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The Past, Present and Future of Korean Theology: Pneumatological Perspectives

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Introduction

I bring greetings from the United Kingdom, and especially from two organisations: From Leeds Trinity University College, where I teach, and from Edinburgh 2010, the centenary of the 1910 World Missionary Conference, of which I am Research Coordinator.

In this centenary year, I have spent a lot of time reflecting on the Korean Protestant story as a symbol of the shifts in Christian mission since 1910. The delegates in 1910 were excited to hear reports that ‘Almost the whole population of Korea is now ready to hear the Gospel’,¹ which they thought might be the ‘first non-Christian nation evangelised in the history of modern missions’.² They regarded this as a sign of the work of the Holy Spirit, but they tended to restrict the work of the Holy Spirit to supernatural power which brings ‘success’ in evangelisation, rather than the creative power of God who challenges earthly kingdoms.³ So their imperialist approach and racial categories led them to conclude that Japan, which they regarded as the most civilized country in Asia, was destined to rule its neighbours and that therefore the evangelization of Japan was crucial to the rest of Asia.⁴ In 2010 we see how the delegates of 1910 underestimated the power of the Spirit in the Korean people, how the freedom of the Spirit overcomes human political systems, and that, contrary to expectations in 1910, it is Koreans today who are evangelising the rest of Asia. Korean churches – Younknak Presbyterian Church and Yoido Full Gospel Church – are also supporting the Edinburgh 2010 celebrations.

The topic I was given, ‘The Past, Present and Future of Korean Theology’ is very broad so I have limited it to some perspectives from theology of the Holy Spirit. Pneumatology is central to Korean theology. This is because the Korean Revival of 1907, which is generally regarded as the point at which Protestantism became a Korean religion,⁵ is almost universally interpreted as the work of the Holy Spirit, which has been poured out on Korea – a Korean Pentecost.⁶ The Revival has endowed Korean Protestantism with a profound sense of the dynamic movement of the Spirit in history and the material world which provides the matrix for theological reflection in Korea.⁷ What is more, Korean theologians have, in many cases, seen beyond the restrictions put upon the work of the Spirit by their Western counterparts. They have seen the importance of the development of pneumatology in the context of awareness of many spirits of different religions and the experience of living in the third age of the Spirit.⁸ They appreciate the importance of discerning the Spirit⁹ and the relevance of

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pneumatology to political life, livelihood, culture and gender. I am convinced, and have tried to show in this paper, and at greater length elsewhere, that Korean pneumatology has a great deal to offer in these areas and also to theologies of reconciliation, of the internet, of power and of plurality.

Past: Holy Spirit movements and the national spirit

Methodist theologian Ryu Tong Shik describes the Korean Protestant Christianity as a series of movements of the Holy Spirit. He identifies two patterns of revival: the first ‘paternal’ has its prototype in the movement led by Kil Sŏn-chu from 1907-1935, and the second ‘maternal’ in the movement led by Lee Yong-do of 1928-33.¹⁰

March 1 (1919) independence movement

The language of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, used in the early revival, was directly connected by Kil and other leaders with the restoration of the nation.¹¹ Kil’s movement was Confucian – and therefore ‘paternal’ – in its outlook in three main ways: firstly, in its concern for the national interest over and above the individual; secondly, in its conservative theology and repetitious way of reading the Bible; thirdly, in its disciplined and legalistic moral code for Christian living. In these last two aspects, Kil’s Confucian approach also had much in common with the conservative theology and Puritanical ideas of many of the missionaries, about what Christian conversion should entail, and Kil’s emphasis on correct external behavior also went down well with the elite of the ruling class.¹² However, the revival that started in 1907 also broke out of a Confucian mould. In contrast to Confucianism, which emphasized self-cultivation or refinement, the Christian message of the Holy Spirit was one of transformation, and this was applied socially as well as individually.¹³ Through their reading of the book of Revelation, which encoded their feelings against the Japanese occupation, and other apocalyptic in the Bible, Kil and others discerned a message of political liberation and the promise of a new age of the Spirit, which led to their involvement the Independence Movement of March 1, 1919.¹⁴ This was of course contrary to advice of most of the missionaries who, in common with their colleagues at Edinburgh 1910, promoted revival in order for Koreans to internalize their faith, avoid political insurrection, and even to make peace with the Japanese aggressors.¹⁵

1928-1933 revival movement

The ‘maternal’ revival of Lee Yong-do was more mystical in nature and more individualistic. After 1919 overt social and political action was very difficult, and gathering for Christian worship was itself a subversive act. Therefore Park Jong Chun argues that it is misleading to describe Lee’s approach as ‘other-worldly’, because his movement retained an intensely political motive: to bring about national revival.¹⁶ Lee’s experience of imprisonment and torture had led him to the conclusion that there was no point in direct political action; any solution to the suffocating economic, social and cultural situation of Korea in this period would lie in an encounter with Christ in a mystical union. Lee, unlike Kil, was critical of church leaders, who he felt were constrained by the conservative theology and not experiencing the reviving work of the Spirit. He evoked the vision of Ezekiel, of a valley of dry bones coming to life by the wind of God’s Spirit and advocated engagement in a spiritual struggle against the

devil, calling upon the name of Jesus, in order to overcome evil. Ryu points out the similarities of Lee's testimony, the worship form of the movement, and its world-view with Korean shamanism,¹⁷ so that Lee's revival could be said to have indigenized the faith in the emotions of the masses,¹⁸ and this is the reason for Ryu's perception that it was a 'maternal' movement.

The struggle for theological freedom, 1930s-1950s

The differences in the Holy Spirit movements are connected with differences in the way 'spirit' is understood in Korean traditions (in terms of Confucian and Shamanistic spirituality), and therefore a sign that Korean theology was beginning to take root in Korean culture and society. In the traumatic and socially disruptive period from the 1930s through to the 1950s tensions erupted caused by the Occupation, the Korean War and the attempts of Western missionaries to continue to exert control over theology. This time of trial for Korean theology culminated in the three splits in the Presbyterian Church in the 1950s.¹⁹ In this decade Kim Chae-chun may be seen as leading another kind of Holy Spirit movement based on the belief that God is Spirit, interpreted that to mean of free, independent character. His excommunication in 1953 for standing against the fundamentalist methods of biblical interpretation of the Western missionaries and their supporters was grounded on a theory of 'Holy Spirit inspiration', by which he meant that God did not dictate the scriptures but worked through character and personality of the biblical writers.²⁰ This freedom of the Spirit led him to justify the use of higher criticism in biblical interpretation – which particularly upset the dominant conservatives – and to espouse liberalism in theological education. Kim went on to reflection on the Spirit's activity in history, resulting in a theology of democratization and social progress, and on the cosmic dimensions of the Spirit's life, which led him to try to reconcile the Korean and the Christian, the primal and the new in 'the community of universal love' that embraces heaven, earth and humanity.²¹

Post-War visions of development

The elder statesman of the Protestant churches, Han Kyung Chik declined to support the more radical theological vision of Kim Chae-chun but developed a Spirit-inspired vision of his own for Korean society. Han understood the blessing of the Holy Spirit on Korea in a holistic way.²² During the Korean War he courageously helped refugees and orphans, and after the war Youngnak Church strove to meet the practical needs of the people. Furthermore, the church exercised the kind of spirituality that sociologists argue encourages upward mobility and engenders attitudes consonant with success in the capitalist context of late or post modernity.²³ Han encouraged his congregation to be disciplined and work hard to create wealth for the sake of their family, clan and the whole nation²⁴ and meet the modernization goals set by the government.²⁵ He affirmed the creation of wealth, not for its own sake but so that it can be shared.²⁶ But for Han the chief sign of the work of the Spirit was the growth of the Korean church, through which this economic growth takes place, and so he devoted much of his effort to programmes of evangelization.²⁷

The support of the Korean churches was definitely a factor in the Korean 'economic miracle' of the late twentieth century. But not, I suggest by inculcating a work ethic (along the lines that Max Weber

suggests Protestantism influenced the development of capitalism in the West).²⁸ This is because Weber's argument presupposes a large mass of practising Christians, whereas at the start of the period of Korean economic growth (around 1970) Christians numbered only about six per cent of the population.²⁹ The view that Confucianism provided the work ethic and social framework to account for stability and economic growth in East Asia is more persuasive.³⁰ The influence of Christianity in Korea has been via the visionary leadership it has offered, rather than by its widespread practice. Christianity gave the Korean people a dream (*ggum*) in the midst of poverty and adversity.³¹ As a Holy Spirit movement, the main contribution of Christianity was to stimulate new visions and inject a new energy that enabled Koreans to transform their existing situation and revitalize their society.³²

From the time of the Korean Revival, the Holy Spirit became inextricably intertwined in the minds of Korean Christians with the national spirit, and the outpouring of the Spirit was synonymous not only with the growth of the church but also with national revitalisation and renewed vision.³³

Present: Some strands of Korean Protestant pneumatology

In the 1960s onwards Korean theology began to 'unfold' like a lotus flower and develop in several strands. These included a conservative wing which may be regarded as a continuation of the mainstream Evangelicalism exemplified by Han Kyung Chik above. New movements were a progressive theology concerned for political liberation and focused on socio-historical problems, which became known as *minjung* theology; a Pentecostal strand known as the full gospel movement; liberal thought seeking to inculturate the gospel in Korea in dialogue with the nation's other religious traditions; and a radical combination of feminist and eco-theology.³⁴ In this section I will try to show how the theologies of the main protagonists of each movement: Suh Nam Dong, Cho Yonggi, Ryu Tong Shik and Chung Hyun Kyung, respectively, are inherently pneumatological. We shall see that each of them draws on different biblical meanings of 'spirit' within Korean tradition: Suh has in mind *ki*, the life force (Gen 1:2); Cho focuses on *shin*, God, the great Spirit (Acts 2; Matt 12:28); Ryu thinks of *öl*, primordial soul of the people (Gen 2:7); and Chung deals with the world of *kuishin*, ghosts (Rom 8:19-23).

Liberation: Suh Nam Dong's minjung pneumatology

Through interaction with contemporary Western theology, liberation theology and Korean traditions, the preeminent *minjung* theologian Suh Nam Dong developed a 'theology arising out of today's secular world, which is based on hope, revolution, liberation, politics, the *minjung*, the Holy Spirit'.³⁵ Theology of the Holy Spirit, he argued, transcends the historical limitations of christology. The Spirit gives fullness of life (*ki*) and the freedom of the Spirit will eventually burst out of the restrictions of the church. In this new era Christians will recover the expectancy of the pre-Constantinian church, discover a 'collective soul', and join hands with revolutionary movements outside the church, to usher in a new social and economic order.³⁶ Suh developed a 'pneumatological historical interpretation' – in place of the traditional christological interpretation of history – which he believed enabled a

‘confluence’ (*hapnyu*) between the Korean *minjung* tradition and ‘the *minjung* tradition in Christianity’.³⁷

Suh came to understand that, by the action of the Holy Spirit, the paradigmatic event of the cross undergoes ‘reactualization’ or ‘reincarnation’ in the events of history. As the suffering Christ is identified with the contemporary suffering *minjung* and their experience of *han*, and in their awakening to bring about their own liberation in revolutionary movements, so the activity of the Spirit can be once again be recognised in history in humanising events such as the emergence of democracy, the rise of social movements, and the humanisation of society and culture.³⁸ As a result of the progressive increase in the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit in history to bring about humanisation, Suh was convinced that ‘the third age of the Spirit’ was now dawning in Korea.³⁹ This he saw as happening through people’s rights movements, beginning with the Tonghak movement, then the independence movement of 1919, the student movement of 1960, and the contemporary human rights struggle.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Suh saw a gradual humanisation in Korean art and literature as evidence of the emergence of the new age, when God’s Spirit is poured out on all people.⁴¹ Thus Suh established a theological framework for *minjung* theology that was explicitly pneumatological, and by relating this to Korean popular religion (especially the concept of *han*) he initiated a distinctive Korean contribution to pneumatology.

Pentecostal: Cho Yonggi’s full gospel pneumatology

The founding pastor of Yoido Full Gospel Church, Cho Yonggi claims that the secret of this success is the work of the Holy Spirit through the power of prayer.⁴² His theology needs to be understood both from within the Korean revival tradition and also in terms of global Pentecostalism.⁴³ Cho is credited with promoting the recognition of the personhood of the Holy Spirit, hitherto lacking in the Korean churches.⁴⁴ He describes an intimate relationship in which the Holy Spirit is his friend, adviser and helper. He refers to the Holy Spirit as his ‘senior partner’, primarily in the work of evangelism.⁴⁵ In Cho’s teaching, the ‘fullness of the Holy Spirit’ is primarily for equipping the believer for service rather than for the believer’s sanctification⁴⁶ but it brings with it a ‘three-fold blessing’, which is ‘spiritual’ in terms of enhanced relationship with God, ‘general’ in the sense of the prospering of worldly activities, and ‘bodily’, in the sense of healing.⁴⁷ Through explicit confession of Jesus Christ, Cho believes the human spirit becomes joined to the Holy Spirit, and therefore to ‘the heavenly Father, Creator of the Universe’.⁴⁸

Cho explains that the Holy Spirit is the ‘Fourth Dimension’, the world of dreams and visions,⁴⁹ which ‘hovers over’ the three-dimensional world and prevails everywhere, in partnership with believers, to convict human hearts, witness to the good news and bring about the miracle of new birth into a life of faith.⁵⁰ Cho’s pneumatology also needs to be understood in the context of Korean traditional religion with its spirit-world and shamanistic elements.⁵¹ The Holy Spirit has affinity in his thought with the great Shin, the supreme Spirit among many others. But Cho explicitly rejects shamanism, and all other religions, as evil,⁵² and his unashamed emphasis on material blessing⁵³ may be better described as

holistic,⁵⁴ arising in response to the desperate need of his destitute congregation in the aftermath of the Korean War.⁵⁵ Through the gifts of the Spirit, Cho explains, ‘people and their environments are changed’, for example by the planting of new churches, revival, and the establishment of schools and hospitals.⁵⁶ The ‘Fourth Dimension’ also overcomes the other spiritual forces⁵⁷ and brings about the final judgment.⁵⁸

Inculturation: Ryu Tong Shik’s p’ungnyu pneumatology

Minjung theologians look back to the Holy Spirit movement of Kil Sön-chu, and Cho, and indeed Cho’s supporters also see his movement in continuity with the revival tradition of Lee Yong-do.⁵⁹ Observing this continuity of ‘paternal’ and ‘maternal’ strands of Korean pneumatology,⁶⁰ Ryu suggests that both are partial and need binding together in a *yin-yang* (*ŭm-yang*) formation by a deeper and integrated understanding of the Holy Spirit. Ryu interprets the Holy Spirit as ‘*p’ungnyu*’ (‘wind and flow’), which evokes the way thinkers in the Three Kingdoms period (4th-7th centuries CE) were inspired through creative retreat in the fresh air and by the pure streams of the beautiful mountains. This Ryu describes as ‘supreme perfect life’, as the expression of Yahweh’s *rūach* (spirit) and a dialogical framework for Korean theology.⁶¹ This is part of his ‘religio-cosmic’ approach to theology, which has an interconnected view of nature, a cosmic view of history, and a ‘pneumatic religion’, and by which human beings understand themselves as part of a cosmic history that is not limited to the socio-political, but embraces scientific and religious thought also.⁶²

In order to reconstruct this cosmic history, Ryu figuratively mines the veins of the holy mountains of Korea to claim that distinctively Korean Christian theology emerges from the long subterranean strata of Korean culture that stretch back to the origins of the Korean people among the tribes of Central Asia.⁶³ He explains this in terms of the preservation of the essential Korean spirit (*öl*) in the worship of the God as *Hanūnim* or *Hananim* in different religious forms in different ages. *P’ungnyu* theology, he suggests, represents the best of the Korean spirit. He attempts to show how three basic elements of *öl*, which he defines as *han*, *mōt* and *sam*, have been expressed in Korean life and thought through all the changes of religion and governance in Korean history.⁶⁴ So he understands the highest and best aspects of Korean society, culture and history as emanating from the essential Korean spirit (*öl*) through the influence of the Holy Spirit, *p’ungnyu*.⁶⁵

Feminist: Chung Hyun Kung’s ecofeminist pneumatology

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the controversial theologian Chung Hyun Kyung was a leader of the Korean eco-feminist movement, which looked to Korean primal religion, and especially shamanism, to provide an alternative for Korean women’s spirituality, either outside or within the Christian faith.⁶⁶ Chung also influenced many feminist theologians across Asia and Africa⁶⁷ in their search for ‘a spirituality which promotes the immanence of God, the sacredness of this world and the wholeness of body, sensuality and sexuality’.⁶⁸ Rejecting the spirituality of traditional Western Christianity as not only andro-centric but also ‘European’ and ‘dualistic’, they put forward the spirituality of the

indigenous people in Asia and Africa as capturing ‘a cosmic interwovenness’, a just and mutual relationship between human beings and nature.⁶⁹ The movement rejected the ‘kingdom of God’ as the main expression of God’s purposes in the world because of its resonances of masculinity and domination. Instead they stressed the agency of the Holy Spirit, whom they saw as a feminine power moving sensitively in the whole creation as the Paraclete: the Spirit who ‘comes alongside as a sister inspiring and enlivening and drawing us into her activity’.⁷⁰

In her infamous presentation at the Canberra Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1991, Chung Hyun Kyung reflected the apocalyptic core of Korean theology when she compared the ‘unholy’, ‘acquisitive’ spirit of Babel, which brings death, with the Holy Spirit of life and liberation poured out on women and men at Pentecost, giving hope of new creation. She related the Spirit of life to the philosophical term *ki*, the life force and interconnectedness of all beings, and even more controversially to *kuishin*, the ghosts of the oppressed, and to the ‘wild rhythm’ of the Shaman’s dance. She was in tune with the revival spirituality of the Korean church when she called for repentance as the prerequisite for experiencing the power of the Spirit in bringing about social change. Chung did not refer to traditional trinitarian theology; however, she did relate the Holy Spirit to the spirit and person of Jesus Christ, and particularly the suffering of Jesus with which Korean theologians of all persuasions have closely identified. The Spirit, she said, is that of the historical Jesus, ‘our brother Jesus, tortured and killed on the cross’ and also the Spirit of the life he came to bring.⁷¹

Chung’s pneumatology received a mixed reaction at Canberra, but in Korea it was found completely unacceptable to the mainstream churches. Her approach was criticized as contrary to trinitarian teaching, negligent of human sinfulness, syncretistic, and ‘intuitive’ rather than ‘theological’.⁷² It was dismissed as ‘not theology’, ‘a one-day wonder’, ‘without value for discussion or consideration’, and ‘a prank’.⁷³ Her presentation was condemned as an attack on doctrine and the authority of the church, and she was accused of heresy – of ‘falling into’ shamanism and Buddhism – and even deception.⁷⁴ Chung’s rejection was partly a reaction to the undue prominence given to a ‘young, obscure ... female theologian’⁷⁵ and also Korean Evangelical distrust of the World Council of Churches. It seems that it was also due to her low status, and also her affirmation of the shamanistic elements of Korean faith, which are socially as well as religiously unacceptable. Yet Chung raised important issues with which Korean theology – and all theologies – need to deal, and suggested some imaginative and authentically Korean solutions, as we shall see in the next section.

Future: Further contributions of Korean pneumatology to global conversation

Looking to the future, I believe Korean pneumatological approaches to theology have important contributions to make to global theological conversation. In particular, I would like to identify four particular areas of theological discussion in which they offer constructive approaches: reconciliation, cybertheology, theology of power, and theology of pluralism.

The Holy Spirit and reconciliation

Korean society changed almost out of all recognition during the twentieth century, and especially in the last fifty years. The issues for theologians today are more to do with affluence, technology and the internet than they are with political liberation, poverty and human rights. But one issue has remained at the forefront of Korean minds since the 1950s: the tragedy of the division of Korea into two. The unification (*t'ong'il*) of the two Koreas is hoped and prayed for as a second revival: the Spirit of the Lord bringing the jubilee year and Pentecost rolled into one.⁷⁶

As well being a key issue for Korea, reconciliation is also central to Christian theology, as Korean biblical scholar Kim Seyoon, for example, has recognised.⁷⁷ The cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ reconciled divine-human relations, brought peace between human beings, and healing to the whole earth. Reconciliation is also a pneumatological issue: the Spirit is the Spirit of unity and peace, and therefore Christian mission is primarily for reconciliation.⁷⁸ The Christian life is lived 'in the Spirit', that is the Spirit of Christ whose gift is a foretaste, a guarantee or a down-payment of what is to come. It is the indwelling of the Spirit which defines the community⁷⁹ and the impartiality of the Spirit reconciles Jews and Gentiles and other enemies within the community. So the church participates in the ministry of the Spirit, which is reconciliation, both in its inner life and also in its ethical life, which contributes to the reconciliation of the whole cosmos.⁸⁰

The four theologians we have looked at above as representative of distinct strands of Korean theological thought also suggest models of reconciliation for application in the current situation. Each conceptualizes reconciliation in a different way, conveniently designated by four 'H's – humanization, healing, harmonization, and *hanpuri*. Since reconciliation is such an important theological theme, Korean theologians have important insights to offer so I shall expand on each of these a little here.

In dialogue with the Roman Catholic activist and thinker, Kim Chi-ha, Suh Nam Dong articulated his vision of a reconciled world. The new society brought about by the Holy Spirit in history would be based on social justice but it would not replicate the dehumanizing effects of communism or socialism because careful attention will be paid to resolving the *han* of the *minjung*, and therefore moving society onto a higher plane beyond the violence of revolution.⁸¹ The *minjung* would be liberated to become 'the true subjects of human history' through democratic participation.⁸² Through the sacrifices of Suh and other theologians, the grassroots activism of the Catholic Church, *minjung* theology made an 'indelible contribution to Korean democracy'⁸³ and resulted in the election of Kim Dae-Jung to the presidency. As a committed Catholic influenced by *minjung* theology, Kim's attitude of 'reconciliation and cooperation'⁸⁴ was exemplified in his 'sunshine policy' toward North Korea, which changed the rhetoric completely by recognising the humanity and dignity of North Koreans. Suh's *minjung* pneumatology points out that political reconciliation is contingent upon the creation of a new and just society in which the people are able to determine their own destiny, free from tyranny, and fully human in their interaction.

Cho Yonggi's gospel of blessing offers a holistic vision of healing as its contribution to theology of reconciliation. In the crisis, the church is a healing spring, 'a place prepared for the estranged masses', where the dispossessed are encouraged to lay aside their problems, temporarily at least, and experience through worship 'a corporate feeling of warmth'.⁸⁵ Cho's theology of the Holy Spirit promotes ecological holism and harmony that deals with people's *han*.⁸⁶ As the membership approaches one million, and the church's influence reaches worldwide, the mission of the Full Gospel Church is no longer limited to healing on a domestic and personal level. The Church has a programme to evangelize North Korea coupled with various relief activities.⁸⁷ The rhetoric that accompanies Cho's vision, in common with that of most evangelical pastors, is for the conversion of significant numbers of North Koreans as the necessary precursor to reunification. Cho's vision of reunification seems to be a revival-type event of mutual repentance and brotherly and sisterly embrace across the borders. In political terms this seems to mean the collapse of the North and the absorption of the North by the South, after the pattern of the unification of the two Germanys. Although they may be mistaken on the political front according to analysts,⁸⁸ the commitment of Cho's church, and also most mainstream Evangelical churches, to this vision has kept hope of reconciliation alive in the South for decades. The growth and development of the Full Gospel Church suggests that, when the people of North and South Korea are helped at an individual and family level to find solutions to their problems, they will also be enabled to rise to meet the political challenges.

Ryu Tong Shik's *p'ungnyu* theology regards reconciliation as harmony, and he draws on *yin-yang* philosophy to support this. He tries to bring together different streams of Korean thought and life and reconcile them in two main ways. First, he calls on the 'paternal' and 'maternal' parts of the Korean church to recognise both sides of her nature and to take steps to bring together these two different expressions of faith.⁸⁹ Second, Ryu tries to harmonize Korean society with the religious and cultural movements that have gone before it in Korean history by describing the outworking of the Korean spirit (*öl*) in *han*, *mōt* and *sam*. Following the pioneer Korean theologian of religions Ch'oi Byōng-hōn, Ryu envisages the leaders of Korea's religious traditions enjoying *p'ungnyu* together on a holy mountain where, in a 'spiritual pavilion', they 'exchange their hearts'.⁹⁰ Ryu takes a long-term, diplomatic approach to reconciliation as a process of dialogue toward harmony, in which all traditions have a role to play. This suggests that, just as the churches have a dual nature, Ryu would favour a two-state system of co-existence such as the two Germanys enjoyed between 1972-89, during which they can work out a common future in the light of a shared past.

Chung Hyun Kyung's approach to reconciliation is to see it in terms of the role of the shaman of releasing *han* (*hanpuri*). Like Cho, Chung recognises the spiritual world – although for her the forces are natural ones – and embraces an agenda of problem-solving for theology.⁹¹ Both affirm the supremacy of the Holy Spirit (Cho's 'Fourth Dimension' or Chung's Spirit of life) above all the others, condemn an evil force, which is defeated though active, and recognise a multiplicity of other spirits. But while Cho rejects as evil all spirits that do not confess Jesus Christ as Lord, Chung is sympathetic to those spirits who are victims of evil, invoking the Holy Spirit to release them from *han* and bring

about their liberation. In her emphasis on ‘culture of life’ rather than ‘culture of death’, Chung demonstrates the inter-relatedness of reconciliation in different areas of life. In particular, she shows how political oppression is linked to the oppression of women⁹² and the exploitation of the earth, and this implies that political reconciliation will only be achieved by widespread cultural change. Though couched in aggressive terms when it comes to institutionalized evil, Chung also recognises an area of ambiguity in what is understood as good and what is evil. So her approach is to deal sympathetically with those whom others may see as problem-makers, rather than being afraid of them.

These four distinct Korean visions of reconciliation articulated by Suh, Cho, Ryu, and Chung: humanization, healing, harmonization, and *hanpuri* are both Christian in spirit and born of Korean experience. One piece of evidence for their common Korean-ness is that they all relate to the concept of *han*, and the need to resolve or release this as part of reconciliation. *Han* is appreciated around the world as a term for repressed suffering. All four theologians are aware that reconciliation is not a matter of brushing aside differences, or of finding common ground, but involves identifying the problems and dealing with them – though they would disagree on what the problems are and how to solve them. The differences between their approaches stimulate dialogue between the different models, which enhances the understanding of reconciliation. Chung in particular challenges what she sees as the paternalistic approach of Suh – doing theology for, rather than with, the *minjung*, and also the kind of neat harmonious system devised by Ryu, which does not appear open to the cries of the oppressed. Together these four theologians broaden the scope of reconciliation beyond a political agenda by exploring its economic, cosmic, cultural and gender dimensions. They also show how these hang together: in particular how political liberation is related to religious and gender issues.

The ethereal and the spiritual in cyberspace

In 2002 South Korea became the most internet-connected country in the world,⁹³ and it continues to lead with broadband connections faster than other countries.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Korean society is more ‘saturated’ by the internet than any other nation on earth.⁹⁵ Research suggests that Pentecostal-charismatic spirituality – such as is prevalent in Korea – is more suited than other types to the interactive medium of the internet. For charismatics, ‘Word and icon, image and text, are all stimuli to the religious and divine spark of knowing that is my consciousness’.⁹⁶ For all these reasons, Korean churches are at the forefront of discovering how spirituality is shaped by the emergence of ‘ethereal’ or cyber religion, and in developing cybertheology. On the one hand Korean church websites reveal to the world aspects of Korean spirituality and theology,⁹⁷ on the other hand, the medium of the worldwide web is not limited to ‘religion online’; it also leads to ‘online religion’.⁹⁸

We will mention just a few ways in which the internet shapes the Christian spirituality of Korean churches, as shown on their websites. The first is ecclesiological: as churches define themselves electronically, the medium of the internet affects their self-understanding. Yoido Full Gospel Church, for example, appears on its website as just part of the wider community of Full Gospel Broadcasting, which is the public face of the church’s mission. It is one actualization of the Full Gospel spirit, which

is also worked out in business, development and other enterprises worldwide. Secondly, missiologically, churches are making use of the internet in their outreach. Through the net and other related media, especially mobile phones, the church reaches deep into the lives of members. Third, the medium of the internet affects the way the churches exercise authority. The sites offer possibilities for interactive participation of believers but this may be illusional because at the same time they seek to control and limit user choices, and they also allow for the possibility of unscrupulous pastors becoming cyber 'gods'.⁹⁹ Fourth, web technology offers new modes of spiritual communication in cyberspace. The internet and SMS are an important means of contact of young people with their peers, and so these 'ethereal' modes of communication become transferred to their relationship with God or with Jesus, suggesting that prayer is being 'online to God'. Fifth, theologically, Korean church websites raise questions about the nature of 'spirit' and 'spirituality'. For example, cyberspace especially highlights the extent to which 'spiritual' is popularly understood to mean 'free from constraints of the body and the suffering of the material world'.¹⁰⁰ The 'ethereal' world of the internet therefore poses critical questions for Christian theology of matter and physicality. Another example is the way the inter-connecting role of the worldwide web parallels the role of the Holy Spirit in creating fellowship and holding the world together. As we have seen, Koreans have a rich heritage of reflection on spirit and spirituality. Not only is cybertheology possibly 'the most important topic for theology to address in the twenty-first century'¹⁰¹ for the Korean churches themselves, Korean theologians can offer their cybertheology to the rest of the world.

The Holy Spirit and the powers

Pneumatology is inherently a discussion about power, as Chung Hyun Kyung recognised when she raised provocative questions about power relations in the churches in terms of where authority to discern the Spirit lies.¹⁰² The Korean traditional religious background of belief in many spirits sheds a different light on spiritual power than post-Enlightenment Western philosophy, which has eradicated the intermediate world of angels and other spirits. Many Europeans cannot conceive of a meaning of 'spirits' (plural) other than the 'psychological' or 'superstitious'.¹⁰³ Yet in Korea a plural spiritual reality is a given. What is more, setting the Holy Spirit against a background awareness of a spirit-world is arguably coming closer to the context of Jesus Christ's ministry and the matrix in which Christian pneumatology first developed.¹⁰⁴ Chung Hyun Kyung was exceptional at the Canberra Assembly in making the world of spirits the focus of her presentation, but many of the papers produced around the event referred to other spirits and a spirit-world.¹⁰⁵

In Western theologies other spirits, if they are thought of at all, are regarded as evil spirits which need to be exorcised, in the sense of casting them out. This encourages aggressive approaches such as the 'power encounter' approach popularised by Charles Kraft,¹⁰⁶ and the 'spiritual warfare' movement of Peter Wagner¹⁰⁷ and John Wimber,¹⁰⁸ which are rightly criticised.¹⁰⁹ Cho Yonggi is at pains to point out in his doctrine of 'the Fourth Dimension' that the spiritual world of the Holy Spirit encompasses all others, and so there is no question of an equal and opposite forces but nevertheless his attitude to other spiritual powers remains confrontational. Liberation theologians also have a theology of spiritual

conflict – against man-made social structures rather than supernatural forces – but which may similarly tend toward dualism and violence,¹¹⁰ although Walter Wink, for example, insists that resistance to evil structures is non-violent and aimed at their redemption.¹¹¹

Study of the acts of exorcism in the New Testament shows that they are not ‘bound to a particular conceptuality of demon-possession’ or directed against evil, but understood more broadly as acts of healing, ‘treatment of disordered humanity on the spiritual dimension appropriate to the disorder’.¹¹² Exorcism in the New Testament is a process of discerning the powers and ‘weighing up possibilities’, connected with prophecy, rather than as rooting out falsehood.¹¹³ Primal or local religions in Korea and elsewhere have this therapeutic interpretation of exorcism as a discerning and reconciliatory activity,¹¹⁴ and this also appears closer to Orthodox understanding. The *epiklesis* in the Orthodox liturgy is an act of exorcism of the world which both roots out evil and affirms good.¹¹⁵ Although Chung’s presentation at Canberra was not rigorous or discerning enough, she showed how Korean pneumatology that draws on traditional spirit-world concepts would seek to reconcile rather than destroy the spirits – an approach which certainly is appropriate for the Spirit of peace.

Theology in plural contexts

Moonjang Lee argues convincingly that, because of distinctive Korean religious experience and socio-cultural norms, Korean Christians have a perspective on the other religions of the country that is significantly different from that which has recently become dominant in the West. Each religion, which is literally ‘teaching’ (*gyo*), represents a unique self-contained system which the disciple is expected to master. For the faithful believer to take an interest in another religion would be disloyal, to use elements of one religious system to correct another would be misunderstood as diluting or compromising the tradition, and conversion from one religion to another is a very serious undertaking. Lee concludes that pluralism in the sense of the influence of the different religions on Korean culture is undeniable, but not in the sense of individuals practicing more than one religion. Korean religious identity is single, not multiple; it is based on personal commitment, and religious boundaries are clearly defined and respected.¹¹⁶

Lee does not suggest a theological foundation for this phenomenon but the Japanese theologian Kosuke Koyama observes that Korea is distinguished among Asian nations for its sense of history and eschatology which tends to override general Asian ‘cosmological universalism’.¹¹⁷ Whereas other Asian theologies tend toward pantheism and monism, Korean thinking is highly differentiated – and Korean acceptance of different religious traditions as alternatives is evidence of this. Ryu has tried to harmonise religious traditions as emanating from one spirit, as Indian and Western theologies of pluralism tend to do but generally speaking, I suggest, Koreans see the different religions as manifestations of different spirits. That is, they are distinct but not necessarily antagonistic to one another. Growing up with awareness of the spirit-world of popular Mahayana Buddhism, Amos Yong has legitimized such a pneumatological approach to interfaith relations as ‘discerning the Spirit(s)’,¹¹⁸ an approach which could equally apply in Korea. Yong’s investigations in the religious sphere using a

many-spirits paradigm have implications for other plural contexts as well. Yong's Pentecostal vision is of a Christian theology that does not deny particular experiences and identities, but sees these as giving 'particular testimony to the nature of humankind and humanity's relationship to God ... in anticipation of the full reconciliation to be accomplished in the kingdom'.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

We have looked back at the exciting origins of Korean theology in difficult times and the reasons why pneumatology holds such an important place in theology which is both Christian and Korean. We have identified four distinct pneumatological strands in Korean tradition, and we have looked to the future to see what Korean Christian pneumatology can offer to global theological conversation, especially in terms of pneumatological approaches to reconciliation, cybertheology, power relations and plural contexts.

Park Jong Chun describes a Korean perspective on the Spirit. Looking back over the troubled history of Korea he sees God 'crawling' with the people as God did with the people of Israel in the Old Testament and in Christ. Using Romans 8.22-23, 26, he describes the Spirit of God 'who crawled in Christ' as the Mother Spirit who groans with the children of God for liberation and the *han*-cry of the whole earth.¹²⁰ Then, however, Korean reality is revitalised, in a way analogous to a Shamanistic outburst of energy (*shinmyǒng*) in the form of dance in order to solve *han*. In revival the grace of God turns crawling into dancing in a burst of transforming energy that creates a new rhythm for life and work.¹²¹ Living in this new rhythm, Korean Christians have, from the early days, expressed great confidence that they have been chosen as a light not only to the nation but to Asia and to the rest of the world.¹²²

Because Christian theologians agree that the source of the new energy of the Korean nation is the Holy Spirit, this gives a dynamic sense to their pneumatologies; the emphasis is on the Spirit's movement and activity rather than on the Spirit's presence and being. However, the willingness of Lee Chong-sǒng, for example, to recognise the Spirit at work in the ordinary, the unspectacular¹²³ could be a sign that after the first excitement of revival and discovering faith in the midst of national and spiritual crisis, the Korean church and society is learning to take a long view and that the apocalyptic no longer holds such a central place. In which case, there will be greater awareness of the unceasing 'wind and flow' (*p'ungryu*) of the Spirit (*Yǒng*) on the lower slopes of the mountains of Korea,¹²⁴ and perhaps of the life-force of the Spirit (*ki*) as well. But it is to be hoped that the Korean people will continue to experience the outbreaks of the fire of the Spirit (*Shin*) on the rugged peaks that have given such hope and dynamic energy among the many spirits of a plural world.

Endnotes

¹ Vol I, pp. 6, 66, 71-80, 301-303, 333, 356-57.

² Vol I, p.36.

- ³ World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission I, pp. 35-41, 47-48, 138, 351, 353, 356-57, 359, 360; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, pp.88-90; Kirsteen Kim, 'Edinburgh 1910 to 2010: From Kingdom to Spirit', *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* (forthcoming).
- ⁴ Vol I, pp. 50, 66-67.
- ⁵ Paik 1970: 367-78; Ryu 2000: 416; Grayson 2002: 158; ***.
- ⁶ Ro 1995: 26; Kim, J. 1995: 45-73; 45-49; Han, C.1995: 74-77; Kim, Sam-Hwan & Kim, Yoon-Su 1995: 97-98.
- ⁷ Ahn 2001:49-71; Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit! A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press 1998, pp 18-33.
- ⁸ Lee Chong-sŏng, "Introduction to Holistic Theology" (T'ongchŏnchŏk shinhak sŏsŏl) in Lee Chong-sŏng et al. *Holistic Theology (T'ongchŏnchŏk shinhak)* Seoul: Changnohoe Shinhakdaehakkyo Publishing House, 2004. pp 13-52, see pp 44-46
- ⁹ Kim Myŏng-yong, "The Holistic Theology of Lee Chong-sŏng" (*Lee Chong-sŏng ūi t'ongchŏnchŏk shinhak*) in Lee Chong-sŏng et al. *Holistic Theology (T'ongchŏnchŏk shinhak)* Seoul: Changnohoe Shinhakdaehakkyo Publishing House, 2004. pp83-116, see pp 95-97
- ¹⁰ Ryu 2000: 414-26, who uses an idea of P. Park 1973: 28-48 (see Ryu 2000: 415, note 1).
- ¹¹ Y. Kim 1983: 113-116
- ¹² see Choo 1998: pp 36-41; S. Han 1996: 196-103.
- ¹³ Y. Kim 1983: 113-116.
- ¹⁴ Y. Kim 1983: p 110
- ¹⁵ Paik 1970 [1929]: 369, 416.
- ¹⁶ J. Park 1998: 61, 64-72; cf. David Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ*, p. 56; David Kwang-sun Suh, 'A Biographical Sketch of an Asian Theological Consultation', in Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, ed., *Minjung Theology*, p. 21.
- ¹⁷ Ryu 2000: 155-65.
- ¹⁸ Choo 1998: 140.
- ¹⁹ Ryu 2000: 133-262; Choo 1998: 131-220.
- ²⁰ Quoted in Chu Chae-yong, *A History of Christian Theology in Korea*, 171, note 148.
- ²¹ Ryu 2000: 257-62.
- ²² In 1992 when he was awarded the prestigious Templeton Prize for progress in religion, the citation recognized both his 'fervent work for refugees and the poor' as well as his status as 'one of Korea's most respected religious leaders'. Sir John Templeton, 'Templeton Prize Winners: Kyung-Chik Han', *Templeton Press* (2007), <<http://www.templetonpress.org/SirJohn/templetonprize.asp>> [accessed 17 April 2007].
- ²³ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), pp. 14-6.
- ²⁴ Rev. Kyung-Chik Han Memorial Foundation, *Just Three More Years to Live*, pp. 179-81.
- ²⁵ For a leading example see Rev. Kyung-Chik Han Memorial Foundation, *Just Three More Years to Live*, p. 178.
- ²⁶ Rev. Kyung-Chik Han Memorial Foundation, *Just Three More Years to Live*, p. 180.
- ²⁷ By my Spirit**
- ²⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Unwin University Books, 1974).
- ²⁹ Grayson, *Korea*, p. 164.
- ³⁰ See Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion*, p. 288, n. 26; Buzo, *The Making of Modern Korea*, p. 129; James H. Grayson, 'Dynamic Complementarity: Korean Confucianism and Christianity', in Richard H. Roberts, ed., *Religion and the Transformations of Capitalism: Comparative Approaches* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 76-87; Pratt, *Everlasting Flower*, p. 291.
- ³¹ Sebastian C.H. Kim, 'The problem of the poor in post-war Korean Christianity: *Kibock sinang* or *minjung* theology?' *Transformation* (forthcoming).
- ³² Kim, IJPT, ***.
- ³³ Yi, Mahn-yŏl, 'The Birth of the National Spirit of the Christians in the Late Chosŏn Period', trans. Ch'oe Ūn-a, in Yu, ed., *Korea and Christianity*, pp. 39-72; Kim, Yang-sŏn, 'Compulsory Shinto Shrine Worship and Persecution', in Yu, *Korea and Christianity*, pp. 87-120 at pp. 87-92; Min, Kyŏng-bae, 'National Identity in the History of the Korean Church', in Yu, *Korea and Christianity*; Grayson, *Korea*, p. 161; Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), ***.
- ³⁴ Cf. Ryu 2000: 31,263-396; Choo 1998: 283-409. The lotus flower analogy is Ryu's.

- ³⁵ Suh 1983b: 166.
- ³⁶ Suh 1999c [1979]: 370,382.
- ³⁷ Suh 1983a: 177.
- ³⁸ Suh 1983a: 157, 165-66.
- ³⁹ Suh 1975: 39.
- ⁴⁰ Suh 1983a: 156-57; S. Han 1996: I 632.
- ⁴¹ Suh 1983a: 167-76.
- ⁴² Myung & Hong 2003: ii; Cho 1984: 37-46.
- ⁴³ Bae 1999: 160-63.
- ⁴⁴ Y. Lee 2004: 17; Cho 1989: 35-43; Cho 1984: 37-46; Cho 1998a:7; cf. Chan 2004: 102-104.
- ⁴⁵ Cho 1989:7-13; 20-33.
- ⁴⁶ Menzies 2004: 30-31.
- ⁴⁷ See <http://english.fgtv.com/Gospel/Threefold.asp> [accessed 12/05/06].
- ⁴⁸ Cho 1999c: 47-49.
- ⁴⁹ Cho 1999c [1989].
- ⁵⁰ Cho 1989:79-96.
- ⁵¹ e.g. C. Chung 1997: 33-35; Ryu 2000: 425; David Martin 2002: 161; Hollenweger 1972: 161; H. Cox 1996: 226.
- ⁵² Cho 1999c: 45-49, 72-73; 1999b: 35-37.
- ⁵³ 1998b: 27-41; International Theological Institute 1993: I 89-91.
- ⁵⁴ Bae 2005: 527-49; Jeong 2005: 551-71.
- ⁵⁵ Menzies 2004: 36-41; Anderson 2004b: 148-50; Anderson 2004b: 148-50, 153-56; Menzies 2004: 39-40.
- ⁵⁶ Cho 1989:140,138.
- ⁵⁷ e.g. Cho 1989:129-36; Cho 1999c: 46; Cho 1989: 129-30; cf. Anderson 2004: 139-43.
- ⁵⁸ Cho 1998a: 211-23.
- ⁵⁹ Y. Lee 2005: 512; M. Park 2003: 65-94, 191-212.
- ⁶⁰ Ryu 2000: 419-25.
- ⁶¹ Ryu 2000 [1982]: 357-58.
- ⁶² Ryu 2000: 438-40.
- ⁶³ *The Mineral Veins of Korean Theology*
- ⁶⁴ Ryu 2000: 22-28.
- ⁶⁵ Ryu 2000: 426.
- ⁶⁶ e.g. H. Chung 1991a; O. Lee 1994; Choi 2005.
- ⁶⁷ see H. Chung 1994; ***.
- ⁶⁸ Chung 1994: 176.
- ⁶⁹ Chung 1994:176-77.
- ⁷⁰ K. Kim 2001: 23.
- ⁷¹ Chung, Hyun Kyung, "Come, Holy Spirit – Renew the Whole Creation" in Michael Kinnamon (ed.) *Signs of the Spirit. Official Report of the Seventh Assembly of the WCC, Canberra, 1991*. Geneva: WCC, 1991, pp 37-47, p 47.
- ⁷² Ro 1993: 54, 55-58.
- ⁷³ S. Han 1996: II 517.
- ⁷⁴ S. Han 1996: II 517, 513, 497.
- ⁷⁵ Ro 1993: 54.
- ⁷⁶ National Council of Churches in Korea, "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace", unanimously adopted 37th general meeting of the National Council of Churches in Korea, held in the Yondong Presbyterian Church, Seoul on February 29 1988, <http://www.warc.ch/pc/20th/03.html> [accessed 16/05/06]; Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit: A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998). 128-135,164-71,44,137-52
- ⁷⁷ Kim, S. Y. 1997.
- ⁷⁸ Schreiter**; Dorr; K. Kim ***.
- ⁷⁹ Dunn 1998: 419-425.
- ⁸⁰ Gunton 2002.
- ⁸¹ Suh 1983b:178-79.
- ⁸² Suh 1983b:155-56.
- ⁸³ Cumings 2003:141.
- ⁸⁴ Cumings 2003:132.

- ⁸⁵ Ryu 2000[1982]:425.
- ⁸⁶ Bae 2005:527-49; Jeong 2005:551-71.
- ⁸⁷ Lim 2004: 198-99; Pray for North Korea 2003.
- ⁸⁸ Cumings 2003:141-44; Samuel Kim 2006:302-7.
- ⁸⁹ Ryu 2000:426. In fact these two sides of the Korean church are not as divided as Ryu's work might suggest. In any of the Evangelical churches, the two types of spirituality coexist in the contrasting public face of most churches on Sunday morning and the private life of the church in other meetings throughout the week. Particular churches and individuals may lean more toward one form of expression than the other, but they inherit both paternal and maternal styles.
- ⁹⁰ Ryu 2000:19-20; cf. J. Park 1998:38-41.
- ⁹¹ Chung 1988.
- ⁹² Cf. Statement of the Women's Forum for the International Christian Consultation on Justice and Peace in Korea" (Inchon 1988) – quoted in Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit: A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998), p 131.
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- ⁹⁴ OECD Broadband Statistics, December 2006
- ⁹⁵ Janelli and Yim 2005
- ⁹⁶ Purves 1998, 188.
- ⁹⁷ SWC article.
- ⁹⁸ Soukup 2002, 20.
- ⁹⁹ Mitchell 2005, 97.
- ¹⁰⁰ Aupers and Houtman 2005.
- ¹⁰¹ Han 2003: 347; my translation.
- ¹⁰² Chung interviewed.
- ¹⁰³ Hollenweger 1997: 383; cf. Arnold 1992: 198-205.
- ¹⁰⁴ Dunn 1998: 67-68.
- ¹⁰⁵ Parthenios 1990: 92; Orthodox reflections, 92,95; Justin Ukpong 1990; Joseph Osei-Bonsu 1989; John Pobee 1990.
- ¹⁰⁶ See Kraft 1992.
- ¹⁰⁷ Wagner 1989.
- ¹⁰⁸ Wimber 1985.
- ¹⁰⁹ Percy 1996; A. Scott Moreau et al. 2003; Lord 2005: 16-21.
- ¹¹⁰ Matthey 2004: 117; cf. World Council of Churches, 1991: 66.
- ¹¹¹ Wink, 1984; 1986; 1992: 3-10.
- ¹¹² Dunn 1998: 185.
- ¹¹³ Dunn 1998: 311-28.
- ¹¹⁴ e.g. Yong 2000: 157; Anderson 1991: 120-25, 10.
- ¹¹⁵ Boris Bobrinskoy 1989: 361; Oleska 1990: 331-33.
- ¹¹⁶ M. Lee 1999.
- ¹¹⁷ Kosuke Koyama, " 'Building the House by Righteousness': The Ecumenical Horizons of *Minjung* Theology" in Jung Young Lee (ed.), *An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Minjung Theology* (Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-third Publications, 1988), 137-52, p 141
- ¹¹⁸ Yong 2000.
- ¹¹⁹ Yong 2003b: 308.
- ¹²⁰ Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit! A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press 1998, pp 137-52.
- ¹²¹ Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit: A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998), pp 166-67.
- ¹²² E.g. Lak-Geon George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, Seoul: Yonsei University Press 1970 (first published 1929), p 428; Bong Rin Ro, "The Korean Church: God's Chosen People for Evangelism" in *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1995), pp 11-44; David Yonggi Cho, *Born to Be Blessed* (Secundarabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999 [1993]) p 127
- ¹²³ Hyön Yo-han, "The Spirit of Life That is the Origin of Life" (*Saengmyöng-üi kūnwönin saengmyöng-üi yöng*) in Lee Chong-söng et al. *Holistic Theology (T'ongchönchök shinhak)* Seoul: Changnohoe Shinhakdaehakkyo Publishing House, 2004. pp 233-67, see pp 266-67
- ¹²⁴ cf. Lee Chong-söng, "Introduction to Holistic Theology" (*T'ongchönchök shinhak sösöl*) in Lee Chong-söng et al. *Holistic Theology (T'ongchönchök shinhak)* Seoul: Changnohoe Shinhakdaehakkyo

Publishing House, 2004. pp 13-52, see p 51; Keum Jang-tae, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts*.
Korean Studies Series No. 10 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000), pp 65-80.