64-73). These are the origins of a dualism known as secularism (a chasm is perceived or created between the private and the public spheres; between state and religion; between church and state).

5.4.3 Early Preachers in the Korean church

Preaching is a mirror of the age and a living testimony of the church. Early preaching in the Korean church reflected the current theology, testimony, history and views of human life and the universe (Choi, 1999: 23). The people who led the early Korean church influenced the next generation's theology and faith. Even now their influence remains in

the church and there can be no discussion about the church without reference to them (Jeong, 2006: 136).

Certain preachers in the early Korean church led their people to deny reality. The afterlife was emphasized to give them the faith to overcome despair and have hope. Because of this, the faith of Korean Christianity became dualistic; it avoided reality and even to this day, its impact can be felt (Kang, 1990: 61).

5.4.3.1 Gil Sun Joo

Gil Sun Joo was a leader in the first generation Presbyterian Church in Korea (Gil, 1980:5). He had great spiritual influence and the ability to preach emotionally; he was instrumental when it came to bringing about revival. In fact, he was the main revivalist in the 1920s. He started early morning prayer with Park Chee Ok in 1905 (Jeon, 1987: 159). He was also the one who started the Great Revival in Pyongyang in 1907 (Kim 2004a: 123-127).

The point of his preaching was lamentation and repentance of sin. He emphasized experience of the descent of the Holy Spirit. According to Han (1996a: 94-103), his Pentecostal revival movement directly affected Korean theological evangelism and spiritual theology, but his faith was about transcendent mystery, and he preferred to use the allegorical method in his Biblical interpretation and preaching (Jeong, 2006: 149).

His theory of the spirit and of the degenerate age was the same as that of dispensationalism. He especially supported the pre-millennialism associated with dispensationalism and rejected millennialism as well as post-millennialism (Gil, 1980: 170). Ryu (1982: 52) said that Gil's belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and his theory of the degenerate age created a base for conservative theology in Korea. His Revival Bible

Conference began with Taoism which came to Korea a long time before that (Jeon, 1987: 230), and in his teachings, Gil concentrated on the struggle against sorrow. His preaching was mainly allegorical, stressing the after-world and eternal life rather than actual reality.

5.4.3.2 Kim Ik Doo

Kim Ik Doo was a Korean revival preacher in the 1920s. He led revival meetings by the power of prayer; he stressed experience of the inner presence of the Holy Spirit and the gift of healing (Jeon, 1987: 230). In his preaching he praised humility, compromise, poverty, kindness to the poor, the sick and alienated people and keeping a distance from the rich; he also preached about the judgment to come (Min, 1997, 350). His eschatology concerning the millennium was accepted by the poor and the despised because of the judgment of sin which they expected to come (Min, 1981: 273). His afterlife-oriented preaching was a milestone in the history of the Korean nation after its liberation from Japanese colonization.

His afterlife-oriented theology also spawned dualistic thinking, however (Jeong, 2006: 159). The sermons at each Bible conference that he held was about God's commandments and especially about asceticism.

5.4.3.3 Lee Seong Bong

After Kim Ik Doo, Pastor Lee Seong Bong did important work in preaching. Lee Seong Bong has been called the "Moody of Korea" (Park, 2003:156). The main theme of his preaching was that living a clean and purified life before God was by grace, salvation and blessing instead of only by grace (*Sola Gratia*). The way to cleanse oneself is by the Word of God and the Holy Spirit. Christ died to cleanse people and so if they do not

sustain themselves by the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the Blood of Jesus, the only remaining way is through the discipline of a whip (Lee, 1955: 86-88).

Lee concluded that "only faith (*Sola Fide*)" was correct. In his preaching there were however also traces of nihilism and sarcasm. He used to sing his own hymns, some of which were nihilistic. The following was one of his favourites (Lee, 1955: 119):

When I look at this world, all things are very futile.

What can I do with wealth and long life?

Even if I have a grand house and fertile paddy fields,

When I die it is just a spring dream.

Don't be proud of a handsome rosy-cheeked youth and a beautiful woman,

Don't boast of your greatness.

Time flies like running water that urges you.

The solitary burial ground is waiting for you.

5.4.4 Preaching of Today's Church

In the 1930s, the circumstances of the Korean society and church were confused and chaotic. Many preachers couldn't distinguish between preaching and ethical lecturing (Choi, 1999: 33). The essence of preaching was not properly understood and so the Word of God was not correctly interpreted (Jeong: 2006: 179).

When Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945, Christianity too was emancipated (Ryu, 1984: 145). But straightaway Korea was divided into South and North with a great deal of animosity between them. There was no religious freedom in North Korea. Then the

Korean War started. The church met with great difficulties and relied on America for assistance. As a result, the preaching style of the church also followed the American churches' topical preaching. The preaching of this time deteriorated into eloquence about the situation rather than focusing on the Word of God itself. It became violent, shaking lectures on politics (Choi, 1999: 41-45).

After the Korean War and the economic development of the 1960s, the message of the Korean church again changed; it became more blessing and materialism oriented (Jeong, 1990:55). In order to attain church growth, the churches preached unbiblical messages about receiving blessings, and incorporated Shamanism rather than the Bible's teachings in the process.

In recent years, the study of preaching, mission and church growth has been developing because they are seen as inevitable for church growth. However, people use all kinds of methods and tools to ensure the growth of the church. The end justifies the means. They use unbiblical methods that are very far from the teachings of the Gospel. Likewise, their preaching is filled with allegory, comments on contemporary topics and narratives of personal experiences.

The modern church in Korea reveals the following shortcomings in its preaching:

First, it focuses on church growth only. The end justifies the means and so it uses preaching for pastoring and not for purposes of clear proclamation of the Word of God.

Second, preaching in the Korean churches has become secular and materialistic. Pastors say that preaching means meeting the needs of the audience (Jo, 1980a: 21).

Third, the messages hone in on affluence and success. The positive thinking of Pastor Robert H Schuller in America and the church growth sect of Donald McGavran are

major influences on such sermons (Jeong, 1984: 394-397).

Generally, though, the message of the Korean churches is not related to social problems. As a result of its afterlife and spiritual orientation, churches have become a kind of Christian ghetto which is not related to society, its problems and its needs. The Korean church (in general), though very large, has become unresponsive to social needs (Kang, 2000: 24). Whereas the church should have played the important role of salt and light, it has been shirking its duties towards society. The church is being blamed by society for this inability to lead (. (Society for Korean Cultural Theology, 2002:22).

As a matter of fact, the church tends to ignore the qualms of society; pastors' preaching does not affect the progress of the nation or its history; nobody listens to the pastors' words or their preaching (Choi, 1999: 59). The reason why preaching is so ineffective is that it is based on an incorrect interpretation of the Bible; the preachers tend to use the Bible as a preaching tool (Choi, 1999: 61, cf. Jeong, 1990:71). What churches need, says Choi (1999: 75-76), is for the faith and the lives of Christians and their preachers to be in agreement. Preachers should give up their own wills, find the meaning of God in the Bible and preach according to correct biblical interpretation.

5.4.5 Confessions of Faith, and Anthropology

Many objections have in the past been raised against the use of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. A Confession of Faith is not a revelation of truth; it is "not even a rule of faith and practice, but a help in both," to use the words of the Presbyterian Confession; it is a declaration of the manner in which a believer, a Christian or a Church, understands the truth that has been revealed (Shaw, 1992: 9-11). The Confession of Faith is the response of the believer to biblical teaching and the acceptance of doctrine. It is a joyful

confession of a relationship with God and an expression of acceptance and obedience of God's teaching.

Church leaders after the 16th century drafted several such confessions of faith. They taught it to believers to unite them in one mind (Kim, 1998: 20-21). Most Presbyterian churches in Korea today accept the Westminster Confession of Faith; others use the Korea Presbyterian Church Confession of Faith.

There is nothing pertinent about the soul and the body in the Korea Presbyterian Church Confession of Faith. "Eschatology" in chapter 10 however articulates the following (Kim, 1998: 292):

When people die, they will fall back to dust (Genesis 3:19, Acts 13:36) but the soul of Christians return to God (Hebrews 12:23, 2 Corinthians 5:1, 6, 8, Luke 23:43). Then they will wait for the perfect salvation of their bodies until the last day in glory. But the souls of those who did not believe in Jesus will go to hell and wait for the last day of judgment with suffering and despair (Luke 16:23, 24, Jude 6, 7; 1 Peter 3:19).

The Westminster Confession of Faith records the following in chapter 32 "Of the state of men after death, and of the resurrection of the dead" (Clark, 1956: 261-265):

The bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption, but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in

torment and utter darkness, reserved for the judgment of the great day. Beside these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledges none.

Shaw's (1992: 314-319) view of the human being is much the same:

The bodies of men, after death, return to the dust, and see corruption. So humiliating and deeply affecting is the change which death produces on the human body, that it becomes obnoxious to the view, and necessity compels the living to remove it from their sight.

The souls of men survive the dissolution of their bodies, and have an immortal subsistence. Some have held that death is the utter extinction of man's being; others, that the soul shall sleep between death and resurrection, alike inactive and unconscious as the body that is then dissolved into dust. In opposition to those notions, equally absurd and uncomfortable, our Confession affirms, and the Scripture clearly teaches the souls of men subsist in a disembodied state, after such a manner as to be capable of exercising those powers and faculties which are essential to them.

The souls of the righteous, immediately after death, are admitted into the happiness of the heavenly state.

The explanation of Hodge (1869) is similar to Shaw's, as can be seen in his *Systematic Theology* (reprinted 1940). This view has been reiterated by many reformed theologians and presented in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* (chap. 57), the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*, (Q. 37) and the *Westminster Larger Catechism*, (Qs. 86, 87).

The idea of the immortality of the soul was not peculiar to Christianity. The concept was also developed in the mystery religions of ancient Greece and was given philosophical expression in the *Writings of Plato* (Hoekema, 1982: 86, Grube, 1980: 121). Herman Bavinck and G. C. Berkouwer also rejected the idea that the immortality of the soul is not peculiar Christian doctrine (Hoekema, 1979: 89-91). The Bible says that man's body must undergo a transformation by means of resurrection before he can fully enjoy immortality (1 Corinthians 15:51-52). Since the time of Augustine, Christian theologians have thought that between death and resurrection the souls of men enjoy rest or suffer affliction while waiting either for the completion of their salvation or for the consummation of their damnation. In the Middle Ages this view continued to be held (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, Supp. 3, Q. 69, Art. 2.), and the Doctrine of Purgatory was developed.

According to Cooper (1989: 210-213), it has often been suggested that regarding an intermediate state, the view of time is mistaken. He says when we die, we depart from the spatio-temporal conditions which are the constitutive framework of the present physical world. We are no longer in time when we pass into eternity. So the question of time between death and resurrection is irrelevant and meaningless. The intermediate-state view according to him presupposes an improper view of time and eternity, because at death we pass out of time, so there is no intermediate state.

5.5 Dualistic Ideas in the Teachings of the Church

In the theory about human beings, dualism is a view that divides man into soul and body and says that these two parts have different functions. Such a theory appeared in the Gnosticism of the early church as well as in Korean Shamanism (Lee, 1987: 88). This

idea also formed part and parcel of ancient Greek philosophy and was absorbed in Korean Christianity because of its similarities with Shamanism. People believed it to be biblically sound and it has since prevailed in the church among those with a conservative faith.

5.5.1 The Sacred and Secular Problem

Because of Japanese colonization the early church in Korea became familiar with the notions of spiritual experience and belief in the afterlife. This spawned a form of dualistic thinking which tended to distinguish between the sacred and the secular. The church practised only personal salvation (the sacred) and did nothing with respect to daily life and reality (the secular). This was an effect of the early missionaries' and Korean traditional religious thought. Christians resultantly lost perspective on actual life and ethics (Kim, 1988: 158). The work of the soul such as praise, prayer, meditation, preaching the Gospel, listening to the Word of God, mission, pastoring and relief work, is pleasing to God. It has eternal worth. The work of the body on the other hand is only for the extension of life and therefore unworthy. Family and social life in this world can not be regarded as God's work, and is therefore evil (Lee, 2001b: 214). God's work is holy but man's work is secular and of passing nature. Talking about life in the present world in the church means that one is unspiritual.

According to this line of thinking, reality is divided into two spheres: a secular, profane or natural, and a religious, sacred or supernatural one (Van der Walt, 1997: 95). It also divides human life into God's work in the soul and men's work in the body, into the holy and vulgar, the sacred and the secular (Walsh & Middleton, 1990: 117). Dualism demands from people to choose between the soul and the body, to exclusively pursue

the interests of the one and to virtually ignore the other. The soul is seen as superior to the body; the body is inferior to the soul; in fact, the body disturbs the activity of the soul. Sacred, spiritual or holy things are identified with God's kingdom but physical and secular things are seen as sinful, belonging to the kingdom of darkness (Walsh & Middleton, 1990: 117). Dualism teaches that the visible world is the "temporary home of evil" but the heavenly world is the "eternal home of spiritual people". People should, therefore, deny the life of this world and eagerly desire the continuity of heavenly life, security and joy (Kang, 1990: 11-12).

This dualism permits distinguishing between levels of church jobs. Because of this distinction, the Presbyterian Church, which makes decisions through a democratic process, cannot practice actual democracy (Lee, 1987:90-91). Acceptance of the notion of different job levels in the church causes one to interpret the Old Testament literally and, because of shamanistic influence, regard the pastor or the minister as a priest and to call him by an Old Testament name such as "Servant of God." "Messenger of God" or "Anointed Servant of God." An elder, on the other hand, always prays representatively in a service; this is a continuation of Old Testament style and of a distinction between "job levels" in the church (Kim, 2004b: 168-173).

5.5.2 Separation of Religion from Politics

The issue of the separation of religion from politics appeared in the early Korean church and it induced a negative attitude towards politics. According to a dualistic view, politics and religion should be separated not only in areas of concern but also in the functions of each part. A biblical basis for such a view can be found in Mark 12:13-17 (cf. Matthew 22:15-32, Luke 20:20-38). Proponents of this dualism understand Romans

13:1-7 to say that the church should obey state authorities (Lee, 1987: 91-92).

Korean conservative Christianity, believing that the human body was separate from the soul in the matter of salvation, put the soul on a higher plane. It concentrated on the soul's quantitative growth, physical healing, prediction and so on. In evangelistic religion, such an approach was more consistent with a personal religion. Furthermore, it deflects any responsibility for the plight of the community, for caring for industrial society and for residing in a capitalistic culture and religion (Kim, 1996: 172-173).

The idea of the separation of religion from politics was a reaction to the excessive political involvement of the Roman Catholic Church before the Reformation. The Roman Catholic approach inspired Luther to develop his two-city (-kingdom, -realm) theory that also affected the early church in Korea. His view was employed for the purpose of protecting the Korean church from the political vortex in which it found itself in 1901 (Lee, 200b:113). This view was also dualistic in the sense that it separated sacred from secular, the Kingdom of God from the kingdom of this world. Its application prevented the church from becoming involved in politics and social problems (Lee, 1987: 93-94). Whereas the separation of religion from politics in the conservative church was justified for purposes of neutrality, it in fact led to obedience to the political powers that be (Kim, 2004b: 282).

Although the Presbyterian Churches grew rapidly and established itself as the main religion in Korea, most of its members were not concerned about the problems of social structure but were only concerned about their personal salvation. They also did not consider intervening in politics. They thought that political and social problems were not for Christians, so most Christians acquiesced with whatever political policies were

implemented. They believed their mission to be responsibility for their personal soul, and not social responsibility (Chang, 2005: 24-25).

5.5.3 Futurism

Futurism is characteristic of the thinking of people who suffer hardship and wish to overcome the problems of their existence, and can be found in Buddhism and other forms of asceticism. Today in the Korean church, the prayer house movement resembles traditional Buddhist abbeys and retreats in the mountains and also the Middle Age religious-house system (Kang, 1990: 71). In the past, there used to be discussions about the church's social participation, but in due course, the evangelical church reached a decision that conservative Korean Christians should rather concentrate on personal salvation and have no concern for the social reform or the salvation of the entire society. In addition to this, the content of preaching should only be about believers' heavenly destination; the subject of evangelism was "Jesus and Heaven" alone (Son, 1978: 380).

Belief in the hereafter strongly contrasts the present with the future. The present is an age of tears, suffering, disease, sin and evil. In the afterlife, God's kingdom will be established. When God's kingdom comes, His people will be delivered from all sin, and evil will be completely removed from the earth. The power of evil is so strong that only God's salvation work can destroy it (Kang, 1990: 71-72; Lee, 2001b:220-221).

The religions that influenced this view the most were Buddhism, Confucianism and Shamanism, despite the fact that these religions have neither a future orientation nor a strong belief in an afterlife (Son, 1978: 381; Lee, 2001b:221). Buddhism which is based on trans-migration does not have a strong belief in the afterlife. In Confucianism, the ideal world is not in the afterlife but in seeking a particular lifestyle like those of *Yao* or

Shun who were kings of the ancient Chinese dynasty Xia. Shamanism is a secular, physical religion that concentrates on the present (Ryu, 1975: 238).

It is clear from the discussion above why Korean Christians have a strong belief in the afterlife. The first reason is that the early missionaries in Korea were Evangelicals who basically believed in the afterlife (Park, 2004a:393,476; Min, 2005:109-110). That is why the Presbyterian Church taught pre-millennialism. The second pertains to the political and economic situation. When Christianity came to Korea, the country was being dominated by Japan; the economic condition, too, was deteriorating. So believers sought recourse in a future in the afterlife and used belief in afterlife as a tool for evangelism (Son, 1978: 383-385).

Futurism sees the present as evil and so stimulates the development of a pessimistic worldview. It believes that the direction of the present is pre-planned and that Christians just have to wait passively for the afterlife. This present world is extremely vain and no enjoyment of it is allowed; continuing physical life only delays eternal rest. Heaven is the place that believers go to after death. This is reflected in the church hymns, too. In comparison with God's kingdom in the Bible, it is thought this world is only a curtailed resting place. God's sovereign authority cannot settle there (Kim, 2004b: 260). Futurism in the sense discussed above is representative of dualistic thinking since it seeks only the spiritual future world, and juxtaposes belief in the future over against current reality (Kang, 1990: 72).

The dualisms in the Korean church express themselves in a unique manner with regard to education as such. Evangelism and missionary work have always taken the prime position in Korean churches, while education has always been regarded as secondary to

these activities. This practice can on the one hand be ascribed to the distinctions made between job levels in the church hierarchy, but also to the fact that teaching and education might have been regarded as of less importance than evangelism and missionary work which are supposedly more “spiritual.”

5.6 Conclusion

In Korean Christianity, various forms of dualism have influenced the church life and education within the church. Almost all conservative Korean theologians and Christian educators adhere to some form of dualism, hence the fact that dualisms, in the form of soul-body, sacred-secular and faith-practice dichotomies, are taught without reserve in churches by pastors and teachers.

The nature of worship in many Korean churches exacerbates the problem of dualistic thinking because many ministers and pastors seem to encourage it in their sermons when emphasizing that success in life is marked by God’s blessing, and by teaching that to pray is to seek the blessing of God. According to Han (2000:68-83), for instance, the worshiping of God is the Christian’s highest occupation and an important part of church education.

Believers perceive a discrepancy between their worship and their actions in every day life because of the dualistic approach of their church leaders. As a result of this kind of preaching, teaching and education, the discrepancy experienced between faith and practice has been a bone of contention for a long time in Korean Christianity and in Christian education (Kim, 2004a:372).

In the next chapter, the contours of a biblical anthropology will be developed. The purpose of this next step is to provide a frame of reference for addressing the pervasive

problem of dualistic thinking in the Korean churches as described in this chapter and in the previous three.

6 THE BIBLICAL TEACHING ABOUT THE HUMAN BEING AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

6.1 Introductory Remarks

The problem of ontological and anthropological dualism has become acute under the influence of the socio-cultural and religious context painted in chapter 5. Korean Christians still believe on the one hand that the human being exists bodily or physically and on the other hand that he is a spiritual being. This belief is, according to Van der Walt (1978b:106), typical of anthropological dualism. The problems in Korean Christianity mentioned in the previous chapter are results of anthropological dualism, which not only distinguishes between body and soul, but also ascribes a separate and independent existence to each of these "components" of the human being.

The problem of body-soul, mind-body or mind-matter is a perennial feature of Western philosophy (Fowler, 1991:3) and has become a problem in Korean Christianity as well. The influence of Platonic dualism is widespread in church life (Lee, 1988:88-91). It can be detected in disciple training, preaching, teaching, education as well as in the concept of labour and in social life. Korean churches tend to emphasize missionary fervour, evangelism, church-centred life and spiritual gifts strongly, and to disregard the social responsibility of congregants such as providing for the less fortunate and living a life that bears the fruits of the Holy Spirit (Kim, 2004a:372-374). Because of this misguided and unbiblical view of human integrity, Korean Christianity and churches have become confused concerning other important philosophical questions such as the relationship between faith and practice, faith and science, sacred and secular, talk and walk.

6.2 The Central Issue

The central issue here is whether the soul can survive and function apart from the body. In other words, is human nature constructed in such a way that, at death, it can come apart, the conscious personal part continuing to exist (in another dimension), while the human being as an organism disintegrates (Cooper, 1989:1-6)? The further question is: is the body a sort of house for the soul; or is it better to think of the soul as the captain of the ship of the body, the driver of a horse-cart (cf. Platonic Realism)? Or, should we rather think in terms of an interpretation of body and soul (Flower, 1991: 3)?

The church as a whole has never taught that body and soul are related in terms of struggle and conflict between them. The biblical witness to the essential unity and wholeness of the personal self is antithetical to a dualism that posits an evil body and good soul (Jewett, 1996:35). Despite this, the human being has often been thought of as consisting of distinct “parts” or “components” that can be abstracted from the whole. So, in Christian circles, the human being has been thought of as consisting either of “body” and “soul,” or of “body,” “soul,” and “spirit” (Hoekema, 1982: 203).

The words “body” and “soul” afford a good example of the terms that we use quite frequently in ordinary discourse, but which at the same time cover ideas of central importance to philosophy (Van Peursen, 1966: 1). Is human nature constructed in such a way that at death body and soul can “come apart,” the conscious personal part continuing to exist while the organism disintegrates? Traditional doctrine and the beliefs of millions of Christians have answered these questions positively (Cooper, 1989: 1-2). But is it true and biblically justifiable? Since our concern is with a biblically justifiable anthropology, we have to look anew at the Biblical teaching about the human being to

see whether this is so. We will now proceed to do so in the following sections, albeit in a roundabout manner by commencing with ancient Greek ideas about the essence of the human being.

6.3 Historical and Philosophical Thought about the Body and Soul problem

6.3.1 Ancient Greek thought

The body-soul problem has a long history. It is from the Greek philosophers first and foremost that modern people have inherited the idea of soul and body as distinct and separate entities (Van Peursen, 1966:87). The question of the relationship between soul and body is a core part of ancient Greek philosophy (Je, 1998: 1). In the thought of the ancient Greek period soul and body are knit so completely together that not only is the soul inseparable from the body but the concept “body”, as partner to that of “soul”, is unknown (Van Peursen 1966: 87). Zurcher (1969: 9) said that the monistic concept of the world of the Greek philosopher would logically lead him to an anthropology which we would call materialistic. The soul is generally considered by them as the product of the organization of a unique material, the only primordial reality; accordingly, it must vanish with the decomposition of the organized body.

The Greek word *Psyche* (ψυχή) means “soul.” Since Homer is the earliest source for the occurrence of *Psyche* (soul), we shall start with his poems. The first striking fact about *Psyche* is that it is only rarely mentioned as being part of the living human being, and then only at times of crisis. From these Homeric passages it emerges that without *psyche* a human being can not survive (Bremmer, 1979: 13). In the Homeric period body and soul are distinguished and death consists of their separation (Gundry, 1987: 85).

Where ideas of separation between body and soul appear in Greek literature they are usually labelled “Orphic.” Whether or not there was a well-defined religious cult called “Orphism” is a disputed question. The “Orphic” myth of the human being’s origin is assigned by Pausanias to the sixth century B C. This is the familiar story of the soul’s transmigrations, recounted by Plato in several of his dialogues. According to the myth, souls existed at first in the highest heavens, but some fell and were forced into bodies; they are condemned to successive reincarnations for a period of ten thousand years; at the end of this time, if they have sufficiently purified themselves, they will return to their heavenly home. A quite definite anthropology is suggested by these myths. The human being consists of two independent substances, a soul and a body. The soul comes from, and by nature belongs to, a higher, heavenly realm. It is therefore never at home in the world but passes through it as an unwilling alien. Physical existence is a punishment and a calamity; the bodily appetites and pleasures are bad and must be suppressed (Owen, 1956: 34-36).

6.3.1.1 Plato (c. 429-347 B C)

Plato was one of the persons especially associated in philosophy with propagation of the body-soul dualism. Plato, a Greek philosopher, drew a sharp dividing line in his philosophical system between soul and body. Under the influence of Platonic concepts, which appear time and again throughout the centuries, the body is usually characterized, where the soul is concerned, as something inferior (Van Peursen, 1966: 34).

The most common abstract words in any language frequently defy exact translation. *ψυχη*, which as a rule we translate as “soul”, does not in fact mean “soul” as Westerners understand it at all. For instance, when Socrates argues at length that the soul is

immortal, a modern thinker would conceptualise its existence and consider immortality to belong to such existence. But the Greek word primarily means the principle of life in any being, and whatever is alive must possess it by that very fact (Grube, 1980: 120). The conception of the soul as the highest part of the human being seems to have been imported into Greece by mystical teachers and prophets who are usually somewhat summarily lumped together as the Orphics. Under the influence of the Orphic religion, Plato understood the human being as not only united soul and body but also soul and body as essentially different elements. This doctrine came from the East where the body was thought of as the prison or tomb of the soul, as they pithily expressed it. The human being then aims at the purification of this soul, and after several incarnations, the soul can rise to perfection and is absorbed or reabsorbed into the divine (Je, 1998: 8-9, cf. *Phaedo*, Buchanan, ed., 1977: 62b, 82).

The aim of the food prohibitions of the Orphics and the Pythagoreans seems to have been to prevent the eating of the ψυχή in its various bodily abodes. Orpheus was honoured without the body and believed to contain what was immortal (Onians, 1954: 112). For the Orphic, the union of soul and body was the punishment for an original sin, imputable to the murder of Dionysus by the Titans (Zurcher, 1969: 11). In the *Phaedo*, Plato stressed that the soul survives death and that to be freed from the body is a release from evils and an entry into a better state.

According to Plato, the Orphics made their anthropology even more explicit in the theory that the body is the prison of the soul - the famous *soma-sema* doctrine (Owen, 1956: 36; cf. Lee, 1977:25). Plato also says the body is a source of endless trouble to us. By reason of the mere requirement of food the body is always breaking in upon us, causing turmoil and confusion in our enquiries (*Phaedo*, Buchanan, ed., 1977: 203-205).

In the *Phaedo* (Buchanan, ed., 1977:77-80), where Plato takes as already proven his theory of absolute unchanging forms and his belief in the existence of the soul before birth, he goes on to argue that the disembodied soul survives to enter into a better world after death (Stevenson, 1981: 37). He says when the soul and the body are united, then nature orders the soul to rule and govern, and the body to obey and serve. The soul is the very likeness of the divine, immortal, rational, uniform, indissoluble and unchangeable, but the body is the very likeness of the human being as mortal, irrational, multiform, dissoluble and changeable. Plato thought soul to be pure at departing and draws after itself no bodily taint, having never voluntarily during life had connection with the body (Stevenson, 1981: 42-43).

Plato thought of the soul as an individualized instance of the rational essence of the universe. As such, it is antithetical to the body, which is a part of the material world of flux and change (Jewett, 1996). Plato conceived of the intellect as the noblest and immortal part of the human being, of salvation through knowledge (Grube, 1980: 121). In the *Republic* (Buchanan, ed., 1977:514-519), Plato likens the unenlightened human condition to that of prisoners chained in a cave, and speculates on how some may gain knowledge of the realities outside the cave and be induced to apply their knowledge for the benefit of the rest of humanity (also see Stevenson, 1981: 37). The soul is immortal insofar as it shares in the vision of the Idea (Hogan, 1994: 57). According to Plato, death is the separation of soul from body and it is the aim of the soul to free itself, even during life, from obstacles such as distracting pleasures and confusing sensations, which the body puts in the way of the soul's development (Grube, 1980: 125).

For Plato, immortality of the soul means that the soul existed before being reincarnated in the body. Why does the immortal soul come into the prison of body? Plato borrows

from myth to explain the relationship between soul and body (Je, 1998: 10). In the *Phaedrus* 246 a, Plato likens soul and body with a team of two horses and a charioteer:

To describe the nature of the soul is an altogether superhuman task and a long story, but it is a lesser task and within human power to say what it resembles. So let us do that. The soul is like a team of winged horses and a charioteer that have grown into one. Now the horses and charioteer of the souls of the gods are all good themselves and of excellent lineage, but those of other souls are mixed. Our charioteer rules over the pair he drives; one of his horses is beautiful and good and of similar parents, the other the opposite in both respects, and our driving is therefore necessarily difficult and troublesome (re-quoted in Grube, 1980:131-132).

Two further principles of some importance in this connection surface in this dialogue. First the soul is the originator of all movement, and therefore of all life, a principle of the greatest importance in subsequent philosophical thinking. The point not argued, it is dogmatically stated and made the basis of another proof, viz. that the soul is immortal. The immortality of the soul then, as the beginning or first principle of motion is here added to the theory that it is the origin of all life, that without soul there is no life in *Phaedrus* 245c (Grube, 1980: 139-140). This curious dualism is the result of following to its logical conclusion the theory that the soul is the origin of all motion and all life, for some human actions at least are not directed towards a proper goal and yet their origin must be traced to a soul as their cause.

From first to last in Plato we find that the soul is the highest and noblest part of the human being, the part one should primarily care for and develop (Grube 1980: 146-

147). Such then is Plato's account of the soul-and-body relationship. What strikes one about it is the element of dualism. This strand in Plato's thinking, usually conjoined with some disparagement of the physical aspects of existence, has had a considerable influence on the history and course of human thought. Many ideas which were long regarded, and accepted, as basic to Christianity - such as the doctrine of a subsistent and immortal soul, an ascetic attitude towards the things of the body, and the view of sexuality as in itself "the sinful lust of the flesh" - are really rooted in Platonic thought. For Plato this dualism is ethico-religious in character (Van Peursen, 1966: 44-45; cf. Park, 2000: 46).

For Plato, the true status of the soul is its disembodied existence in the realm of pure reason which is both its origin and its destiny. It is true that in the *Republic*, Plato modifies the extreme dualism of the earlier dialogues. In the *Timaeus*, written after the *Republic*, reason is seen as the human being's true soul; it is this alone that is divine and immortal and that will ultimately escape from the limitations and corruptions of the body into the realm of pure, universal reason. Plato remains to the end an anti-physical dualist. It is he and his followers who most of all are responsible for imposing a "religious" dualistic anthropology on Western thought (Owen, 1956: 40-41).

6.3.1.2 Aristotle (384-322 B C)

Plato despised the bodily, for he distrusted sensory experience and held that reality was other than it appeared. He is the forerunner of all later "objective realists" in supposing that true reality is other than our experience of it. It is both unlike our present experience and separate from our possible knowledge. Aristotle, in denying both these in favour of a reality which is, in the end, self-explanatory and which cannot be

separated, even in the thought, from God's experience of it, also finds a more congenial place for the bodily. "The body is no-body without its use, and the body is the use", was his position (Clark, 1975: 197-198).

Aristotle who was Plato's great student, the only other claimant to the role of Greece's greatest philosopher, made a determined attempt to interpret the human being in other than dualistic terms. Aristotle's views of the relationship between "soul" and "body" have been intensely discussed in recent years with respect to the higher faculties of the soul (Freudenthal, 1999: 20). He sharply criticized Plato's dualism (which he called separation), both in reality in general and in the human being in particular.

For Aristotle, reality is not to be divided into two radically different realms (Owen, 1956: 40-41). He expresses a different understanding of the concept of mind or soul, which undercuts both the Platonic doctrine that the soul is an incorporeal substance and the materialist view that it is made of atoms. His analysis suggests that the soul is not a thing at all, whether material or immaterial, but rather a property or set of properties or ability, of the living body (Stevenson, 1981: 66). He provides the major alternative to the Platonic concept of soul by rejecting the idea of the soul as an entity separable from the body and taking the soul to be the structure and functioning of the body itself, or, as he put it, the "form" of the living human body. Since one cannot have the form without the body which has that form, the soul cannot exist disembodied (Shaffer, 1968: 2).

Aristotle rejects any theory which affirms the existence of the soul separated from the body (Zurcher, 1969: 26). He thinks he can give an adequate account of soul and its relation to body by relying on his distinction between form and matter. He therefore defines soul as "the form of a living body having life potentially within it." Since the

form of a living entity is its nature, it turns out that soul is the nature of living things; the inner principle of change and rest. Form is the actuality of a body, matter is its potentiality, so soul is the actuality of the living organism.

Aristotle distinguishes different grades of actuality, however. He says soul is the first actuality of a living body. Form and matter are not two distinct ingredients which, when mixed, constitute a living organism. Soul is not a special ingredient which breathes life into a lifeless body; it is a certain aspect of a living organism, and a living organism is a paradigm of a functioning unity (Lear, 1998: 96-97).

Aristotle tries to overcome the old body-soul dualism by insisting that the human being does not consist of two distinct and radically different parts. The human being is, rather, a unified substance in which soul and body are not two different kinds of thing but simply the form and matter of the same single substance. And since the substance is the ultimate reality, and since every substance necessarily consists of both form and matter, we expect Aristotle to go on to say that neither can exist apart from the other.

But it is just at this point that Aristotle is unable to resist the pressure of the tradition of thought to which he belongs; he returns to dualism (Owen, 1956: 42). He quite evidently distinguishes the mind - that is, the reflective faculty peculiar to the human being - from the soul in general. The mind is independent *vis-a-vis* the body and is not confined to this or that particular organ. Mind comes exclusively from without and is divine: in its mode of operation it exhibits no affinity with the body. The human being's mental activity is a component of her soul-life; but it also manifests the presence of a superior, divine potency.

Concealed here behind the unity of soul and body there are the rudiments, at any rate, of a new dualism - one which opposes soul-body on the one hand to mind on the other (Van Peursen, 1966: 111-113).

Though Aristotle tried to overcome dualism, he joined Plato in thinking of a divine and immortal element in the human being. He developed a different dualistic view of the human being, viz. that of mind (reason) and matter, form and matter. Under the influence of Plato and Aristotle, the dualistic body-soul view became a mainstream position during the Middle Age. Medieval and later Reformed theologians also insisted on dualistic concepts of human being and on the immortality of the soul (Je, 1998: 17).

6.3.2 Early Christian church

6.3.2.1 *Early Church*

In the early Christian church, some held that humans consist of three parts - body, soul and spirit. They are called trichotomists. Spirit is the essential human self which relates to God. Soul is that dimension of persons which mediates and conjoins the components body and soul (or spirit). Dichotomists on the other hand generally take “soul” and “spirit” as synonyms. Death cuts body and soul apart. Hence the term “dichotomy”. Since this view entails that human beings consist of two metaphysically different and separable components, philosophers label it “dualism.” This became the standard doctrine in Western theology and philosophy for more than a thousand years (Cooper, 1989: 9).

6.3.2.2 *Church Fathers*

For the Patristic writers, the person was an integral unity composed of body and soul. Bodily life was seen positively for the most part, and the eschatological expectation was

the unity of body and soul, destroyed by death, which would be restored through the resurrection. Irenaeus, who was overseer of Lyons, says the soul and spirit are certainly a part of the human being, but certainly not a human being; the perfect human being consists in the commingling and the union of the soul receiving the spirit, and the admixture of that fleshly nature which was moulded after the image of God. Irenaeus holds that salvation is available for the body as well as the soul, since both body and soul together form the person who has either faith or unbelief (Goussmett, 1993: 34-35).

Theodore of Mopsuestia holds that human nature consists of a body and a soul, and insists that the person is not the soul alone, but soul and body together (Norris, 1963: 151). The early Christians correctly realized that God had revealed the truth about the “composition” of the human being in His Word. They were, however, also aware of the fact that Greek philosophy had attained many moments of valuable insight. Many of the converts were philosophers who could not immediately rid themselves of their pagan convictions, and even those who enjoyed a Christian upbringing were still daily surrounded by pagan culture.

To defend Christianity against Greek philosophy, Christians had to use a terminology which they borrowed from pagan philosophy. The result was that all kinds of Greek ideas crept into Christian thought (Van der Walt, 1978a: 62). Just as New Testament writings strongly affirm the goodness of the body and material universe, they also provide evidence that the early Church was already involved in a struggle with dualistic influence. The term “Gnosticism,” derived from *gnosis*, the Greek word for knowledge, encompassed a variety of dualistic movements which become especially problematic in the opening centuries of Christianity (Prokes, 1996: 7-8). Gnostics developed the metaphysical dualisms of soul and body, and of gods as good and material as evil. They

thought knowledge, and it alone, was redemptive. They taught that the universe itself was the result of a fallen condition, and that the body was useless and deceptive compared to the spirit within it. Gnostics hoped to take flight to the divine (Park, 2000: 65).

In contrast to the anti-physical bias of the contemporary pagan philosophy and despite the Greek tendency to denigrate the body, the Church Fathers generally adopted a “high” view of the body. This “high” view of the body is stated by many of the early apologists (Owen, 1956: 52).

Christianity must have been rooted early in Alexandria. It was the second city of the Roman Empire and there was a large Jewish population there. It was the home of Hellenistic Judaism of which the Jew philosopher Philo’s works are the outstanding monument. The young Christian movement began developing there (Oulton & Chadwick, 1954: 15). The fourth century historian Eusebius of Caesarea reports that the Apostle Mark was the first Bishop of Alexandria, a statement which does not take us beyond the realm of legend (Park, 2000: 78). Clement of Alexandria, who was principal of the Christian school at Alexandria, was a great Christian philosopher and theologian in his own right. Modern scholars have found Platonic, Stoic and Aristotelian elements in his writings. Because of this, Clement has alternatively been considered either as a Platonist or as a Stoic, or even an Aristotelian (Lilla, 1971: 1). Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others, have been described significantly as “the Christian Platonists of Alexandria.”

According to Origen, God’s first creation was a collectivity of rational beings which he calls *logika*. Although Origen speaks of the *logika* as being created, they were not

created in time. Creation with respect to them means that they had a beginning, but not a temporal one. These souls were originally created in close proximity to God, with the intention that they should explore the divine mysteries in a state of endless contemplation. They grew weary of this intense contemplation, however, and lapsed, falling away from God and into an existence on their own terms, apart from the divine presence and the wisdom to be found there. Thus departing from God, they came to be clothed in bodies, at first of a fine ethereal and invisible nature, but later, as souls fell further away from God, their bodies changed from a fine, ethereal and invisible body to a body of a coarser and more solid state. The purity and subtleness of the body with which a soul is enveloped depends upon the moral development and perfection of the soul to which it is joined. Origen states that there are varying degrees of subtleness even among the celestial and spiritual bodies. When a soul achieves salvation, according to Origen, it ceases being a soul, and returns to a state of pure "mind" or understanding. However, due to the fall, now no rational spirit can ever exist without a body (Kwon, 2002: 38). Only the bodies of redeemed souls are "spiritual bodies", made of the purest fire.

In the third century, the Latin father Tertullian went so far as to claim that the soul was corporeal. He wrote in his *Soul's Testimony* that without the soul, we are nothing (Palmer, 2005: 9). What precisely he meant by this is by no means clear since he also insisted that the soul, in contrast to the body, was spiritual and immortal. Gregory of Nyssa, in the next century, continued this line of thought. He recognized, in a strikingly modern way, both the thoroughgoing interaction of mind and body and also the physiological basis of sensation and thought. This approach is fatal to a radical body-mind dualism (Owen, 1956:74).

6.3.3 Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

The fact that Augustine was a Platonist before his conversion is evident in his Christian doctrine of human nature. He has been called a Christian Platonist for holding that souls are not created but are by nature self-sufficient and have existed in eternity. His anthropology is recognizably Platonic. For one thing, he identifies the essential self with the soul rather than emphasising the body-soul composite, and he conceives of the soul as operating in the body. He insists on the unity of human nature.

Some of his later works emphasize that the human being is not just a soul, but a soul-body unity (Cooper, 1989: 10-11). He had once also been a Manichean. Manicheans regarded the visible world as evil. They therefore banned marriage and considered having a baby as great sin. The Christian conception of the human being certainly rests, in its origin, upon a totally different anthropology.

The Christian philosophy founded by Clement of Alexandria and Origen and continued by Augustine developed into a vast system which became the doctrine of the Church. In the process, the pre-eminence of fundamental elements of Platonic anthropology was soon established. In the Middle Ages the first of the scholastic philosophies borrowed several of their ideas from Plotinus and through him from Plato (Zurcher, 1969: 32; cf. Han, 1970: 253). Han (1970: 256) says Augustine got acquainted with “the books of Neo-Platonism” during his nine year Manichean period. He read most of Plotinus’ works during that time.

According to Cooper (1989: 11), the soul is superior to the body in Augustine’s philosophy / theology because it alone bears the image and knowledge of God. The body tends to divert the soul from spiritual things and to tempt it with sinful desires.

The soul is also superior because it alone is immortal. Its immortality is conferred by God, to be sure.

Augustine's anthropology is a two substance dualism. Human beings are composed of spirit and matter intimately conjoined and the soul permeates and animates the entire body. Where the body depends for its existence and activity upon the soul, the reverse is not true. According to Han (1970: 252-277), Augustine obeys two truths after his conversion, one is the traditional faith of the Church, and another is Platonic philosophical truth to which he has been exposed for a long time. For Augustine, the Biblical view was in fact supported by Platonic philosophy. Han also stresses that Augustine's early works were seen to be the same as the Platonic philosophy. Even though Augustine wanted to use the Platonic philosophical system for extending Christian faith, it seems like he did not succeed in converting it to Christianity, but rather to a form of syncretism.

With respect to Augustine's desire to find a viable alternative to the awkward and intractable moral dualism of the Manicheans, there can be little question that his embracing of Neo-Platonism is a positive development. For Augustine, the individual human being is a body-soul composite, but in keeping with his Neo-Platonism there is an asymmetry between soul and body. As a spiritual entity, the soul is superior to the body, and it is the province of the soul to rule the body. This view presents a fairly positive conception of the soul-body relation, one that clearly runs counter to the Manichean picture of the soul's entrapment (O'Connell, 2000: <http://Plato.Stanford.Edu/entries/augustine>).

In Augustine, also we find the idea of the intermediate state interpreted in unmistakably

purgatorial terms. The interval between the death of the individual and the end of all things is used by God to purge the soul of the evil that clings to it because of its earthly misdeeds: "In this intermediate time, between the lying down and the receiving back of the body, souls will either be punished or rest in peace according to the deeds performed in their bodily existence" (Owen, 1956: 61-62).

Augustine's *De Civita Dei* (The city of God) and his *Civita terrena* (The city of the world) are clearly also separate in deep principle. For him, *Romanitas* and church are obviously in dualistic opposition (Han, 1970: 318-322). Though Augustine does not himself propound the two-realm theory in the form of nature-grace, it has been shown that he adhered to a certain type of two-realm theory - possibly under the influence of Manichaeism. The idea of the *desiderium naturale*, so important to the nature-grace theory, can however be observed in the Platonic dualism which influenced Thomas Aquinas (Van der Walt, 1978a: 77-78).

6.3.4 Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274)

Thomas Aquinas was a great medieval thinker, a representative scholar of the Scholastic philosophy (Park, 2000: 155). He built up a philosophical system which in all kinds of ways rests on an Aristotelian foundation (Van Peursen, 1966: 116). Thomas' demonstration of the union of soul and body in the human being was an extension and completion of Aristotelian principles (Zamoyta, 1956: 24). In his massive *Summa Theologica* and other works, Thomas built an impressive intellectual synthesis of Aristotelian and Christian ideas, which was new and controversial at the time, but has since become Roman Catholic Orthodoxy (Stevenson, 1981: 73). In his anthropology Thomas cleverly combined important features of the Aristotelian body-soul relation

with a basically Augustinian dualistic framework. In book 1, Question 75 of the *Summa Theologica*, Thomas proceeds “to treat of the human being, who is composed of a spiritual and a corporeal substance.” This is clearly a two-substance dualism in line with Augustine. With Augustine, he holds that “the soul of the human being is a principle both incorporeal and subsistent” (Cooper, 1989: 12).

Aquinas revised Aristotle’s doctrine of a supra-personal mind. For Thomas mind is the soul-form that confers real stature and individuality upon the human being and that persists as personal being. The human being is indeed of a higher order than the animals but that is because it is mind in a personal context (*intellectus agens*), and this mind is the immortal soul.

In Thomas’s explanation of the body-soul relationship there is a greater measure of dualism than in Aristotle’s. For Aristotle, a soul that survives on a personal basis is inconceivable, because the soul is rendered concrete by the body. So the mind (soul) itself has for Aristotle a character of pure potentiality, since a basis for that would again have to be sought in the body. Thus where the relationship of soul to mind is concerned, there is a degree of vagueness in Aristotle’s system. In this respect, Thomas is more of a dualist than Aristotle, in that the latter envisages the soul wholly in terms of the empirical, sensibly perceptible order of living things (Van Peursen, 1966: 116).

Owen (1956: 62-63) insists that Thomas began his anthropology by following Aristotle closely. According to him, for Thomas the human being is not a composite of two different substances, but rather a single unified substance in Aristotelian sense. Every substance in nature has two aspects, its form and its matter. Soul and body are thus inseparable aspects of one and the same substance and each requires the other in order

to exist at all.

By the 13th century the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the Greek sense had become so much a part of Christian thought that Thomas could not bring himself to deny it. In order to maintain this brief he had, in the end, to return to Aristotle's dualism. His opinion changed gradually (cf. Stevenson, 1981: 73) and he arrived in the end with his own version of soul-body dualism. Prokes (1996: 15-16) says that Thomas rejected Platonic dualism and its disdain of the body by accepting Aristotle's theory of hylemorphism, which affirmed body-soul unity. On the one hand, he held that there is no existence of soul apart from existence of the body. It is the nature of the soul, he said, to be the "form" of the body. On the other hand, Thomas said, it is the intellectual principles that determine "the human being" as a species, and while the body has no part in the operation of the intellect, the soul has sensory powers which requires it to be a body. He concluded that the soul was a substance in its own right and did not die with the body. Thomas also says that thought is an activity of the soul alone and thus that the soul, having independent activity, is capable also of independent existence as incorruptible substance in its own right (Kenny, 1973: 80).

At the same time there was alongside the Thomistic synthesis a strong Neo-Platonic tradition of long standing in medieval thought. Thomas, in his synthesis, attempted to think Scripturally but exhibited an ambiguous attitude in trying to acknowledge Aristotle as well as the Bible (Van der Walt, 1978a: 139). This Neo-Platonic tradition in Christian thought enjoyed a revival in the 14th and 15th centuries. Its anthropology and ethics were prevalent and influential when the Protestant Reformers appeared on the scene (Owen, 1956: 65-68). Because of Thomas's influence on the reformational labours of Luther, and Calvin in particular, Protestant theology relapsed into

Aristotelian and Thomistic patterns (Van der Walt, 1978a: 133).

6.3.5 John Calvin (1509-1564)

There can be no doubt that the name of John Calvin is one of the great names in the history of the Christian church (Fowler, 1984: 339). The connection between belief in the immortality of the independent soul and a dualistic analysis of human nature is found again in the Reformers (Owen, 1956: 71) like Calvin. Calvin succeeds Augustine by continuing the tradition of Augustinian Platonism into the Protestant Reformation (Min, 2002: 43). According to Calvin, for example, ancient Philosophers “hardly one, except Plato, has rightly affirmed immortal substance”. He says,

It would be foolish to seek a definition of “soul” from the philosophers. Of them hardly one, except one, has rightly affirmed its immortal substance. Indeed, others like Socratics also touch upon it but in a way that shows how nobody teaches clearly a thing of which he has not been persuaded. Hence Plato’s opinion is more correct, because he considers the image of God in the soul (Calvin, *Institutes*: I, 15, 6; Shults, 2003: 169).

Calvin says the human being consists of soul and a body. The human being was taken from earth and clay. For nothing is more absurd than for those who not only “dwell in houses of clay”, but who are themselves in part earth and dust, to boast of their own excellence. But since God not only deigned to give life to an earthen vessel, but also willed it to be the abode of immortal spirit, Adam could rightly glory in the great liberty of his Maker (Calvin, *Institutes*: I, 15, 1) The body is the house of clay in which the noble soul lives for the time being. It is no help to the soul but rather fetters the soul as in a prison (Calvin, *Institutes*: I, 15, 2). The soul is the part of the human being that

naturally attracts him or her towards heaven while the body is that part that naturally ties them down to the earth. It is not just the body that is sinful but the body in its own nature that has this earthbound character that weighs down, fetters, imprisons and limits the soul (Calvin, *Institutes*: I, 15, 3). He stresses that “the body is earthly by nature; the soul is heavenly by nature” (Calvin, *Tracts and Treatises*, Vol. 3: 443. re-quoted in Fowler, 1984: 343). He thus makes a distinction between “earthly things” and “heavenly things” (Calvin, *Institutes*: II, 2, 13).

In Calvin’s view, soul and body are two distinct “essences” or “substances.” There is “one person” in the human being, composed of two elements joined together and two diverse underlying natures that make up this person. Though these essences, elements or substances are joined together in the human being “yet neither is so mingled with the other as not to retain its own distinctive nature” (Calvin, *Institutes*: II, 14, 1). Soul is immortal and heavenly by nature, bearing the image of God, and intended to rise above the earthly creation to God (Calvin, *Institutes*: II, 2, 12).

In Calvin’s *Institutes*, his conception of body and soul is the same as in the Platonic dualistic anthropological structure (Kim, 1994: 37). Calvin generally follows the dualistic anthropology of Western ancient philosophy according to which the human being has two substances, soul and body (Lee, 1985: 118-120). For earthly matters natural reason is sufficient, but for heavenly matters it requires the restoration of supernatural gifts to lift it above the earthly. It is only as the soul is illuminated by the Holy Spirit in the restoration of the supernatural gifts that it “takes on a new keenness, as it were to contemplate the heavenly mysteries, whose splendour had previously blinded it” (Calvin, *Institutes*: II, 2, 12). So, in Calvin’s anthropology the human being

is composed of two distinct substances or essences, soul and body. The body is animal, earthbound, unable to participate in heavenly things. It is a weight and a restriction on the human being's life.

Besides the dualism of body and soul in Calvin's anthropology there is also a dualism of the natural and the supernatural in the functioning of the soul. Dualistic anthropology is matched in Calvin by a dualistic view of the world, although this is not spelt out as explicitly as his anthropology. His anthropology demands a dualistic world view, however, and it may well be asked whether it is not his anthropology that drives him to a dualistic world view (Fowler, 1984: 345-346). Broadly speaking, Calvin tended toward Platonic dualism, which makes sense in light of his preference for the patristic Christology of Antiochenes, who distinguished between the two natures of Christ.

6.3.6 Modern Thought

6.3.6.1 *René Descartes (1509-1564)*

The Frenchman René Descartes was a central figure in the scientific revolution, being a mathematician, experimental scientist and philosopher. His philosophical dualism of body and soul provided an obvious solution to the problems involved in applying science to the human being, because the body could be understood as the subject of a deterministic, mechanical explanation, whereas the distinctively human attributes of thought, rationality, and freedom could be located in the incorporeal soul, beyond all reach of science (Stevenson, 1981: 81). He, in adducing a sharp division between soul and body, has had an enormous influence on philosophy after him. Actually, what he does is to enunciate clearly something of which whole modern culture is the living

expression: duality of the spiritual and the material. Descartes maintained the separateness of body and soul consistently and with extraordinary clarity (Van Peursen, 1966: 19). He says, among others,

But what is the human being? Might I not say a “rational animal”? No, because then I would have to inquire what “animal” and “rational” mean. . . Now it occurred to me first that I had a face, hands, arms, and this entire mechanism of bodily members, the very same as are discerned in a corpse, and which I referred to by the name “body.” It next occurred to me that I took in food, that I walked about, and that I sensed and thought various things; these actions I used to attribute to the soul. But as to what this soul might be, I either did not think about it or else I imagined it a rarefied I-know-not-what, like a wind, or a fire, or either, which had been infused into my coarser parts. But as to the body I was not in any doubt (Descartes, 1993 *Meditation two*: 26).

He believed that in actual fact a human being is an “intimate union” of mind and body. In saying that *I* (or my mind, or my soul) am separate and distinct from my body, he meant to be speaking only of what is possible. As far as the concept of *myself* and my body are concerned, I could exist without a body. Descartes did not mean merely that I, having dwelt in a union with my body for some years, might be separated from it and yet survive in a disembodied condition. He meant that I might have to exist without ever having had a body. In that state what would my mental life be? Logically speaking, it could have been the same as it is and has been. For my nature is to doubt, understand, affirm, deny, will, imagine and feel. As a bodiless mind I would do those things (Malcolm, 1972: 5-6).

According to Van Peursen (1966: 32-33), Descartes has to shoulder the responsibility for every single instance of dualism in philosophy. It would be more true to say that in some sense he interprets what had been latent for a long time in the climate of Western philosophy and even now persists as an active influence in the body-and-soul debate. Though Descartes never taught a thoroughgoing dualism, he hovers in the vicinity of dualism when he says,

It is certain that I am truly distinct from my body, and can exist without it
(Cooper, 1989: 15).

We are likely to call on the observation that each human being has a mind and a body; that they are interdependent; that they are essentially and distinctively a human mind and body; that there is no understanding of being of that kind - being a the human being - without a better understanding of how each such being depends on the existence of his mind and body (Almog, 2002: 153). For Descartes, during this life body and soul interact. The soul causes the body to move, and the body delivers sensations of itself and the external world to the soul. Transactions occur in the pineal gland, where "animal spirit" rarefies and condenses, thereby bearing information back and forth from soul to body. Thus Descartes' anthropology is called dualistic interactionism (Cooper, 1989: 15-16), or interactionist dualism (Bunge, 1980: 27).

6.3.6.2 Thomas Hobbes (1588-1678), George Berkeley (1685-1753), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677)

The materialism of Thomas Hobbes, a contemporary of Descartes, is exhibited in his treatment of life as a motion of the limbs, of sensation as a motion in the organs within the body, and of desire as the inner cause of bodily movement. There is no mention of

soul (Stevenson, 1981: 86). The Hobbes-Gassendi type of materialism produced an anthropology that was unacceptable not only because of the difficulty it encountered in satisfactorily explaining human consciousness, but also because it entailed a flat denial of human freedom in any sense whatever (Owen, 1956: 87). Hobbes held that all creatures consist of only one substance. According to him, the notion of an incorporeal substance is incoherent. Persons are not some combination of matter and spirit, but are wholly corporeal beings. Psychological states and events are produced in us by the motion of the body's complex machinery. Consciousness is not the essential feature of an immaterial substance, but the result of the conjunction of all these effects of the body's internal motions (Cooper, 1989: 17-18).

Irish philosopher Berkeley goes a fairly long way towards denying the existence of matter and representing the mind of the human being as a fixed point or centre. He reached the following conclusion: matter does not exist, but minds do (the mind of God and the minds of the human being, in particular). Nor does he deny the existence of the body. Only for him, the body (his own body just as much as things) is a symbol of the presence of mind (Van Peursen, 1966: 65). There are no material "things" or substance, only collections of sense-qualities or ideas. But though he rejected the existence of material substance, Berkeley, rather oddly (he later became a bishop), retained the notion of spiritual substance or souls. Reality consists of spiritual substances, or minds and their ideas (Owen, 1956: 91).

The Dutch Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza determines to treat human phenomena as subject to the same laws of nature as everything else - and therefore, in his rationalist viewpoint, capable of explanation by the deductive methods of mathematics. Then he declares his faith in the future progress of a science of human nature, suggesting very

perceptively that the physical complexities within the body greatly exceed what could then be conceived. This faith makes more intelligible his identification of mind and body as different aspects of one complex whole, and his statement that the mind has no power of its own to act independently of what is going on in the body (Stevenson, 1981: 94).

The ontologies of these three philosophers are monistic because reality as a whole is defined as one absolute substance. In the case of Spinoza, this single whole can be considered in two ways, thus displaying two aspects or modes of existence. Viewed one way, reality is God; viewed another, it is Nature. That single substance, therefore, is neither exclusively spirit nor matter but possesses properties of both, each available to human apprehension from a different standpoint (Cooper, 1989: 19-20).

6.3.6.3 Modern scientists

The 19th century was when the various sciences began to concern themselves more and more with the study of human nature. Science concluded that there is a vast array of natural, material conditions that play a large part in shaping human life, including such factors as thought, choice, morality, and character which were formerly ascribed to the independent soul. Science has taught us to look at the human being as a unified psychosomatic organism. In the scientific view, the human being is a unitary being in whom the physical aspects are so completely interrelated and overlapping that no clear lines can be drawn between them, except more or less arbitrarily for purposes of analysis (Owen, 1956: 97-98).

Scientifically, the most plausible view to date is that of a one-one (or at least a one-many) correspondence of mental states and neuro-physiological process patterns. The

investigations of Wolfgang Kohler, Edgar D. Adrian, Wilder Penfield, Donald O. Hebb, Warren S. McCulloch and others, strongly confirm such a correspondence in the form of an isomorphism of the patterns in the phenomenal fields with simultaneous patterns of neural processes in various areas of the brain (Stevenson, 1981: 312-313). Brain physiologists and psychiatrists noticed the direct casual influence of cerebral functioning on states of consciousness. Mental capacities such as thought, memory, understanding, and even the use of the senses were found to be correlated with specific areas of the brain. Consciousness, mental capacities and personality characteristics are rooted in the brain of the organism, not in some immaterial substance or unobservable entity called the soul or mind (Cooper, 1989: 22-24).

Nancy Murphy's (2006: 55-56) argument in brief is that all of the human capacities once attributed to the mind or soul are now being fruitfully studied as brain processes - or, more accurately - processes involving the brain, the rest of the nervous system and other bodily systems, all interacting with the socio-cultural world.

6.4 Different Views of Human Nature

6.4.1 Dualism

6.4.1.1 Trichotomy

One popular view in conservative Protestant circles has been termed "trichotomism." A human is composed of three elements, according to this view. The first element is the physical body, the second is the soul, and the third the spirit. Trichotomism became particularly popular in the Alexandrian school, and also with Gregory of Nyssa. It fell into disrepute after Apollinarius made use of it in constructing his Christology, which the church determined to be heretical (Erickson, 2001: 539).

The word “trichotomy” is Greek for “to cut into three parts” (Baker, 1991: 43). It was taught in the 19th century by Franz Delitsch, John B. Heard, Johann T. Beck and Gustav F. Oehler. More recently it has been defended by such writers as Watchman Nee, Charles R Solomon, and Bill Gothard (Hoekema, 1986: 205). Berkhof argues that such tri-partite conception of the human being originated in Greek philosophy, which conceived of the relation of the body and the spirit / soul of the human to each other after the analogy of the mutual relation between the material universe and God (Berkhof, 1971: 191-192). Trichotomists hold that the soul is earthbound and is common to the human being and animals, but spirit is the consciousness of God / god which no animal has (cf. Erickson, 2001: 539).

The widely used *Scofield Reference Bible* also teaches trichotomy (Clark, 1984: 38-39).

Thessalonians 5: 23 note 1 reads in part:

The human being is a trinity. That the human soul and spirit are not identical is proved by the fact that they are divisible (Hebrews 4:22), and that the soul and spirit are sharply distinguished in the burial and resurrection of the body . . . 1 Corinthians 15:44. . . The distinction is that the spirit is that part of the body . . . which “*knows*” (1 Corinthians 2:11), his mind; the soul is the seat of his *affections, desires, and so of emotions, and of the active will, the self.* . . The word translated “soul” (נפש) in the O T is the exact equivalent of the N T word for soul (Greek ψυχη), and the use of “soul” in the O T is identical with the use of that word in the N T (see e.g. Deuteronomy 6:5; 14:26) . . . because the human being is “spirit” he is capable of God-consciousness . . . because he is “body” he has, through his sense, world-consciousness.

6.4.1.2 Dichotomy

The church's attack on trichotomy was carried out in spite of the fact that Scripture uses expressions which seem to imply such a threefold division of the self (Anderson, 1982: 208). Probably the most widely held view throughout most of the history of Christian thought has been the view that the human is composed of two elements, a material aspect (the body) and an immaterial component (the soul and spirit).

Dichotomism was commonly held from the earliest period of Christian thought. Following the Council of Constantinople in 381 A D it grew in popularity to the point where it was virtually the universal belief of the church. Many of the arguments for dichotomism are arguments against the trichotomist conception (Erickson, 2001: 540). Dichotomism has been much more widely held than trichotomism (Hoekema, 1986: 209). While Berkhof, according to Baker (1991: 43), insists on the unitary nature of the human, he expounds dichotomism. He says, among others:

The prevailing representation of the nature of the human being in Scripture is clearly dichotomy (Berkhof, 1971: 192).

On the one hand the Bible teaches us to view the nature of the human being as a unity, and not as duality, consisting of two different elements, which move along parallel lines but do not really unite to form a single organism (Berkhof, 1971: 192)

At the same time it also contains evidence of the dual composition of the human being's nature. We should be careful, however, not to expect the later

distinction between the material element, and the soul as the spiritual element, of human nature, in the Old Testament (Berkhof, 1971: 193).

The operations of the soul are connected with the body as its instrument in the present life; but from the continued conscious existence and activity of the soul after death it appears that it can also work without the body (Berkhof, 1971: 196).

Gordon Clark also believed that dichotomy is the teaching of Scripture. He argued from Hebrew 4:12, which is sometimes quoted to defend a division between soul and spirit. The basic division in this verse is not three-fold but twofold: soul and spirit versus joints and marrow. The verse therefore closely conjoins them, and in this instance too it favours dichotomy (Clark, 1984, 33-45).

6.4.2 Monism

Many philosophers have been unable to stomach an ultimate dualism of mind / spirit / soul, and matter, and have been drawn to various forms of monism (Malcolm, 1972: 60). Monism is the theory that the human being consists of one substance only.

As the authority of church and traditional theology waned after the Reformation, alternative approaches to philosophical anthropology were introduced. One dominant modern challenge to dualism is materialism, the view that human beings, both body and soul, consist solely of matter and its functions (Cooper, 1989: 17). Materialism fastens its attention on physical processes. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), who was the most eminent and most refined thinker among the German materialists of the 19th century, maintained that just as there is no other thing, no mysterious substance, no soul behind the body, so likewise there is no God to be discovered behind natural order.

His anthropology is based on science which concerns itself with the concrete, sensory human being, and consequently he will have nothing to do with the soul or with "spirit." Feuerbach sees the encounter and bond between men as events belonging wholly to the physical realm of the senses. That alone is real which can be related directly to the senses and combined with them. The soul and body substances are abstractions which the intellect isolates. Feuerbach's philosophy then is a refined materialism - materialism because in it the soul is ultimately reduced to the category of the physical (Van Peursen, 1966: 54-57).

Dialectical materialism, which represents an important advance on the older materialism in philosophy, comes down to the assumption that the psychic is a product - the least and highest product - of matter; it is a function of the extraordinary complex bit of matter which forms the human brain. Thinking is a function of its organ, the brain, and so consciousness is secondary, derivative, a figuration of matter (Van Peursen, 1966: 60).

Herbert Feigl is best known for his materialist answer to the mind-body problem - the so-called "identity theory" - which says that all mental events are actually physical events in the brain and central nervous system (Stevenson, 1981: 310). Materialism maintains that consciousness is a form of brain activity; that it is either some fine and subtle kind of matter, or (more commonly) some form of energy, either kinetic or potential (Pratt, 1922: 11-12).

Twentieth century Behaviourism defines thoughts and intentions as the dispositions of bodily beings to react to external circumstances in particular ways. The mind-body identity theory holds that thoughts and sensations are just events in brain. Also

Epiphenomenalism believes that thoughts and sensations are directly generated by the brain (Cooper, 1989: 18-19). In the Behaviourist view, mental descriptions are not descriptions of the human being's mental part. They are descriptions of his behaviour and his dispositions to behave (Campbell, 1980: 60; For a general account of several contemporary forms of materialism see Campbell, 1980; Owen, 1956: chapter 5; Armstrong, 1968; Margolis, 1978; Bunge, 1980; Shaffer, 1968; Stevenson, 1981; Corcoran, 2005).

6.5 The Biblical View of the Human Being

6.5.1 Words with Anthropological Relevance in the Old Testament

6.5.1.1 Nephesh (נֶפֶשׁ)

The concept *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ) characterizes human existence in a distinctive manner. Localized in the throat, the organ through which nourishment is taken (Psalms 107:5, 9), it calls attention to human need and desire; the longing, seeking and yearning of human beings (Psalms 24:1-2, 35:25, 42:1-2). It also represents the seat of spiritual feeling and inner conditions. The human being is "soul," which approximates what we mean by person, the "I" (cf. Psalms. 54:3; 84:2) (Hogan, 1994: 244).

Although *nephesh* has frequently been translated as "soul", it has a variety of meanings. *Nephesh* is used of animals as well as people in the sense of "living creature", and occasionally it even means "dead person" (Numbers 5:2; 6:11) (Cooper, 1989: 42-43; Jewett, 1996: 37). *Nephesh* is the human being, manifold in aspect, but in nature indivisible. *Nephesh* sorrows, hungers and thinks because each of these functions requires the whole personality to perform it, and the distinction between emotional, physical and mental is not made (Stacey, 1956: 85-87).

Nephesh also refers to “the inner being of the human being,” “living being” (used of human beings and animals), “the human being himself” (often used as a personal pronoun: myself, himself, etc; in this sense it may mean the human being as a whole), “seat of the appetites”, “seat of the emotions”.

It is clear, therefore, that the word *nephesh* may often stand for the whole person, and the best translation in many instances is “person” (Hoekema, 1986: 210). Baker (1991: 83) argues that *nephesh* has a range of meaning that includes the whole person, a unity of the body, will, life, and emphasizes personal desire or inclination.

6.5.1.2 *Ruach* (רוח)

The Hebrew word *ruach* (רוח) is generally translated as “spirit,” meaning wind, breath of life, life-giving power (Genesis 2:7). The divine breath enters and makes one into a living being in unity and wholeness, and when the breath departs the human being returns to dust (Psalms 146:4) (Hogan, 1994:245). So *ruach* is a vital force, power or energy which animates living creatures. *Ruach* overlaps in meaning with *nephesh*. *Ruach*, therefore, must not be thought of as a separable aspect of the human being, but as the whole person viewed from a certain perspective (Hoekema, 1986: 210-211). The same principle of the whole human being represented by each aspect holds good for parts of the body, as for *nephesh* and *ruach*. Each physical organ can be thought to represent the full personality (Stacey, 1956: 91).

6.5.1.3 *Leb* (לב), *lebab* (לִבָּב)

At the centre of human life is the *leb* (לב) or *lebab* (לִבָּב) in Hebrew. These words are usually translated as “heart.” This is the site of all thought, planning, reflection, explanation, ambition and decision (Psalms 4:4, 10:6, 15:2). In the Psalms, the heart

with its depth dimension is characterized and interpreted in relationship to Yahweh (Hogan, 1994: 244-245). Von Meyenfeldt, in his study of the word, concludes that *leb* or *lebab* usually represents the whole person and has a predominantly religious significance (Hoekema, 1986: 211). The key part of the human being, in Old Testament terms, is not body, soul, or breath, but “heart.” The heart is thus significant as a physical reality, and is depicted as the source of our attitudes and actions, whether evil (Genesis 8:21), joyous (Psalms 105:3), obedient (1 Kings 14:8), courageous (Psalms 27:14), or repentant (Psalms 34:18), for example. God “looks on heart” (1 Samuel 16:7), not merely on outward appearance, and salvation is described as being given a new heart and a new breath / spirit, a “heart of flesh” and not of “stone” (Ezekiel 36:26). This centrality of “heart” indicates the unitary emphasis of the Old Testament on human life, and this continues into the New (Romans 2:5; 5:5). We are clearly fleshly, but not only that; heart, kidney, bowels, and even the liver are spoken of as typifying various facets of human existence (Sherlock, 1996: 215-216).

6.5.1.4 *Basar* (בָּשָׂר)

Human beings are *basar* (בָּשָׂר) in Hebrew, frequently translated as “flesh”. The flesh is subject to attack, injury, damage and decay. Human beings are flesh in the form of the physical body which is weak, vulnerable and perishable (cf. Psalms 16:9, 102:5, 38:3; Hogan, 1994: 243-244). *Basar* has a variety of meanings; it can refer to the muscle tissue in distinction from bones, fat, tendons and sinews, as in Ezekiel 37 (Cooper, 1989: 44-45).

The word *basar* is often used to describe the human being in his or her weakness (Jeremiah 17:5). It may sometimes denote the entire person, not just the physical aspect.

But it may also be joined with *nephesh* in ways that refer to the whole human being. In the Old Testament *basar*, with emphasis on the external side, is often used to denote the whole person. Thus, the thought-world of the Old Testament totally excludes any kind of dichotomy or dualism that would picture the human being as made up of two distinct substances (Hoekema, 1986: 21-213).

All the Hebrew terms discussed above point to the human being as a total, integrated and whole being, personality without abstract divisions. The term used in a particular context is the one that will embrace a particular aspect of human life in the most appropriate way in that context. This conclusion points to the fact that Hebrew psychology was synthetic, and that the drift of Hebrew thought was towards understanding the human being and her actions as a whole or a totality. Every aspect of the human being should therefore be understood only in relation to human wholeness (Stacey, 1956: 93-95).

6.5.2 Words with Anthropological Relevance in the New Testament

6.5.2.1 *Psyche* (ψυχή)

The Hebrew word for soul is *nephesh*, whereas the Greek term is *psyche* (ψυχή), from which English derives such word as “psychic” and “psychology.” In the New Testament, *psyche* appears mostly in the narrative parts, especially the synoptic gospels and the book of Acts. In Acts 27:22 it means “the life,” in Acts 3:23 the “whole person,” in Acts 14:2 a place of feeling, in Mark 8:35-36 the “supreme good,” and in Matthew 10:28 it is used in contrast with the body (Baker, 1991: 83-84). When so used, *psyche* (ψυχή) connotes life not only in the biological but also in the spiritual sense, as when Jesus asks what would profit one to gain the whole world and lose one’s life (Mark 8:36

Jewett, 1996: 37-38).

Owen (1956: 181-182) argues that the Lord spoke Aramaic and not Greek, and that the meanings of the words and phrases must be sought not in the Greek, but in the Hebrew background out of which, humanly speaking, he sprang. In Hebrew thought, as we have seen, the word translated "soul" regularly stands simply for the personal pronoun and means the self. And the phrase "body and soul," though its occurrence is rare in both Testaments, stands for the Hebrew idea that the human being is an "animated body" and not for the Greek view that he is an "incarnated soul."

The three elements of the *psyche* - intellect, will, and emotions - are all interrelated and are further grounded in spirit and manifested on the level of the bodily. The human being is a complex unity with the integrated person holding a creative tension in all the dimensions of her life (O'Grady, 1976: 127-129).

Psyche is often used in the Gospels to describe the whole the human being; it is clear, that *psyche*, like *nephesh*, often stands for the whole person (Hoekema, 1986: 213).

In the writings of Paul, a variant of *psyche* is found, namely *psychikos*, which is used in contrast to *pneumatikos* (spiritually) and means "natural" (see 1 Corinthians 2:14). Also, it is used to contrast the present physical, mortal body with the future resurrection body in Corinthians 15:44. The Bible tends to use another word for this eternal aspect of humanity - spirit - although ultimate humanity is taught as a unity of the physical and spiritual after the resurrection takes place (Baker, 1991: 84). Paul never uses it in the strict sense of the "soul" i.e. the God related portion of the human being (Jewett: 1971).

"Soul" is not a "part" of the human being. It is also not a vague and shadowy substance. The word "soul" denotes the concrete, earthly personality for whom breathing and

circulation of blood, emotional life and so forth are most important (Van der Walt, 1978b: 109). The *Arndt-Gingrich Lexicon*(1957) of New Testament Greek lists a number of meanings for the word, some of which are “life-principles,” “earthly life itself,” “seat of the inner life of the human being (including feelings and emotions)”, “seat and centre of life that transcends the earthly”, “that which processes life: a living creature”.

6.5.2.2 *Pneuma* (πνευμα)

Pneuma (πνευμα), is the same word as *ruach* in the Old Testament, and is where English gets such words as “pneumatic” and “pneumonia.” *Pneuma* is almost always the word used for translating *ruach* in the LXX, and in the New Testament it means approximately the same thing (Baker, 1991: 84-85). It is spirit that gives the human being her apparently limitless possibilities. The gift of intellect can be meagre, the power of the will affected by outside influences, the emotions can be confused, but on the level of spirit, the human being can become ever more as he commits himself to a value, to an ideal, to purpose and meaning in life. The spiritual level is most properly the possibility of human life since it is here that the human being can transcend the limitations imposed on him by his psyche and his body.

Spirit is free; spirit is the possibility of growth in self-awareness (O’Grady, 1976: 126). In Paul’s writing, *pneuma* (πνευμα) refers to human psychological functions (1 Corinthians 7:34), the whole person (2 Corinthians 2:13) and the “new I” of the person of faith (1 Corinthians 5:3) (Baker, 1991, 84-85). The spirit of the human being is not a separate higher substance in the human being. Spirit is the human being himself, the human being himself is spirit.

Spirit may also be viewed as the seat of different emotions or a constant power which causes vitality, an inner concentrated motive force (Van der Walt, 1978b: 109-110). The *Arndt-Gingrich Lexicon (1957)* gives eight meanings of *pneuma*, including the following: “the spirit as part of human personality,” “a person’s self or ego,” “a disposition and state of mind.” *Pneuma* may also refer to life after death. Hebrew 12:23 describes deceased saints as “the spirits of righteous men made perfect,” and both Christ (Luke 23:46) and Stephen (Acts 7:59) as they are dying commit their spirit to God the Father or God the Son. *Pneuma*, it is clear, is often used to designate the whole person; it, like *psyche*, describes an aspect of the human being in her totality (Hoekema, 1986: 213-214).

6.5.2.3 *Kardia* (καρδία)

Kardia (καρδία) is the New Testament equivalent of the Hebrew *leb* and *lebab*, usually translated as “heart.” *Arndt-Gingrich (1957)* gives the main meaning of this word as “the seat of physical, spiritual and mental life.” It is also described as the centre and source of the whole inner life of the human being, with its thinking, feeling and volition. The heart is also said to be the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit (Hoekema, 1986: 214-215). The New Testament *kardia* coincides closely with the Old Testament understanding of the term: the inner life, centre of personality and the place in which God reveals himself to human being.

It is clear that *kardia* in Paul continues the general Old Testament usage (Stacy, 1956: 197). For example, it is the centre of physical life (Luke 21:34) and of spiritual life (2 Corinthians 3:14). Sin can dominate the heart (Mark 7:21). It is the seat of the will (Acts 11:23), and it is that which determines moral conduct (Luke 16:15) (Baker, 1991:

87). The meaning of heart is the innermost “part,” the central point, the most important constituent, the nucleus of the human being.

Because of this, “heart” has a representative use. It is the genuine, the essential, the authentic in which something is completely represented. It represents the whole person. The representation may be distinguished but it cannot be separated from the whole of the human being. The heart of the human being is not her “second half,” and use of the word does not imply a dualistic anthropology. The human being’s whole life is an outflow from his heart. The whole of life is religion (Van der Walt, 1978b: 110-111). Herman Bavinck in his *Biblical and Religious Psychology* says that the “heart in Holy Scripture is regarded as the base and starting point of the entire physical, and....the entire physical life of the human being.” The Reformed philosopher Dooyeweerd claims to have captured the Biblical view of the heart in his concept of a pre-functional, supra-temporal ego or religious self (Dooyeweerd, 1980: 181, 186, 189). Dooyeweerd (1955:299) in his *A New Critique of Theoretical Thought* says that “only in the heart does the function of faith find its religious concentration, and from this spiritual root of our existence the direction of our believing is determined.” Jesus describes the human being’s religious relationship (i.e. love) as the “greatest commandment,” reiterating an appeal to the whole person (Matthew. 22:37-38; Luke. 12:29) (Sherlock, 1996: 216).

6.5.2.4 *Sarx* (σάρξ)

In the New Testament there are two words for body: *sarx* (σάρξ) and *soma* (σῶμα). *Arndt-Gingrich*(1957) lists eight meanings for *sarx*, among others “body”, “a human being”, “human nature”, “physical limitation”, “the outward side of life”, and “the willing instrument of sin” (particularly in Paul’s writing) (Hoekema, 1986: 215). The

use of the word “flesh” in Romans is characterized on the one side by a more consistently negative definition as the circumcised flesh and thus the whole range of human achievement which can provide a means of self-justification. Paul uses “flesh” as the source of corruption and sin (Jewett, 1971: 455). Only in the New Testament does the word “flesh” (*sarx*) take on a metaphorical or abstract meaning that corresponds to something in inner humanity. In Pauline theological usage it means that which is oriented toward the self, which pursues its own ends in self-seeking independence of God.

Elsewhere in the New Testament, “flesh,” along with “blood,” is sometimes contrasted with God (Matthew 16:17), and “fleshly desires” are seen as waging war against the soul (Baker, 1991: 87-88). Van der Walt (1978b:110) insists that in the Bible we sometimes find a close relationship between flesh and sin. In such cases, flesh does not indicate a lower *part* of the human being as sinful, but the *whole* un-regenerated sinful human being.

Also Hoekema argues that *sarx* in the New Testament, then, has two main meanings: (1) the external, physical aspect of the human being’s existence - in this sense it may be used of the human being as a whole (cf. Owen, 1956: 191); and (2) flesh as the tendency within the fallen human to disobey God in every area of life. In this second sense, found chiefly in Paul’s epistles, the meaning of *sarx* should not be restricted so as to refer only to what we commonly call “fleshly sins” (sins of body). So even when the word *sarx* is used in the second sense, it looks at the whole person, and not at a part of him (Hoekema, 1986: 216).

Van der Walt (1978b: 110) also concludes that the words soul, body, spirit and flesh do

not refer to the human being in her component *parts*.

6.5.2.5 *Soma* (σῶμα)

The word *soma* (σῶμα) is commonly translated as “body.” *Arndt-Gingrich (1957)* gives five meanings of the word, among which the following: “the living body”, “the resurrection body” and “the Christian community or church” (*Hoekema, 1986: 216*). In the Christian tradition there has often been the sin of contempt for the bodily. There has been a tendency to refuse to accept the limitations of the body and to concentrate on the more spiritual activities of the human being. But a human being without the body is not a human being. A strict materialism will deny any spiritual element in the human being and will try to explain all through the manipulation and control of genes and chromosomes (*O’Grady, 1976: 132-133*).

It is clear that Scripture treats the body and bodily organs of the human person as the visible and object life of the soul. According to *Tracey (1956: 190-191)*, both here and hereafter *soma* is the centre of the personal life; this has led to the supposition that it comes nearest to our conception of personality.

6.5.3 Conclusion with Respect to Biblical Words and Expressions relevant to the “Composition” of the Human Being

Owen insists that the human being as *sarx* cannot inherit the Kingdom of God (1 Corinthians 15:50), but the human being as *soma* (and only *soma*) can. He believes that the human being is a unity. In this personal unity the human being can be called a whole either in terms of *soma* (body), *psyche* (soul), *sarx* (flesh) or *pneuma* (spirit), depending on the point of view from which the human is considered.

The point is that none of these terms refers to a part of the human being; they all refer

to the whole person, each from a particular perspective or vantage point. It follows that if the human being is an indivisible unity, there is no detachable part of him that can survive death (Owen, 1956: 196). "Body," for instance, indicates the unity and relationship between persons (Jewett, 1971: 456-458). It refers to the whole or total person, considered from the point of view of her external, physical existence (Robinson, 1963: 17-18). "Body" is not to be thought of as detached from the human being herself, as though it were only the material-sensual organization of the person: the human being not only "has" a body, but is a body (Ridderbos, 1978: 59). Van der Walt (1978b: 109) concurs with this view in saying that "body" does not indicate a part of the human being, for instance the lower part, as has frequently been thought in the history of philosophy. It denotes the *whole* concrete the human being.

Whereas most New Testament scholars, as far as could be ascertained, believe that there is an abstract use of the Greek word *soma* to indicate the *whole* person, Gundry has recently propounded the idea that *soma* never means more than the physical body as the instrument for doing righteousness or doing sin (Gundry, 1987: 6). Baker (1991: 89) has the same view.

We can summarize the discussion of the biblical words used for describing the various aspects of the human being as follows: the human being must always be understood as a unitary, whole and total being. She has a physical as well as a mental, spiritual and soul side; these can be distinguished but can and should never be separated. The human person must be seen in his totality, not as a composite of different "parts." This, in brief, is the clear teaching of both Old and New Testaments (Hoekema, 1989:216). The body, which is often denigrated as the "lower part" of the human being, is in fact a gift of God for the human person's whole being: "Glorify God therefore in your body" (I

Corinthians 6:20).

6.5.4 The Biblical View of the Human Being: The Wholly Integrated Person

The “composition” of the human being has always been a most vexing problem (Niebuhr, 1996: 1). The body-soul problem is not a dead issue, an old fashioned theological or philosophical topic which no one cares about any more. It is exactly the body-soul question that bears on our personal beliefs, hopes and how we educate young people, also in the context of the church as a societal relationship (Cooper, 1989: 1).

According to the traditional theological view of the human being, we find that the human being has often been seen as composed of a material, transitory and perishable body and of an immaterial, rational and eternal soul. These “components” were conceived of as united in one substance. Nevertheless, according to this view, the rational soul continues to exist as an independent substance after separation from the body, i.e. after death. This view of the human being was taken from Greek philosophy, which sought the centre of human existence in reason, i.e. in the intellect (Dooyeweerd, 1980: 57-58). This anthropological dualism tends to instil anthropological schizophrenia in theologians, philosophers, educationists and educators: on the one hand the human being is taken to live bodily or physically and on the other hand she is taken to be a spiritual being.

History has proved that it is not easy keep a balance between the two (Van der Walt, 1978b: 106). However, these dualistic (dichotomous; trichotomous) views of human nature supported by many must be rejected (Hoekema, 1986: 205). One way of doing so, is to follow Gundry’s advice that “duality” rather than dualism is indeed taught in both Old and New Testament, particularly in the writings of Paul (Gundry, 1976: 83).

Still, we can argue that the human being is not just matter plus awareness plus an immortal spirit. The human being's body is not just lifeless matter. Scripture does not make a distinction between an animal soul and a human spirit (cf. Isaiah 26:9; Luke 1:46-47), which trichotomists do. Scripture also nowhere teaches that the human being has an "immortal spirit" as do neo-Platonic trichotomists (Lee, 32-33).

In terms of biblical perspectives, dichotomy as well as trichotomy should be rejected. They are not accurate descriptions of the Biblical view of the human being. The core of both "dichotomy" and "trichotomy" is the Greek word *temnein*, meaning "to cut." These two terms therefore implies that the human person can be "cut" or divided into two or three "parts." According to the Bible, this is not possible; it describes the human person as a totality, a whole, a unity (Hoekema, 1986: 204-210). Scripture never pictures the human being as a dualistic or pluralistic being, but rather that in all its varied expressions the whole human being comes to the fore, in all his guilt and sin, his need and oppression, his longings and his nostalgia. Body and soul / spirit are not, therefore intrinsically opposed substances or "components" (Price, 2002: 162).

Although the Bible makes use of a variety of terms to describe the human being, the human being remains a total and holistic being, as has been concluded in the previous section. The Biblical terms body, soul, flesh, mind, spirit, heart all refer to different aspects, features, characteristics, modalities of human existence, much like the different facets of a polished diamond (Van der Walt, 2002: 103). Different words like *soma* (body) or *psyche* (soul) or *sarx* (flesh) or *pneuma* (spirit) can be used to refer to the human person, depending on the point of view from which the person is being considered. None of these terms refers to a part of the human being; they all refer to the whole.

It follows that if the human being is an indivisible unity, then there is no detachable part of him that can survive death. The New Testament, therefore, does not teach a doctrine of the immortality of the separated soul. Instead, it promises a resurrection of the whole human being (the *soma*) (Owen, 1956: 196). In Thessalonians 5:23-24, the vocabulary is certainly “tripartite” – body, soul, spirit – but the stress is on the sanctification of the whole person. Humans have been created as whole beings, and Christians look to the time when they shall be remade in Christ as whole persons, as members of the new humanity. Christians therefore preach a Gospel of wholeness, but this wholeness will be fully seen only in the resurrection (Sherlock, 1996: 212-227).

Jesus does not develop an explicit anthropology, but he always addresses whole persons and calls them to a new relation with God that transforms all of their embodied conscious life. Although Paul distinguishes between living according to the “flesh” (*sarx*) and according to the “spirit” (*pneuma*), this language does not necessarily imply substance dualism. The “spiritual” person is one whose whole self is oriented to the Spirit; the “fleshly” person is one whose whole self is oriented toward fulfilling the passion of worldly desire (cf. Romans 8:16; 1 Corinthians 2:10-11; 6:17).

Overall, then, Scripture depicts the human person as a dynamic unity, which it considers from various perspectives by using terms such as “soul,” “body,” “flesh,” and “mind.” Distinguishing these dimensions or facets of human existence is important, but the Bible is concerned with the salvation of the whole person in community and in relation to God (Shults, 2003: 176-178). We must conclude, then, that the human body and the human soul / spirit are intimately related to each other; that both are indestructible (inasmuch as the body too, after its resurrection, will exist indestructibly for ever and ever). In earthly life, and in everlasting life on the renewed earth-to-come,

there is an essential unity between body and soul, so that the word “body” indicates the whole living personality in Scripture, and the word “soul” refers to the whole human being.

6.6 Implications for Church Education

The implications of this biblical view of the human person (anthropology) are clear. Education, whether it takes the form of preaching (the sermons) during church services, as we have especially described in the previous two chapters, or whether it takes the form of parental (covenantal) education in the homes of Christian believers, should not be dualistic, whether in the form of a trichotomy or a dichotomy. No “part” or “component” of the educand (the members of the church who attend the sermons and listen to their minister or pastor preaching, or the children being educated in the parental home) should be considered more important than any other. Educators should, for instance, not emphasise religious or moral education more than any other form of education, say physical or practical, because the former is assumed to nurture the “higher part, component or aspect” of the educand. Education should be aimed at developing, guiding, nourishing, nurturing, leading, equipping and enabling the educand to become an optimally functioning total, whole and integrated human being.

Education should therefore take the form of what the ancient Greeks used to call *enkyklos paideia*, i.e. a form of education that makes of a person the highest, the finest, most exemplary form of human being possible – roughly in modern parlance, the fully actualised and self-realised person. This can only be achieved if the educand is viewed as a total, integrated and whole being.

6.7 Conclusion

No human act can ever be reduced to a mere physical, biotic or psychic activity. When one acts, her of the whole body, in its totality, is involved and activated (De Graaff, 1977: 141-142). In biblical anthropology the concept of the human body refers to the wholeness of the human being in the rich diversity of his temporal existence, but seen externally in a great variety of irreducible dimensions. When we affirm that the human being is unity, there is more to it than the complex interrelationship of different dimensions, because the totality of these cannot constitute the unity. The Bible reveals the concentric unity of the human being as a radical oneness and wholeness (Hart, 1977: 89-90). The human being's normal state is one of psychosomatic unity. At the time of the resurrection he or she will be fully restored to the unity and will thus once again be made complete (Hoekema, 1986: 222). Every anthropological dualism has therefore to be rejected.

7 FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

After having stated and discussed the research problem, the aim of the research and the methodology that was applied in the course of this study (chapter 1), and having outlined the history of Christianity and of the Christian church(es) in Korea (chapter 2), as well as the various religious, philosophical and life view influences that have been impacting on church life and church education in the course of this history (chapters 3 and 4), it was possible to do an in-depth and focused analysis of different forms of anthropological dualism and of their presence in church life and church education in Korea (chapter 5). An analysis of biblical guidelines with respect to how the human being should be viewed (anthropology) helped cast a curative perspective on the dualisms that seem to have become ingrained in the church mentality of Korean Christians (chapter 6). In what follows, the findings of the study will first be mentioned, certain conclusions will then be drawn based on the findings, and certain recommendations made.

7.2 Findings

The sacred-secular problem has been a constant problem in Korean church life (5.5.1). Korean Christians and their churches, including church education, have never really come to grips with the relationship between faith and practice, faith and science, sacred and secular, talk and walk (5.5.2). Korean Christians have thus far failed to answer questions with regard to such dualisms in the areas of politics, social issues, economy, occupations and their daily lives (5.6).

Conservative Korean Christians have been neglecting this problem in so far as it

reflected on political, social, economic (and so forth) issues since they seem to regard these areas (realms) as “secular”, in other words not “sacred” or “belonging to the province or duties of the church, religion or faith” (5.5.2). This attitude can be ascribed to their assumption that “good” Christians or church members do not dabble in such mundane (a- or non-religious or secular) affairs (5.5.1).

Another explanation for their attitude and mentality can be found in their anthropology, i.e. their view of the human being (5.1). Because of having undergone various influences, Korean Christians and their churches have been inclined to view the human being dualistically (1.2.2).

The Christian church in Korea was planted and has grown in a pagan society and it still bears many characteristics of that paganism (3.1). Traditional Korean religions, philosophies and life views such as Shamanism, Confucianism and Buddhism have been teaching and practising dualisms since the 4-5th centuries A D, and they have become part of the cultural environment in which Christians still today find themselves (1.2.1). To think dualistically about the human being as well as about the society in which she finds herself has therefore become part of Korean Christians’ mindset (1.2.1). Because of this, Korean Christians’ and church members’ view of the human being, society, church education (both in terms of sermons / preaching and the nurturing of children) have become deeply dualistic in nature (5.1).

The tendency towards dualistic thinking about church life and education was bolstered by the anthropological dualisms introduced to Korea by Westerners (4.1), particularly some of the early missionaries (4.3). Especially American missionaries in the early stages of missionary work in Korea were dualistic evangelists who tended to separate

the sacred from the secular, and who seemed to be unconcerned with actual reality (4.3.1). The theological approach of the missionaries impressed itself on the minds of the converted and on the theology and character of the Korean church(es) (4.3.2).

This state of affairs was exacerbated by the general national confusion following 36 years of Japanese occupation (2.6,7), the animosity between South and North after the Liberation in 1945 (2.8.1), the Korean war (2.8.1) and subsequent communist rule and persecution in the North (2.8.1). The same applied in the South in the period of rapid social change, economic growth and military government after the war (2.8.3). There seems not to have been time or opportunity to address the serious problem of theological, philosophical and religious dualisms in the church and in its educational practice (2.8.3).

Christianity holds a major position in Korea today and has for the past 20 years been growing rapidly in numbers (1.2.2). Despite this, either it has not had the opportunity or has not made use of opportune moments in its history to address the problem of anthropological dualisms in its midst (2.9.5; 6.1).

According to anthropological dualism, the human being consists of two substances, an outer / external / material / fleshly / corruptible / mortal body and an inner / spiritual / divine / incorruptible / immortal soul (1.2.3; 6.2). Dualists see the human being as complex (1.2.3; 6.2; 6.3.1; 6.3.2; 6.3.3; 6.3.4; 6.3.5; 6.4.1) though dividable being with a “lower” body and a “higher” soul (1.2.3; 6.2; 6.3.1; 6.3.2; 6.3.3; 6.3.4; 6.3.5). The real essence of the human being is the soul; the body is incidental and merely temporarily accommodates the soul until death (6.2; 6.3.5) when body and soul parts, and the soul is freed from its confinement in the body (1.2.3; 6.3.1; 6.3.2; 6.3.3).

This dualistic anthropology is a heritage from the ancient Greek philosopher Plato and others (6.3.1). In the early Christian church, Western Europe became Christianised, but Christianity itself became Hellenised (6.3.2). Early Christians commuted between Christianity and pagan Roman and Greek culture (6.3.2). The result of this was a mentality that favoured synthesis and syncretism. The Greek dualistic view of the human being infiltrated early Christianity with the result that anthropological dualism became considered to be true biblical thought about the human being and her structure (6.3).

In medieval philosophy, Scholasticism split the world /reality / creation into two spheres or realms, in the process creating a number of new dualisms in the heart of Christianity and of the Christian church(es), namely those of faith and reason, the sacred and the secular (6.1), a view of reality that fed into the anthropological dualism of body and soul (6.3.1).

Anthropological dichotomy and trichotomy were such anthropological dualisms (6.4.1). These views of the human being are not according to the teaching of Scripture, but are the result of pagan philosophies and life views (6.5.4). Scripture contains no guidelines for a dichotomic anthropology in which the soul is kept imprisoned by the body (6.5.4). This dualism attests to an unscriptural longing for death, for through death the soul is freed from the body (6.5.4).

Monism is likewise not a biblical teaching (6.4.2), but rather a result of modern scientific and philosophical studies. Modern scientific views deny the reality of a soul, making the human person nothing but a physical body, the mind a function of the brain (6.4.2). Most monists regard human qualities as functions of a material body (6.4.2).

Based on biblical insight, we understand that the human body is not the mere accommodation or embodiment of the soul (6.5.3). Man does not consist of two parts, a heavenly soul and an earthly body (6.5.3). The human body is also not the lower or less important “part” of the human being (6.5.3).

When the Bible uses concepts such as soul, spirit, flesh, body, and so forth, it is not parts of man that are being spoken about but the whole human being seen from different angles or perspectives (6.5.3). The Bible speaks of the human being as a unitary being (6.5.4). The physical and spiritual facets of the human being are just that – facets, such as can be found on a well polished diamond. Being facets, they cannot be separated from each other although they can be distinguished from each other (6.5.4). The human being therefore is embodied soul or “besouled” body. Man must be seen not as a composite of different parts, but as a totality (6.5.4).

According to Scripture the human being’s normal state is one of psychosomatic unity (6.7). At the time of the resurrection she will be fully restored to that unity and completeness (6.7).

By the same token, the “world” should not be dualistically understood to refer to a delimited area of the created order that is “worldly” or “secular” and which includes such areas as politics, sports, business, studying, education and so on, and another delimited area that is “heavenly” or “sacred” (6.6). According to a dualistic cosmology, “world” includes everything outside the realm of the “sacred” which is the realm that consists basically of the church, religion, faith, belief, personal piety, prayer, the divine and heaven (5.5.1; 6.6). In terms of this cosmology, life / reality / the world / creation are neatly divided up into two realms: the secular and the sacred (5.5.1). This dualism

feeds into the anthropological body-soul dualism.

These dualisms have tended to restrict sanctification and the work of the Spirit to the sacred and holy realm (5.5.1; 6.6). They have led many Christians and church members to depreciate one realm of creation (the actual world people live in; the bodily), to dismiss it as inherently inferior to the other realm, and consequently to sacrifice the “secular” realm to the whims and forces of secularism (5.5.1; 6.6). An example of this can be found in the division between the private (for instance, personal faith / belief / religion) and the public (for instance, the press, government, public education) (5.5.1; 6.6).

As with fundamentalism, the presence of these dualisms is a critical and pervasive problem in Korean Christianity as well as in church education, one that many Christians and educators in Korea are not even aware of (5.6; 6.6).

The only cure for this insidious and pervasive problem is the adoption of a biblically justifiable world view. The current dualistic world view of Korean Christians and their churches has to be exchanged for a Biblically founded and justifiable one, one that views the whole of reality as the space where believers can and should serve and glorify God (5.5.1; 6.6).

All of these findings have profound significance for Korean church education. Education is not merely the process of preparing the congregants and their children for life hereafter. It is also not only the moulding of their souls and their spirit for a life in the context of the church or for heavenly existence in the hereafter / eternity. Education in terms of a biblical anthropology is the guiding, nurturing, equipping, leading, enabling of the educand (whether congregant or young child – catechumen) to become a

complete, total, integrated, well functioning member of the church as well as of the broader society beyond the church, for this world as well as for the next (6.6).

7.3 Conclusions

Based on the findings flowing from the study, the following can be concluded:

- ◆ Anthropological dualism has indeed been a serious problem in church life and education in Korea.
- ◆ There are several forms of anthropological dualism in Korean Christianity and church life, some of them taking the form of fundamentalism, others of dichotomies or trichotomies.
- ◆ The persistent presence of dualisms in Korean Christianity has also had a harmful effect on church education.
- ◆ The history of the church(es) in Korea as well as of the nation has consistently contributed to the presence of dualistic anthropology in the Korean church, to such an extent that it has become deeply rooted in the Korean mentality, also in the churches and in church education.
- ◆ Cosmological and anthropological dualisms are not in accordance with the guidelines of the Bible regarding reality and the human being. The Christian believers in Korea and their churches have not yet taken the necessary cognisance of this fact due to the adversity of the prevailing political, social and economic circumstances.
- ◆ The pervasive presence of pagan thinking in the shape of traditional religions and life views reinforces the tenacious hold of dualisms in the Korean mind, also

in the church and its educational work.

- ◆ Careful analysis of biblical perspectives regarding the human being shows that the church should look at the human being (the believer as well as the educand) as a complete, total, indivisible, integrated being that does not consist of different parts that can be “cut” apart, even in death.
- ◆ The presence of a whole plethora of words describing and denoting different facets of the human being is acknowledged. In biblical perspective though, these words, such as body, mind, spirit, flesh are the names of facets of the human being. The human being is unmistakably a multi-faceted being, like a polished diamond, and each of the different names for the human being merely points to a different facets.

7.4 Recommendations

The following can be recommended based on the conclusions above:

- ◆ Korean Christians and educators should be guided to understand that the various dualisms with which they have been comfortably living all their lives is unbiblical and have to be exchanged for a biblical view of the human being. For this purpose, theologians and educators have to write books and articles that can replace the books that have up to now fed into the tendency to think dualistically. Korean Christian scholars should emulate the example of Western Christian scholars who have devoted many years of their lives in developing and describing an integrated biblical view of the human being.
- ◆ Dualistic anthropology should be rooted out in the theological schools and churches and replaced by genuine biblical teaching about the “integratedness”

and “multi-facetedness” of the human being.

- ◆ The church itself should concentrate on preaching, inculcating and teaching a holistic and integrated biblical view of the human being.
- ◆ Instead of looking down upon the “present world” that consists of all types of social and political troubles and problems, the church should teach its members to become deeply involved in social affairs, and to reform them where possible. The church must understand and execute its cultural mandate much better than it has done up to now. The church must care for both the “secular” and the “sacred” realms in an integrated, holistic and seamless manner.
- ◆ Biblical anthropology should form core learning material in church education, both for pastors / ministers and for congregants and their children. The current neglect of this topic in formal church education should be rectified.
- ◆ Christians / church members should refrain from speaking of “saving souls” for Jesus in their preaching, evangelical and educational work. Their work should rather be “person-saving”, “people-saving” or “life-saving”.
- ◆ Church activities should be intentionally planned to cover all the facets of the humanity of the believers, both adults and children. Preaching and teaching about abstract biblical truths and perspectives as well dogma should be augmented by sports and other recreational activities.

7.5 General Conclusion

This study has revealed that Korean Christianity and the Christian church in Korea have been suffering from a malaise that it has not really been aware of, namely anthropological dualism. Dualism has pervaded every aspect of church life in Korea,

including church education, also in the sermons in which the adults and children participate, and the church education in which the children are nurtured to become fully fledged members of the church. The study has also shown that there are many reasons for this persistent problem, but that there are ways of eradicating it. One of these is an intentional and deliberate return to biblical perspectives about the human being by theologians, pastors, ministers and other church educators. As recommended above, certain steps can be taken by churches, their members and their leaders to overcome the barriers in church life as well as broader social life that have in the past been thrown up between different “parts” or “realms” of human existence. In doing so, the church can contribute to the annihilation of dualism, including secularism, in the Korean mind.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the aims of the study as outlined in 1.4 have been reached. Christianity in Korea has been described as well as the traditional influences impacting on it. Also, the Western religious influences on Korean Christianity have been traced. This was followed by analyses into the nature of anthropological dualism and of the biblical teaching regarding the human being.

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