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Foreword

Let me engage in short theological reflections on the current events in our history.

Death is Resistance!

The former President Roh Mu Hyun of South Korea passed recently. Some say that his death is not suicide, in spite of the fact that he jumped to death from the cliff of the hill behind his house. The circumstances of his death are much debated as well as the ethical assessment of suicidal death is questioned. Majority of the people in Korea has been mourning his death with deep and overwhelming sorrow unprecedented as his funeral service was conducted as a national ceremony. Most of the people his death is caused by the politically motivated “criminal investigation” of his family and people on the charge of bribery. The present regime is blamed for his death. President Roh felt profound injury of his moral integrity, for his policy has been grounded on the policy of clean and moral leadership. This is apparent in his suicide note and his will statement that he could no longer endure the pain of his people and family as well as his own.

In East Asian tradition President's death could be perceived as resistance against injustice. Death in resistance is regarded as the resistance for justice against the oppressive powers. When the Korean people had been subjugated by the Japanese colonial power, the Confucian intellectual leaders ended their own lives in protest and resistance against the brutal power and violence of the Japanese empire. This is the origin of the pacifist resistance tradition, which was manifest in the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919. In Buddhist tradition the case is also true. In the midst Vietnam war in 1960's, Tri Quang, a Buddhist monk, died of self-emolition at the heart of Saigon, now Hochimin City, in protest against the US involvement in Vietnam War. It was a form of spiritual resistance against violence and injustice.

The death of Jesus has a special characteristic of resistance against the

brutal power of the Roman Empire. Belief in the resurrection of Jesus is a direct reflection of the death of Jesus in protest against the imperial power. Can we read the meaning of the death of the former Korean President Roh Mu Hyun in this light?

Universal Pacifism against Nuclear Weapons

On May 26, 2009, the Bell Park for World Peace was dedicated in the Hwacheon County near the DMZ in Korea. A guest speaker was Mr. Gorbachov the former President of Soviet Union. He presented his speech on the idea of the world without nuclear weapons. This was done in the context of the nuclear test by the North Korea. United States, South Korea and UN and many international powers are decrying against the nuclear test of North Korea.

Mr. Gorbachov is saying that all the criticisms against the North Korea are understandable; but they do not provide solution of the problem. Only way out is the negotiation with the North Korea. This situation raises the question of nuclear weapons in the Korean peninsula. Some argue that US criticism is hypocritical, for it is the most powerful nuclear power. It is suggested that the Obama administration is about to negotiate with Russia for the renewal of some sort of arrangement to reduce nuclear weapons respectably. One could imagine a multilateral negotiation for reduction of nuclear weapons among the nuclear have states. Is this possible to expect any fruitful result? Is there any role for non-nuclear states? Is it possible to expect any fruitful result from inter-state negotiation?

What are roles of non-state parties in this process of negotiation if any? Perhaps this question is most important one. Religious partners such as Christian ecumenical organization and peace NGO's may be critically important. We believe that this is a Kairotic time for new ecumenical discourse on peace and new ecumenical global process for peace, especially nuclear peace. It may be called the universal pacifism against nuclear weapons. Ecumenical movement has raised this question in 1980's; now is the time to raise this question. There is a need to renew the peace discourse in the present context to influence the inter-state process of negotiation. This is right time.

Chief Editor, Kim Yong-bock

An Alternative Biblical Reading on Luke 13:1-9

Park Heung-Soon*

Introduction

The issue of nationalism is an important postcolonial concern and as such it is strongly linked to imperialism. The most significant questions posed by postcolonial discourse are: How should we consider the colonial history (which is influenced by imperialism), and how should we reread and reconstruct our past histories, cultures and texts? In this regard, I would like to investigate the issue of nationalism by means of postcolonial discourse. The term 'nationalism' is intimately connected to the terms 'identity,' 'belonging' and 'solidarity.' Nationalism is part of national identity and is a cultural and political discourse which works differently in each society. There is no general and universal meaning of nationalism for whole nations. We need to point out that the term 'nationalism' contains ambiguous aspects.¹⁾ As we analyse the issue of nationalism, we need to consider it within a specific context. It is necessary to point out that the term 'nationalism' implies faces of both liberation and oppression.

※ This paper is a part of my doctoral thesis which was submitted to The University of Birmingham, UK, December 2001.

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1) Peter Alter, *Nationalism* (London: Arnold, 1994), 2.

The oppressive aspect of nationalism is strongly linked to imperialism, on the one hand; and the liberative aspect of it is intimately connected with anti-colonial and anti-imperial movements, on the other hand. According to where nationalism exists, who it speaks to, and what political system it has, nationalism as a discourse consists of the subjectivity of the nation whether as 'the voices of resistance' or as 'the voices of dominance.' I would like to draw attention to the emancipative characteristic of nationalism. We need to point out that the resistant nationalism struggles against western colonialism for liberation and decolonisation.

While we recognise the emancipative characteristic of nationalism, we also need to criticise the oppressive aspect of it in order to go beyond the nationalist discourse. It is important to note that the nationalist discourse is a first step for liberation and decolonisation rather than a final aim. Edward W. Said writes,

Within the nationalist revival ... there were two distinct political moments. ... The first was a pronounced awareness of European and Western culture as imperialism. ... The second more openly liberationist moment occurred during the dramatically prolonged Western imperial mission after World War Two in various colonial regions, ... conventional nationalism was revealed to be both insufficient and crucial, but only as a first step.²⁾

Even though nationalism contains an important element of decolonisation from western imperial effects, we should emphasise that it contains an oppressive aspect which tends to silence the voices of the marginalised within a nation-state or community. Postcolonial discourse approves the importance of anti-colonial nationalism and, at the same time, critically looks at its oppressive and negative aspect. It also proposes postnationalism as an alternative way. In order to practise the postnationalist discourse, we need to review the "contrapuntal reading" advocated by Edward Said as a postcolonial reading practice. We should criticise imperialism and nationalism simultaneously through this reading strategy. It is important to note that the most significant strategy of this reading is to represent peripheral voices, which are neglected by grand discourses and

2) Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), 270-271.

Ethnocentrism.

What I suggest for a postcolonial interpretation is to attempt to pull back the veil of imperial effects on Luke's Gospel, and to criticise the interpretation and criticism, which represents only Eurocentric and imperialist perspectives. To produce an alternative postcolonial reading, we need to analyse the position of the author. Said writes,

It was impossible to write of liberation and nationalism, however allusively, without also declaring oneself for or against them. They were correct, I believe, in presuming that in so globalizing a world-view as that of imperialism, there could be no neutrality: one either was on the side of Empire or against it, and, since they themselves had lived the empire (as native or as white), there was no getting away from it.³⁾

In the light of postcolonial discourse, we need to look at the relationship between imperialism and nationalism contrapuntally. At the same time, we should point out the important role of the interpreters. It is now appropriate to investigate both the liberative and oppressive aspects of nationalism in connection with the texts of Luke's Gospel. I shall also consider the position of Luke connected to the issue of nationalism and imperialism.

The Reality of the Roman Empire in Luke's Gospel

The author of Luke's Gospel obviously has experience of the presence of the Roman Empire. He introduces the shadow of the Roman Empire into the detail of his writings (Luke 2:1-2; 3:1; 7:2-10; 13:1-3; 19:41-44; 20:20-26; 21:20-24; 23:1-7, 13-25, 47). Even though ancient empires differ considerably from modern imperialism, we recognise that their primary feature was to conquer other nations or states, to oppress their people, and to expropriate the invaded from wealth and resources. I will look at the descriptions of the presence of the Roman Empire in order to examine Luke's theological stance in relation to the Roman Empire. At the same time, I will deal with Lucan interpreters' representations regarding the Roman Empire. In doing so, I would like to interpret the presence of the Roman Empire in Luke's Gospel in terms of a postcolonial perspective.

3) Said, 337.

The reality of the Roman Empire in Luke's Gospel is introduced clearly in Luke's infancy narratives (Luke 1-2). While Luke describes Roman and Jewish political leaders, (which may or may not be accurate), we should consider that he firmly introduces the reality of the Roman Empire in his Gospel. It is a fact that the reality of the Roman Empire has a close connection with ideas about nationalism. It is important to analyse the relationship between nationalism and the Roman Empire in Luke-Acts. The governing authorities most commonly found in Luke's Gospel are Jewish and Roman.⁴⁾ These authorities sometimes plot together, and sometimes go their own way as portrayed in Luke's Gospel. In Luke's time, nevertheless, the authority of domination and oppression is Roman authority. Luke therefore needs to deal with the Roman authority more seriously than the Jewish authority. According to Robert F. O' Toole, "Luke generally treats Jewish officials negatively. ... [However], Roman authorities deal favourably with Jesus and the Christians. Frequently, to protect themselves from opponents, Jewish or other, the Christians appeal to the Romans."⁵⁾ Luke seems to imply that there are no conflicts between the Christian community and the Roman authority. Here, we recognise Luke's position in connection with the Roman Empire. He seems to have a pro-Roman tendency rather than one which is pro-Jewish.

If we overlook the context of the Jewish community in Luke's Gospel under the dominance and oppression of the Roman Empire, we cannot discover the hidden voices in Luke's Gospel in relation to the reality of the Roman Empire. We need to consider the shadow of the Roman Empire which dominates and oppresses the Jewish society and people. Richard A. Horsley writes,

As Roman imperialism broke down subject people's indigenous culture and social forms and imposed forms of 'civilisation,' the form of imperial power relations shifted from application of military violence to

4) Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivation of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 29; S. J. Robert F. O' Toole, "Luke's Position on Politics and Society in Luke-Acts," in *Politics Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. Richard J. Cassidy & Philip J. Scharper (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 5.

5) O' Toole, 5.

socio-economic networks of patronage and the religious festivals, shrines, and images of the imperial cult.⁶⁾

The Roman imperial power and authority dominates the subjugated through oppression and discrimination in the social, economic, and political spheres. We consider that the Roman Empire was the centre of politics, economy, culture, and religion in Luke's time. We need to pay attention to Dube's caution against "overlooking a very important factor: the presence of the empire"⁷⁾ in the Bible. We recognise that the texts of Luke's Gospel intimately connect with the Roman Empire, and Luke describes the shadow of the Roman Empire. In connection with the presence of the Roman Empire, we need to recognise some resistant movement against the Empire in Luke's Gospel. We cannot deny that there are some nationalist resistant movements against Roman imperial dominance. Therefore, the issue of nationalism in connection with the presence of the Roman Empire is one of the important postcolonial concerns.

As Lucan biblical scholars interpret the infancy narratives (Luke 1-2), they argue that Luke intends to link the birth of Jesus with Roman imperial history, and he insists that the Messianic event related to the birth of Jesus begins with the history of the world.⁸⁾ These scholars not only treat relations between the Roman Empire and the birth of Jesus in a positive manner, but also interpret Joseph and Mary (the parents of Jesus), as obeying the rule and dominance of the Roman Empire. According to Luke J. Johnson, "they

6) Richard A. Horsley, "Submerged Biblical Histories and Imperial Biblical Studies," in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 171.

7) Musa W. Dube, "Savior of the World but not of This World: A Postcolonial Reading of Spatial Construction in John," in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 128.

8) See E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*. The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 80; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*. Sacra Pagina Series. Vol.3 (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 51-52; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*. The New Testament Greek Testament Commentary (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1978), 96-98; David L. Tiede, " 'Glory to Thy People Israel' : Luke-Acts and the Jews," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 24.

[Joseph and Mary] are simple people who are obedient to authority. The command of the empire does not stir them to join revolt; rather they obey the decree, in contrast to Luke's mention of Judas the Galilean who revolted 'at the time of the census' (Acts 5: 37)."⁹⁾ I. Howard Marshall also claims, "Joseph is portrayed as a law-abiding citizen - perhaps in deliberate contrast to the Zealots and other rebels against Rome - who in response to the imperial edict makes his way up from the comparatively low-lying countryside of Galilee to the hill-country of Judaea."¹⁰⁾ They depict Joseph and Mary, Jesus' parents, as people obedient to the Roman authority and the emperor's decree, and specifically set them apart from movements resisting the Roman power and authority. Nevertheless, they do not explain why Luke portrays Joseph and Mary in the infancy narratives (Luke 1-2) as pro-Roman people. Rather, they consider Jesus' parents to act in a way that contrasts with the Galileans, who protested against the Roman Empire, in order to eliminate the implied signs of conflict between the presence of the Roman authority and Christians in Luke's Gospel. Here, we recognise that Johnson and Marshall have Eurocentric interpretative perspectives so that they interpret the nationalistic resistance movement against the Roman Empire as 'revolt' or 'rebels.' For Roman imperial power, the Jewish nationalistic movement against the Roman Empire is revolt. However, it is a struggle for liberation and independence from the perspective of the Jewish people who are subjugated by the Roman Empire. I consider that Johnson and Marshall stand for Eurocentric interpretative perspectives. It is an important fact that postcolonial biblical reading tries to uncover these western-centred interpretations of the Bible.

We should therefore ask some questions about the position of Luke in relation to Roman authority. Why does Luke introduce the idea of a positive attitude towards the Roman Empire in his infancy narratives? What does Luke intend to convey by mentioning that Joseph and Mary are law-abiding and obedient to the emperor's decree? Is there any Jewish nationalism connected to the infant narratives in Luke 1-2? We should consider what position Luke holds regarding the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Christian community. We can presume that Luke has a pro-Roman strategy to protect the community in Luke-Acts. According to O' Toole,

9) Johnson, 52.

10) Marshall, 104.

“Luke advocates taking full advantage of the Roman polity. His principle would be: Christians should use every available legal means to protect themselves.”¹¹⁾ I consider that Luke seems to establish the amicable and positive relationship between the Roman Empire and the Christian community, and to exclude the obstacle of the implication of nationalist resistance in Luke-Acts in order to protect the community under Roman domination. Now, we should go back to the question of Luke 1-2 in the above. Why does Luke have a pro-Roman attitude? What strategy does Luke have in dealing with the Roman authorities? Philip Francis Esler states,

Luke presents Christianity and the Roman Empire as interacting on a number of distinct, although related, levels. The first level consists of the synchronisms which Luke ... establishes between dates in imperial history and significant events in the beginnings of the Gospel. Thus, the birth of Jesus occurs during the world-wide census ordered by Augustus (Lk 2:1-7), and John the Baptist begins his ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, while Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea (Lk 3:1-3). These synchronisms are not merely an aspect of Luke's historiographical technique; they suggest that among his intended audience were readers interested in the position of Christianity in the context of Roman history. To such readers, moreover, that the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem occurs as a direct result of Joseph's unquestioning obedience to an imperial decree must have seemed a revealing example of the possibility that Roman politics were not necessarily inconsistent with the divine purpose.¹²⁾

Philip Francis Esler claims that Luke suggests a consistent divine purpose between the imperial history and the history of Christianity. Furthermore, He seems to agree with Luke's position that Joseph and Mary did not protest against the Roman authorities, and moreover did not have an antipathy towards Roman imperial domination. However, Esler fails to criticise Luke's pro-Roman slant. Here we have an image and portrayal of Jesus which acknowledges, on the one hand, the Romans' imperial

11) O' Toole, 8.

12) Esler, 201-202.

domination and oppression, and supports, on the other hand, the western interpretation of imperial history and tradition. We need to deal with the texts of Luke-Acts and their relation to the Roman Empire and the nationalist resistant movement, in the light of a postcolonial discourse. We should bring the voices of the subjugated that protest against the Roman Empire to the fore of the interpretation of Luke-Acts. Clearly, we need to reread the texts of Luke-Acts from the perspective of the voiceless and those oppressed by Roman imperial power.

Reading on Luke 13:1-9

It is important to note that Luke 13:1-9 is unique narrative which simultaneously contains both political and religious issues within it. We shall investigate how the political issues are gradually eclipsed within the text and the interpretations as a result of Luke and Lucan interpreters attempt to spell out the religious issues of the pericope. Furthermore, although the narrative implicates the Jewish nationalist movement against the Roman Empire, we need to scrutinise it as connected to the issue of nationalism as a postcolonial concern. One of the important aspects of postcolonial biblical interpretation is a reading practice, which strives to bring peripheral voices to the fore of the discourse, and to represent the hidden voices under the burden of Euro-American interpretative perspective. As we deal with the pericope in Luke 13:1-9 in the light of postcolonial biblical interpretation, we shall draw attention to the political and ideological issues which most Lucan interpreters tend to turn aside. It is important to state that according to the position of readers and interpreters, there are diversely different interpretations and representations. For this reason, we need to suggest multiple reading practices rather than a lopsided interpretative standard. Unlike Euro-American interpretative perspectives, postcolonial biblical reading practice not only implies the presence of diverse voices in the text, but also discovers the hidden voices which are silenced by universalising and 'objective' interpretative reading practices. I would like to reread the narrative in Luke 13:1-9 which contains various issues within the text, in the light of a postcolonial reading. In doing so, we need to investigate how Euro-American Lucan interpreters comment on the pericope. Furthermore, we need to look at the position of Luke connected to the narrative in Luke 13:1-9. To begin with, we need to indicate the literary

structure of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9, which consists of two incidents (13:1-5) and one parable (13:6-9). The narrative contains both the political and religious issues. According to Kenneth E. Bailey, "in these verses we are dealing with two units of tradition (vv. 1-5, 6-9). Each unit discusses politics and repentance, and thus it is appropriate to examine them together."¹³⁾ I consider that Bailey appropriately analyses the narrative. As we properly interpret the text, we need to investigate the social, political and religious context of the text. Most Lucan scholars' interpretations of the narrative seem to comment on the text by means of the religious point of view. In spite of recognising the presence of the Roman Empire, they do not positively evaluate the political situation of the text and the implication of the liberation struggle, but emphasise the religious lessons of the narrative. In doing so, they seem to under-estimate the Jewish nationalist resistance movement in the process of highlighting the religious instruction of the text. By investigating Lucan scholars' interpretative perspectives, we need to point out their assumptions which overlook and neglect aspects of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9. Most Lucan commentators tend to interpret the text Luke 13:1-9 in the light of the religious issues connected to the need for repentance.¹⁴⁾

13) Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet & Peasant and Through Peasant Eyes: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), 74.

14) Most Lucan interpreters argue that the pericope in Luke 13: 1-9 is strongly linked to the issue of repentance. See G. B. Caird, *Saint Luke*. The Penguin New Testament Commentaries (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 169-170; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 259; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke: The New Century Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 184-185; C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke: TPI New Testament Commentaries* (London: SCM Press, 1993), 547; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV: The Anchor Bible Vol. 28a*. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1986), 1004-1005; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*. Sacra Pagina Series. Vol.3 (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 211-215; Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982), 17; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1978), 552-556; Sharon H. Ringe, *Luke*. Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 183-185; Willard W.

Lucan interpreters seem to agree that the narrative is not an actual historical report. We can assume that the narrative contains tradition regarding the resistance movement against the Roman Empire in Jesus' time or Luke's day in Galilee or Judea. Sharon H. Ringe illuminates the difficulty of the historical approach to the narrative. According to her, "Josephus and others mention several episodes in which representatives of Rome took harsh action against Jews. None of those episodes sounds exactly like the incident referred to here, however, so it is impossible to connect this to any specific historical event."¹⁵ Although there is no exact historical record corresponding to the narrative in Luke 13:1-5, the political and social significance implied in the narrative should not be overlooked. Rather, by reading the between the lines of the narrative, we can read the presence of those who are oppressed by the dominance and exploitation of Roman imperial power. Why does Luke introduce the narrative of Luke 13:1-9, which contains both political and religious issues? Paul W. Walaskay says,

It is clear that in Luke 13:1 the Evangelist has something of importance to say about Jewish-Roman relations during Jesus' ministry. Those scholars intent in finding direct links between Jesus and the Zealots point to this passage as evidence of Jesus' anti-Roman attitude. However, when the passage is taken in its wider context it becomes apparent that Pilate is not the subject of discussion; rather, it is the Jews with whom Jesus is concerned.¹⁶

Walaskay argues that Luke's Jesus does not seem to promote an anti-Roman tendency, but is concerned with the life and religion of Jews. He

Swartley, "Politics or Peace (*Eirēnē*) in Luke's Gospel," in *Politics Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. Richard J. Cassidy & Philip J. Scharper (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 21; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation: The Gospel According to Luke*. Vol.1 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1991), 147-152; David L. Tiede, *Luke: Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 246-247; Paul W. Walaskay, '*And so we came to Rome*': *The Political Perspective of ST Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 24-25.

15) Ringe, 183.

16) Walaskay, 24.

rejects the presence of the Jewish nationalist movement in Luke-Acts. In contrast, Bailey points out the probability of the anti-Roman liberation struggle in the narrative. Bailey describes those who tell Jesus Pilate's massacre as "nationalists."¹⁷ Bailey claims that the reason why Luke deals with the narrative in Luke 13:1-9 is to expose the presence of those Jews who are oppressed and subjugated by Roman imperial power. As we have indicated throughout the analysis of the narrative, we recognise that there are diverse interpretations of the narrative among Lucan interpreters: some of them tend to focus on the religious aspect of the narrative and the others spell out the political factors of the text. In order to understand the narrative appropriately, we need to look at the position of Luke and investigate Lucan scholars' interpretative perspectives.

First of all, I would like to examine the political factors implied within the narrative. By investigating the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Jews, I shall discover the political aspect connected to the issue of nationalism. It is important to note that there is the possibility and potentiality of anti-Roman liberation struggle linked to the presence of those Galileans who are slaughtered by Pilate. Unlike most Lucan interpreters, Bailey indicates the presence of "nationalists" in Luke 13:1-3. They seem to strive to protest against Roman imperial control and oppression for liberation. Surprisingly, Lucan interpreters unfavourably evaluate the presence of "nationalists." We recognise that Ellis uses the term 'revolt' and 'sedition' in order to comment on the anti-Roman liberation movement of Galileans. It is important to note that the position of interpreter is a postcolonial issue. We need to ask what the role of interpreter is. It is important to note that Ellis does not stand for those Galileans who struggle for liberation, but rather he interprets them in terms of 'revolt' and 'sedition' on the side of the Roman Empire. According to E. Earle Ellis, "it is probable that the incident did occur at the time of the Passover 'sacrifices' and in connection with an attempted revolt. The massacre is not reported in other sources. But Galileans were known to be fond of sedition. And the severe reaction is characteristic of Roman rule in Palestine."¹⁸ The liberation struggles of the colonised and the oppressed are obviously 'revolt,' and 'rebel' from the perspective of the coloniser and imperialist.

17) Bailey, 60.

18) Ellis, 233.

In contrast, the struggles for liberation and freedom from the standpoint of the subjugated are strongly linked to the resistant and independent movement. Postcolonial biblical reading tries to expose these interpretations that justify colonial discourses. Furthermore, it tends to bring the peripheral voices to the fore of the discourse. Connected to an example of the Eurocentric interpretation, Walaskay negatively comments on the presence of the Galileans those who are slaughtered by Pilate. According to him, “those unfortunate Galileans are only a portent of what is in store for the nation; those who provoked Pilate’s wrath will yet spread their infectious disease of revolution and bring ultimate doom to all other Galileans if the nation does not repent.”¹⁹⁾ G. B. Caird similarly interprets that the Jewish liberation struggle against the Roman Empire will lead to catastrophe. Caird writes,

His gospel was not a political manifesto, but it had political implications: as Messiah he had summoned Israel to reconsider the meaning of her vocation as people of God and to repent of the national pride which interpreted that vocation in terms of privilege and worldly greatness. To reject the way of Jesus was to choose the path leading directly to conflict with Rome and subsequent catastrophe.²⁰⁾

We recognise that Walaskay and Caird seem not to be on the side of the subjugated, but on the part of the oppressor, that is, Roman imperial power. These Lucan interpreters overlook the social and political realities of those Jews who are oppressed and exploited by the harsh representatives of the Roman Empire. It is important to point out that their interpretative perspectives consciously or unconsciously imply Eurocentric tendencies connected to legitimising western colonial assumptions. Willard W. Swartley also argues that Luke’s Jesus provides the teaching on non-violence connected to the political issue in Luke’s Gospel. According to him, “Jesus takes a stand against violence; his teaching encourages nonresistance (6:27-31). While speaking negatively of violence (13:1, 31; 19:25-46), he calls his followers to the way of repentance and forgiveness (17:3-4).”²¹⁾ Swartley’s interpretation is strongly linked to the colonising of

19) Walaskay, 24.

20) Caird, 169.

the mind, which the subjugated should spiritlessly submit to colonial and imperial power. Unlike these western-centred Lucan interpreters, we need to discover the resistant voices of those subjugated who protest against the dominance and oppression connected to the narrative in Luke 13:1-3. Furthermore, we need to reread and reconstruct the text of Luke 13:1-3 not from the standpoint of the invader and coloniser, but from the perspective of the invaded and colonised. In doing so, we can discover the hidden voices as a consequence of refocusing on the presence of the Roman Empire and its dominant strategy.

Now I would like to look at Lucan scholars' interpretations of Pilate and the Roman Empire in Luke 13:1-9. It is interesting to note that most Lucan commentators negatively evaluate Pilate, the representative of the Roman Empire. They argue that Pilate disregards the Jewish religious custom and tradition. David L. Tiede writes,

All that can be demonstrated from Josephus is that Pilate's cruelty was well known and included attacks on Samaritan pilgrims (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.86-87), introduction of Roman standards into the temple (*Ant.* 18.55-59), and the seizing of temple funds (*Ant.* 18.60-62). Even if this specific slaughter of Galilean pilgrims is otherwise an untold story, it fits with Pilate's reputation of disdain for religious practices (see 23:1-25).²²⁾

Johnson also identifies Pilate as "a murderer of Galileans."²³⁾ And Christoph W. Stenschke argues that "Luke 13:1 testifies to Pilate's cruelty, moral-ethical failure and his assessment of Judaism."²⁴⁾ In spite of these negative assessments and reputations of Pilate, it is ironical to note that most Lucan commentators spell out the positive functions of the Roman Empire in Luke-Acts rather than the Jewish nationalist resistant movement. It is undeniable to say that these Lucan scholars' interpretative perspectives are linked to Luke's position. Walaskay writes,

21) Swartley, 21.

22) David L. Tiede, *Luke*. Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 247.

23) Johnson, 214.

24) Christoph W. Stenschke, *Luke's Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 118.

whatever material in Luke-Acts that is unfavorable to Rome is far from a sustained anti-Roman polemic. ... Rather, in reporting the encounters between representatives of the Christian movement and the Roman empire, Luke has often glossed over the negative perspective regarding the empire contained in his sources while actively promoting a positive representation of Roman rule.²⁵⁾

Walaskay correctly analyses the position of Luke connected to the Roman Empire. Luke has a positive and favourable attitude to the Roman Empire and stands for it. However, it is important to note that there are few Lucan interpreters who strive to reread Luke's pro-Roman tendency, and re-evaluate the Jewish nationalist liberation struggles which Luke overlooks. Unlike other Lucan interpreters, Bailey points out an unawareness and ignorance of the Roman Empire connected to Jewish religious practice. According to Bailey, "Pilate's soldiers could have been so insensitive to Jewish religious practices as to attack worshipers in the very act of offering a sacrifice."²⁶⁾ By indicating the characteristics of the Roman Empire, Bailey analyses the Jewish nationalist movement within the texts of Luke-Acts.

Even though Lucan interpreters analyse the oppression and cruelty of Pilate and the Roman Empire towards Galilee and Judea, Roman colonial territory, they turn the emphasis back to the religious aspect of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9. In spite of recognising the political implication of the narrative connected to Pilate's slaughter, most Lucan interpreters tend to reinforce the religious emphasis of the text. For instance, Caird notes that the Roman Empire is used as God's instrument to punish unrepentant Israel. According to him, "as in the days of Isaiah God had used Assyria as the agent of his judgement upon his people; and only immediate repentance could save them."²⁷⁾ Luke, writing after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, probably witnesses the oppression and violence of Roman imperial power in Galilee and Judea. However, Luke seems to describe the presence of the Roman Empire positively, and tends to obscure the negative aspects of the Roman Empire. It is important to note that most Lucan interpreters

25) Walaskay, 25.

26) Bailey, 75.

27) Caird, 169.

attempt to reinforce Luke's pro-Roman perspective rather than to critically evaluate it. These Lucan commentators' interpretative tendencies strongly link the attempt to shift from the political issue to the religious one. Most Lucan commentators identify the need for repentance in the narrative in Luke 13:1-9, which contains both the political and religious issue. It is appropriate to point out that most Lucan interpreters fail to represent the resistant voices of the narrative as a result of highlighting the religious aspect rather than the political and ideological standpoint.

In order to propose an appropriate interpretation of the narrative, we need to scrutinise Lucan scholars' interpretative perspectives. According to C. F. Evans, "whether or not the incidents had any political background, Jesus treats them from a religious point of view."²⁸⁾ The attitude of Luke's Jesus is interpreted by Lucan scholars in certain specific ways. Johnson also indicates the position of Luke reinforcing the religious issue. According to him, "the point of Luke's recital is less the history of Pilate's reign than of the need to repent."²⁹⁾ These interpretations of the narrative seem to regard it as appropriate. However, these interpretative perspectives have something to do with Eurocentric reading practices, which attempt to eclipse the political issues as a consequence of stressing the religious aspect. Ellis tends to shift from the political issues to the need for repentance in the light of God's judgement. According to Ellis, "in every death, whether an accident at 'Siloam' or an execution by Pilate, the funeral bell 'tolls for thee.' Hear its warning and 'repent' ! Just as an unfruitful tree sooner or later is cut out of the orchard, so the judgement of God comes at length upon those who never bring forth the fruit of repentance (cf. 12:13-21)."³⁰⁾ The emphasis on the religious aspect of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9 seems to connect to Luke's theological stance, that is: Luke tends to reinterpret the miserable historical incident regarding the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple in the light of the religious lessons. For instance, Robert Maddox implies this interpretative stance. According to him,

It seems to me that in the second half of this cluster of sayings, 13:1-9, there is an unmistakable reference to the coming destruction of

28) Evans, 547.

29) Johnson, 211.

30) Ellis, 185.

Jerusalem: unless you repent, you will be butchered by the Romans even within the Temple-court; unless you repent, the towers of Jerusalem will fall on you; unless Judaism becomes a fruitful tree, she is to be chopped down.³¹⁾

Although most Lucan interpreters seem to recognise the political issue of the narrative, they tend to overlook the political aspect and rather emphasise the religious point of view. It is important to note that Lucan commentators tend to suspend critical evaluation of Luke's excessively pro-Roman attitude and deal positively with Luke's position connected to the Roman Empire. Joseph A. Fitzmyer indicates that Jesus is a Galilean. Indication of a Galilean Jesus is of crucial significance because Galileans were stigmatised as the rebel or revolvers. However, as Fitzmyer points out, "though a Galilean himself, he does not launch into a chauvinistic criticism of the Roman prefect; instead he uses the incident to call for repentance."³²⁾ In contrast, Bailey interprets the religious issue of repentance connected to the issue of nationalism. According to him, "this call for repentance is thrown in the face of nationalistic enthusiasts who stand in opposition to Roman oppression."³³⁾ He does not comment whether Luke's Jesus, in calling for repentance, displays a pro-Roman or an apolitical attitude. Bailey demonstrates,

Jesus' speech should not be read simply as a rejection of the nationalistic struggle, nor as a concern for things "spiritual" rather than political. ... He does not tell them to submit to Pilate. He is not acquiescing to Roman oppression. Rather he bravely demonstrates a deep concern for the people in front of him who will destroy themselves and all around them if they do not repent.³⁴⁾

Since he spells out not only the political and religious aspects of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9, but also the presence of the nationalist movement, Bailey's analysis contains a progressive interpretation, which goes beyond

31) Maddox, 17.

32) Fitzmyer, 1004-1005.

33) Bailey, 78-79.

34) Bailey, 79.

other Lucan commentators' interpretative perspectives. However, we need to point out that he fails to reinterpret the position of Luke. It is important to note that the position of Luke connected to Luke 13:1-9 apparently implies a pro-Roman attitude. It seems that Luke stands up for the Roman Empire, and tends to diminish the negative and oppressive tendencies of the Roman Empire and its representatives. In contrast, Luke attempts to overlook the presence of the Jewish nationalist resistant movement in Luke 13:1-9. Therefore, we need to reread and reinterpret the nationalistic resistant voices in Luke 13:1-9 that both Luke and Lucan interpreters intend to overlook within the text. In other words, we need to expose these interpretations, which tend to justify western colonial concerns. In doing so, we can bring the silenced and marginalised voices, i.e., the liberative nationalist discourses to the fore of the interpretation. It is a rereading and reinterpreting practice of the narrative in Luke 13:1-9 in the light of postcolonial biblical reading.

Abstract

Nationalism is an important issue to consider in the study of postcolonialism. It is strongly linked to imperialism. It is necessary to look at nationalism and its implications and to pursue the relationship between nationalism and Luke's Gospel in the light of postcolonial discourse. I shall attempt to deal with three important issues in this paper. First of all, I will look at the issue of nationalism as a postcolonial concern. I would like to investigate the definitions of the term 'nationalism' and the relationship between nationalism and postcolonial discourse. Secondly, I will examine the liberative aspect of nationalism in Luke's Gospel connected to Jewish nationalist struggles against the Roman Empire. Finally, I would like to reread and reinterpret the narrative in Luke 13:1-9, which contains the issue of nationalism, in the light of postcolonial biblical reading.

As we have examined, it is important to note that the issue of nationalism is strongly linked to the issue of imperialism. It seems that the Jewish nationalist movement has strong implications in Luke's Gospel. These Jewish nationalist resistance movements only exist because of the presence of the Roman imperialism. However, Luke does not seem to mention the presence of the Jewish nationalist movement in his writings. Furthermore, most Lucan commentators tend to overlook the political issues connected to Jewish nationalism, and they strive to deny the possibility and potentiality of liberation struggles against Roman imperial power. Therefore, if we reread the texts of Luke's Gospel in the light of postcolonial reading practices, we find that Luke's Gospel does deal with the issue of nationalism. Clearly, Luke does not stand for the Jewish nationalist resistance movement against the Roman Empire. Rather, Luke, a *co-opted* intellectual, seems to take the part of the Roman Empire. Although Luke lives under the domination and oppression of the Roman Empire, he does not promote the Jewish nationalist resistance movement against Roman imperial power. It seems that Luke tacitly approves of Roman imperial dominance and oppression. Some Lucan interpreters, who tend to overlook the political issues in Luke's Gospel, are writing from a Eurocentric interpretative perspective. By ignoring the resistance voices connected to the Jewish liberation struggles in Luke's Gospel, they justify western colonial discourses. In addition, we need to reread the position of Luke and to reinterpret Lucan commentators' interpretation in the light of

postcolonial discourses. We can discover hidden voices, i.e., the resistance voices connected to the issue of nationalism, as a result of rereading and reinterpreting the texts of Luke's Gospel by means of postcolonial biblical reading.

Key Words

Nationalism, postcolonialism, an alternative reading, Luke's Gospel, Roman Empire

Ending Scapegoating: A Theology of Peace

Kwon Jin-Kwan*

Introduction

We live in a world where people(s) are deeply divided by race, nation, sex, religion, and economic power. The division among them is manipulated and sometimes escalated by the powers of the world, and in this process weak sectors are created and isolated. So as to maintain the order of the world, which is constantly unstable, the order must inflict unresolved contradictions upon the weak sectors of the world and sacrifice them for the maintenance of the order of the established world. Scapegoats are constantly being created in this world. According to the French literary critic René Girard, a community externalizes the animosities and uneasiness among its members on to a scapegoat, and by the sacrifice of the scapegoat the community returns to its normality. The normality of this world claims the victimization of some segments and by virtue of their burden and sufferings the order of this world is maintained.

North Korea is now stigmatized as a victim by the order of the world

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controlled by the “American and Western Empire,” in which Japan and South Korea play an important part. “Axis of evil” and “rogue country” are typical labels given to North Korea. World mass media like CNN shoot pictures of military parades with missiles and other arms, or of mass games with colored cards held by tens of thousands of people moving like one body, thus depicting NK as a suspect country under military or dynastic control.

Is North Korea a typical scapegoat in the international network controlled by the U.S.? Or, is NK a rogue country that is unpredictable in its actions and very dangerous for the peace and security of the world? Because it is very dangerous and evil, must the international community punish it? The more the answer tilts to the positive, the more North Korea may become a target of animosity and then a preemptive strike. Then international police would start to search for the “madman” or “witches” as their sacrifice. My thesis is that the Christian message is totally against the motivation of scapegoating. My claim will be that even given the excuse of just cause and just intention, the major tenets of the just war theory in the Christian tradition cannot apply to the situation of the Korean peninsula. This is because the just war theory will only further the process of scapegoating North Korea. This paper will not, however, reject the whole of the just war theory; it will appreciate the Biblical idea that justice and peace need to go together. But this paper will regard as dangerous the idea that war can achieve justice and then peace; an idea which was a frequent rhetoric of George W. Bush’s administration. This paper will suggest that we need to explore the idea of life for peace. Lastly, I will argue that a relative non-violent pacifism is the most necessary option for us to take in considering the region of North East Asia and the Korean Peninsula.

In this paper, I will first briefly describe the peace tradition in the Bible and in Christianity. Secondly, I will critically discuss the mutual relationship among three ideas: peace, justice, and life. Thirdly, I will suggest that we can draw an important element of the world view from the New Testament and one that is fundamentally correspondent with the eastern view of the world, especially that of Donghak (literally, Eastern Learning) religion that started in the late 19th century in Korea. The common world view from both the New Testament and the Donghak scriptures, I believe, will positively contribute to our search for the religious and philosophical foundation of peace. Fourthly and lastly, I will attempt at delineating the

meaning of relative non-violent pacifism as the most acceptable theory to be implemented in the region.

The Peace Tradition in the Bible and Christian Churches

Many people believe that the two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam, are more prone to engaging in war than religions in the East. The fact that Korean Protestant ministers often make hostile and bellicose remarks concerning communist North Korea may well prove this belief. They were eager supporters of the Bush government's antagonistic policy toward North Korea.

I should like to explain what should have distorted peace-oriented Christianity so easily into a militant religion. The monotheistic faith demands that its devotees pursue purity in faith and ethical discernment between good and evil. The monotheistic faith heightens the consciousness of justice in its devotees by its commandments and laws. The strong consciousness of social justice in the monotheistic tradition made possible the prophetic tradition in the history of Israel; and the opposite is also true. The God of Israel is a God of justice. And in this tradition peace (*shalom*) is derived from justice. The famous phrase in Isaiah 32.17, "the effect of justice (*tsedaqa*) is peace," has been recalled as the motto for social ethics for peace in the Hebrew tradition. In this tradition, the pair of ideas, justice and peace, go together. The values of love and compassion, it seems to me, had been thought of as minor to the twin values, although love and compassion are equally emphasized later by Jesus and his followers. I understand that Jesus believed that love and compassion come first and their result is justice, because I believe Jesus thought that the ultimate goal of justice was preserving, enriching and empowering life, even for the one lost among the one hundred sheep. It reminds us of the Buddhist teaching that the bodhisattva is vowed to save the whole world - "all beings down to the last blade of grass." Jesus rejected harming life in the name of justice (law).

But some parts of the Hebrew Bible go with the Davidic dynasty or with the nation of Israel so closely that it does not transcend the concerns and interests of Israel (Judea) or the Davidic dynasty. For example, there are many curses against enemies in the Psalms, and peace is meant to be almost equivalent to the security of the Davidic dynasty and its triumph over its enemies. "But do thou, O Lord, be gracious to me, and raise me up, that I

may requite them!" (41.10). "For thou hast delivered me from every trouble, and my eye has looked in triumph on my enemies" (54.7).

The Hebrew Bible is not ambivalent in its attitude toward peace, at least within the framework of Israel.

"Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet; righteousness (*tsedaka*) and peace (*shalom*) will kiss each other" (Ps 85.10).

"Yea, the Lord will give what is good, and our land will yield its increase. Righteousness will go before him, and make his footsteps a way" (Ps 85.12).

Here again justice and peace are paired, and justice supersedes. Justice demands judgment and vengeance (Isaiah 61.2). The year of the Lord's favor - the Jubilee - is the day of vengeance. Jesus skipped this verse when he read Isaiah 61.1-2 at the beginning of his public life in the temple (Luke 4.18-19). I believe peace is foremost with Jesus. For Jesus, peace is no longer a minor concept compared with justice. The story of the return of the Prodigal son as told by Jesus transcends the traditional concept of justice. Love and compassion are a supreme part of his teaching. For Jesus, justice and peace originate in love and compassion. I would like at this point to claim that peace and love or peace and life are more connected and paired in Jesus. The peace that is achieved by the action of the father of the prodigal son in Luke 15 is derived from the father's absolute compassion for the prodigal son.

Peace churches are founded upon Jesus' teachings, especially the Sermon on the Mount. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God" (Matt 5.9). For those who confess Jesus as Christ it is their duty not to be involved in any war or conflict that causes harm and killing. Historical peace churches, such as Mennonites, Quakers, and the Churches of the Brethren, recognize the absolute validity of the Sermon on the Mount in their living. They are not engaged in the exercise of political power and give up all the privileges that would come with that exercise.¹⁾ Theologians of the early Church denounced serving in the military forces.

1) Wolfgang Huber and Hans-Richard Reuter, *Friedensethik* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990). In Korean translation, *Pyunghwa Yoonri*, trans. Sohn Kyutae and Kim Yongok (Seoul: CLS, 1997), 66.

Clement of Alexandria called Christian soldiers “soldiers of peace” and announced that the sole weapons Christian soldiers carry were the Word of God and the virtues of Christ.²⁾ The early Christian theologians Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen wrote that violence, war, and serving in the army did not match with Christian life. Origen said that prayer is more effective for peace than engaging in battle. For him prayer is a weapon to target on the spiritual powers that cause conflicts and strife, rather than on humans.

Christian churches had been peace churches until the Emperor authorized Christianity as an official religion in 312. As the Christian Church became part and parcel of the Roman Empire, Christians had to serve in the army and became involved in wars. The non-violent peace tradition was interrupted. The theory of the just war was newly introduced by St. Augustine in order to justify some particular wars that were engaged in to defend the integrity of the nation and the Christian faith. The weakness of Augustine’s just war theory lies not in its intention, but in its naive, blind trust that by violent means one can achieve good.³⁾ He announced, “Love does not exclude a war of compassion for the sake of the good.”⁴⁾ Augustine derived two classical ideas of the just war theory from Cicero; they are just cause and right intention. Later, another criterion that only legitimate authority can proclaim war was included in the just war theory. The criteria of the just war were developed in the mutual relationship between justice and peace. The just war theory was designed to make a compromise between the two conflicting realities: justice and war. One of the most sophisticated defenders of the just war, Thomas Aquinas, regarded revenge against the unjust as a core definitive element of the just war. He defended the crusade as a just war. His just war theory was inherited by the Reformation. Luther defended wars which were triggered by just causes. According to Luther, the worldly kingdom is so evil that external enforcement including war was necessary. In the midst of many criticisms and castigations against it, the just war theory has been incessantly defended

2) Thomas Merton, *Peace in the Post-Christian Era* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004). In Korean translation, *Merton ui Pyonghwaron*, trans. Cho Hyoje (Bundo, 2006), 81.

3) Merton, 97.

4) St Augustine, *Letter 138*. Quoted in Merton, 96.

by many realist theologians and clergy up till now. Historical peace churches and theologians including Erasmus rejected the just war as hypocrisy. Actually history demonstrates the fact that the result of just war is injustice, killing both combatants and non-combatants.

Justice, Life and Peace

In this section, I will analyze the weakness of the just war theory in view of the two seemingly harmonious but conflicting ideas of justice and peace when they are applied to wars, especially in the nuclear age. I will suggest another pair to be combined, that is, life and peace, as an alternative to the paired ideas of justice and peace, out of which the just war theory is derived.

The twin concepts of justice and peace have constituted the core of peace ethics in Christian history. Christian peace ethics founds itself on the famous idea in Isaiah 32. 17, "Justice creates peace." It is biblical wisdom that peace cannot flourish in unjust conditions. The problem, however, comes from the fact that the meaning of justice varies according to different people in different political and cultural situations. People understand the meaning of justice from their own perspectives and conditions. For example, the meaning of justice understood by neo-cons of the U.S. is intrinsically different from that held by leaders of the North Korean Communist Party. We may well conclude that justice is relative. Different people hold different convictions on justice. The members or elements that constitute justice are different and divergent according to different societies and cultures. Then, a war that is just for some group may not be the case for another group. Therefore, there is no such thing as a just war, but a justified war. It is an ideologically justified war. Justice to somebody may be injustice to another. Another example for this would be the concept of justice held by Catholic conquistadors versus that of native Indians. For the Catholic conquistadors the native Indians were evil because they were superstitious, culturally backward, antagonistic toward Westerners and their civilization and faith, and so on. Hegel praised war because war can make human history progress by advanced sectors overcoming the backward parts of the world. This is, according to Hegel, the work of the Spirit. When we speak of justice, we must first answer the question: whose justice? For example, is it the justice of the powerful, or the justice of the victim? Worldly power does what it wants in the name of justice. The weak take

revenge on it in the name of their justice. Look at the situation in Palestine. The ongoing blood-shedding conflicts between Christian West and Islamic East are another case. It is very clear that peace cannot be made by a just war. It is clearer that a just war would not work for making peace in a nuclearized area. The explosion of nuclear bombs would at once devastate indiscriminately the total human and ecological systems in the region. The just war and the pair of war and justice would not bring about peace. To that extent the pair, justice and peace, do not work for peace.

I would like to suggest that we need another pair, that is, life and peace. It seems not a coincidence that the title of our first conference bears peace and life; the exact expression was “peace for life.”⁵⁾ Our title expression was not peace for justice, which has often been mistaken as war for justice. But peace for life cannot be in any way mistaken as war for life, because war is too far apart from the idea of life. The traditional pair of justice and peace was replaced by Jesus with another pair, peace and life. Jesus had absolute respect for life. For him, there must not be any scapegoat or lost sheep. His cross was the end of the sacrificing of the scapegoat by humans. His cross should not be seen as a sacrifice by God in the Latin model of the atonement theory. He was sacrificed by humans and the powers that benefit from the worldly order into which a scapegoat mechanism is integrated. God does not want and does not accept the sacrifice of the scapegoat, and so there must not be an evil cycle of violent scapegoat practice any longer in the world. Such an evil cycle was stopped by the cross of Jesus “once for all.” His cross has brought us salvation, if salvation means the flourishing of life. The cross proved to have the effect of salvation by his resurrection; his rising to life. It also proved effective in salvation because it stopped the evil cycle of scapegoating in the world.

Crucifixion, that is, the sacrifice of the victim, still continues in the world. The lowest place of human society and the total environment are being sacrificed to buttress the world order, which is systematically and internally distorted. In this world, justice for the powerless is violated or ignored. The justice of the poor and powerless must yield to the justice of

5) The conference was held in St. Lazarus Village, Uiwang City, Kyungki-Do, South Korea, May 15-19, 2005, the title of which was “International Peace Conference on Peace for Life in North East Asia,” organized by Korea Christian Faculty Fellowship.

the rich and powerful. Now, the concept of justice that is really just should be justice for all lives, the powerful and powerless, haves or have-nots, human and non-human.

Korea is well adjusted to the present world order. Our spending for military expenditure ranks as 11th in the world. China as well as Japan spends two times our expenditure; of course, the U.S. spends much more (25 times).⁶⁾ Our government, along with worldly powers, dispatched military forces to Iraq. We also participate in the globally operative work of creating and sacrificing scapegoats. We know that the Korean government has only a limited space to make its own choices in this present world order. But I believe that the world order can be changed when internationally collective efforts at making peace are combined and accumulated.

A Worldview for Life and Peace

I would like to briefly explain my understanding of a worldview that I draw from the New Testament and the scripture of the Donghak religion.

First of all, I would like to suggest that some parts of the New Testament, like the letters to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, interpret Christ as creating, encompassing, immanent in, and reconciling all things in the world (Col 1.15-20). Christ is understood as the “peace” that brings reconciliation among all things and humans in the world (Eph 2.14). The love of Christ “binds everything together in perfect harmony” (Col 3.14). There is one Spirit and one God, “who is above all and through all and in all” (Eph 4.6). We are all of the same citizenship and family in God (Eph 2.19).

Christ, Spirit, and God are in everything in the whole world, and all things are reconciled in harmony in the bond of love and peace. “The peace of Christ” rules in our hearts and calls us in one body (Col 3.15). I think that this presence of Christ in all, and “the Peace of Christ” in everything in the whole world is akin to the idea of *Qi* in the Donghak religion. *Qi* is understood in the East as present in everything and moving all things into unity and harmony in peace (氣化). Other things and myself are in the same family (物吾同胞). Such immanentism of the Donghak scriptures and New Testament provides us with a worldview for peace. Everything is divine,

6) *Hankyore*, a daily newspaper, June 12, 2007.

and all are, by the divine life-giving power (Qi, Christ, and Spirit), internally related in the unity of peace; there should not be any part left out of the cosmic relationship. This worldview is an alternative to the present world order, which is internally and systematically distorted.

Relative Non-Violent Pacifism

Now, I would like to suggest relative non-violent pacifism as the option we can consider as a better framework for our understanding and action for peace. We cannot opt for the just war theory with its Christian realism, nor for any violent, bellicose antagonism when we deal with peace and security in North East Asia, and especially in the Korean Peninsula. Nor can absolute non-violent pacifism be our choice, because it can invite an unwanted war.

I will, in the following, delineate my understanding of relative non-violent pacifism. It, first of all, aims at reducing the tension between antagonist parties by negotiation and dialogue, and thereby aims at making peace. So here dialogue and mutual supportive relationships are the most crucial. The dialogue encourages mutual deeper understanding of one another. We can apply the wisdom of those theologians who engage in dialogue with other religions. Raimon Panikkar argues that by and large we have interpreted the other part with our own categories which are foreign to the other. He continues, "Thus we have not reached the self-understanding of the other. In a word, we have interpreted the other as other, while the other does not see itself as other but as self."⁷⁾ As I alluded in the introduction, North Korea has not been understood by the international powers in the way North Korea understands itself. The picture of North Korea shown on world news programs distorts the reality in North Korea and delivers the wrong message about it. Only genuine dialogue can overcome such a problem.

In addition, relative non-violent pacifism demands us to seek a realistic way to reduce the military power in the common region. Also, the relativists participate in real politics so that they can put pressure on the political

7) Raimon Panikkar, "Religions and the Culture of Peace," in *Religion, Politics, and Peace*, ed. Leroy S. Rouner (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 190.

powers to plan and implement policies for peace. Furthermore, relativists open their eyes widely to discern real and potential hostile powers in order to prepare themselves to reduce tension and conflicts. They constantly keep their eyes on those potentially hostile powers, especially on their activities for armament. A realistic analysis of those powers is a necessary part of relative non-violent pacifism. Again, the relativists do a realistic assessment of the power and influence of the internal and domestic supporters for conflict, tension, intimidation, strategy, and even war. Relativists seek to widen their own influence for peace in order to countervail the power and influence of those who support violence. Lastly, the relativists seek the balance of power surrounding their territory and by this balance of power they seek to secure peace and avoid the possibility of becoming a scapegoat in international power politics. In order to maintain the balance of power the relativists may approve maintaining a certain level of defensive forces.

A Conclusion

In the age of nuclear armaments, it seems that justice is crippled. Pacifists in South Korea demand the total extermination of all nuclear weapons in the world including North Korea, as well as the U.S. But only North Korea is under pressure for total extermination of nuclear armaments. In such a world, justice is done within certain limits imposed by the worldly powers and the good words of “justice for peace” seem obsolete and even distorted. *Pax Romana* and *Pax Americana* surely validate this assessment. I would conclude that life is a more usable concept for a theology of peace in a nuclearized age, where justice is mocked and life is suffering. Peace is a condition of life-preservation and life-enrichment. The value of life is operative in the international community. This makes it imperative to provide North Korea with food and other resources for the life-preservation of the people, regardless of how much the North Korean government does to treat its members justly and humanely. Life should be more counted, valued, and operative than justice in the mutual relationship between North Korea and South Korea. Life and peace are the key criteria of our political and personal lives in our times.

Ending the sacrificing of scapegoats is a minimum requirement for justice in the world. But it is not an easy task. This minimum requirement requires a transformation of the present world order and also requires a new

worldview, where members are communicative, participatory and organically related, and no longer divided and discriminating against each other. Ending the scapegoating has already started, Christians believe, with the cross of Jesus. But the world is still crucifying the scapegoats along with many other innocent victims in a violent and systemic way. I believe that such a mechanism derives from the lack of communication, mutual cooperation, and mutual learning. Practicing these elementary principles will diminish most of the human tragedies in the world.

Abstract

The author argues that the most serious issue that arises out of the peace and conflict matters in the Korean peninsula is that of the scapegoating of North Korea. North Korea allegedly possesses nuclear weapons, but is still a small and weak military country compared with the U.S. and Japan. The author stresses the supreme importance of the life of the ordinary people in the Korean peninsula. He also argues that a relative non-violent pacifism is the most necessary option for us to take in the region of North East Asia and the Korean Peninsula and is the most acceptable theory to be implemented in the region. Accordingly, it also becomes the author's argument that absolute non-violent pacifism cannot be our choice, because it can invite an unwanted war. The author continues to argue that there is no such thing as a just war, but always a justified war and that the paired concepts of justice and peace eventually do not help in constructing peace in the Korean peninsula. The author concludes that the idea of life is a more usable concept for a theology of peace than justice in a nuclearized age, where justice is mocked and life is suffering.

Key Words

just war, scapegoating, *Donghak*, peace, justice, life, relative pacifism.

Protestant Spirit in Korean Mind: Korean Non-Church Christian Principles of Localizing the Universal Gospel

Baik So-Young*

The Meaning of Korean Non-Church Christianity in the 21st Global Context

One of the keywords that represent our contemporary world would be “globalization,” which includes an intensively growing consciousness of the one world in which worldwide mutual interdependences are required. Rapid technological developments in communication and transportation have surely produced the world as a unified system. In the early period of globalization, especially along with the collapse of communist-socialist system, considerable numbers of scholars, represented by Francis Fukuyama,¹⁾ anticipated globalization as a homogenous unification of the

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world, which they mostly meant *the* Western: politically liberal, economically capitalist, and culturally Euro-American world. In some aspects, it is empirically true that *the* Western/American culture travels on global scale, making tremendous influences on local cultures.

Our experiences in globalization, however, have also shown different aspects: reactions from locals, more than often accompanying violence, rather than a harmonious and homogeneous world order and life styles. Scholars who see such a complex reality have developed concepts that could explain different aspects of globalization. John Tomlinson, an expert in culture and communication theories, for example, suggests the concept of “complex connectivity” of globalization which made loose the connection of the locality and its local culture and increase the speed and density of mutual connectivity and dependency.²⁾ According to him, globalization does not mean the end of locality but modification of local culture in responding to exogenous elements of the global culture, of which results are various forms of hybridized local cultures and their influences on the direction of global culture.³⁾

At this point, we might admit Peter Berger and his colleagues’ naming of globalization as “many globalization” which embraces homogenous process, hybridization, indigenization, and all other responses to make sense of locals in the global world. According to *Many Globalization* research participants, who have field-studied cultural elements of different regions in encounter with the homogeneous global stream, the groups of “weak culture,” which means having low sense of local identity, tend to adopt the Western-originated global culture without any critical reflections. Whether being an active responder or a passive receiver of the global culture, they concluded, produces quite different results in local lives.⁴⁾

If we see the contemporary Korean mainline Protestant churches from

1) In his famous work *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), Francis Fukuyama showed a Hegelian optimism, interpreting the Western democratic order as the final stage of human development.

2) John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, trans. Kim Sung-hyŏn and Chŏng Yong-hui (Seoul: Nanam, 2004), 12.

3) For this issue, consult with Tomlinson’s op. cit., especially 50-52, 123-125, 143-151, 174-184, 191-192, and 203-213.

4) For details, see Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington, eds., *Many Globalization*, trans. Kim Han-young (Seoul: I Field, 2005).

the perspective of *Many Globalization* researchers, we cannot help but to admit that they belong to a “weak” culture who becomes passive receiver group that has adopted, in some sense welcome, a homogenous global process of Western Christianity. In a recent research studying in the Korean Protestant churches that have numerically grown since 1990s, the time of a full-scale globalization, I could observe the great consensus among the congregations on the homogenous global contents of Christianity that have been formulated in American context, that is, religiously evangelical (and fundamental), politically conservative-democratic, and economically capitalist-friendly.⁵⁾ It is not surprising, in fact, that Christianity, which has identified Westernization with modernization and Christianization since the dawn of emerging modernity, has showed a religious zeal to make a homogeneous world of Kingdom of God, of which economic system is capitalistic and political system is democratic-liberal. As Immanuel Wallerstein illustrates, the history of modernity has been that of Western, modern, Christian people’s ‘rude’ proclamation of their right to intervene in non-Western worlds, which they regarded as barbarian, irrational, and underdeveloped.⁶⁾ This is what Wallerstein called “european universalism,” the universalized ideology of a particular (Western, modern and Christian) worldview.

Distinguished from “european universalism,” Wallerstein, along with increasing numbers of scholars who advocate the need for a new universalism for global coexistence, demonstrates that the next twenty to fifty years would be critical for world intellectuals to create “universal universalism,” which could be acquired through global conversations among all particulars in equal power relations.⁷⁾ Of course, it would be quite ideal for all cultural groups to have equal rights or to find a place for conversing with one another in egalitarian relations. Nevertheless, it seems to be normative to create such a shared concept for living together in already-globalized world. Perhaps, his emphasis on “being historical”

5) Soyoung Baik, “In Search for Meaning within Urban Protestant Life in Global Era: Focusing on the ‘90s-Type’ Trans-Denominational Evangelical Church Congregations in Metro-Seoul Area,” *Trans-Humanities* 2 (Spring 2009): 77-110.

6) For historical incidents, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*. Trans. Kim Chae-oh (Seoul: Ch’angbi, 2008), 15-58.

7) Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*, 56-57 and 146.

would be one way to make the ideal realized. “Universal universalism,” according to Wallerstein, allows us to reject any human attempt to essentialize a particular idea or an institution, to historicize all human products and creation, and to criticize the intervention of the strong to the life matters of the weak.⁸⁾

Diagnosing the Korean Protestant churches’ reality of passive, non-reflective reception of Western form and contents of Christianity to be problematic and non-positive local way of living the global world, I would like to pay attention to Korean Non-Church Christian adherents, represented by Kim Kyo-sin (1901-1945) and Ham Sök-hön (1901-1989),⁹⁾ who had practiced lifetime effort to distinguish what are universal from particulars in Christian tradition and to construct a historically concrete Korean community of Christian believers. Hoping that their lives and suggested principles could help contemporary mainline Korean churches to find their own epistemological and practical ways to make a local community that makes sense to the locals and contribute to making a “universal universalism” in the time of rethinking our present institutional life in the new world conditions.

8) Ibid. 138.

9) Born in 1901 in the northern part of Korea, where Christianity was strong as a cultural and spiritual alternative, Kim Kyo-sin and Ham Sök-hön were leading figures in the KNCC group from the outset. Although six initial members got together sharing their common vision and faith confessions, it was Kim Kyo-sin who maintained the journal *Söngsö Chosön* and produced major articles as the representative of the first generation of KNCC. Inheriting the KNCC spirit and principles, Ham had continued the second generation of the KNCC examining localization of Christian Gospel in Korean context. Here I mainly consult with Kim and Ham’s works based on my understanding that both of them were representative thinkers and activists who showed the KNCC spirit and principles. I partially introduced primary ideas about the themes in a seminar led by Ssalsasang yöngu hoe (Associate of Ssial Thought) in June 2006, of which work was published as a collected work on Ham’s thought *Ssial, Saengmyöng, P’yöngwha* [Common People, Life and Shalom] (Hangilsa, 2007). Having brought the themes as major study object, here, I develop and extend the themes in a broader review of the KNCC and in relation with the 21st global reality of our contemporary world and the Korean churches in it.

Non-Church, Universal in Principles and Particular in Forms and Contents

Non-Church was initially started by Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1983) who denied denominational church organizations as the Western Christianity introduced. Uchimura was in a unique position in the history of Christianity because he was one of the first Asians to pursue the development of a local Christian community that reflected Asian cultural presuppositions. He believed that loving God and loving one's nation "complete and fulfill each other."¹⁰⁾ Naming his own Christianity as "samurai Christianity,"¹¹⁾ Uchimura went through great struggle to harmonize his Japanese and Christian identities.

To Uchimura, "non" (*mu*) in his Non-Church did not mean the destruction of the Christian faith community, but the destruction of universalized beliefs in particular ("wrong" in his eyes) statements about the church such as denominationalism, the tendency to make absolute human-made church doctrines and ecclesiastical orders, deification of the earthly form of the Church, and an exclusive assertion that salvation is available in the institutional churches alone. Uchimura called his Non-Church *ecclesia*, distinguishing it from the institutional churches. To Uchimura, every *ecclesia* is revealed as a historically concrete particular gathering, not the permanent and universal form, of Christian community. Through scholarly study of the original meaning of the term *ecclesia* in the New Testament, Uchimura ensured that Christ used the word to refer to "the gathering of the laity who is called [out of the church]."¹²⁾ "The original *ecclesia*," to Uchimura, "was a fellowship of individuals who had chosen to model their

10) James T. Koder, "Uchimura Kanzō and His No Church Christianity: Its Origin and Significance in Early Modern Japan," *Religious Studies* 23 (Spring 1987): 387.

11) Uchimura valued samurai virtues such as loyalty to the nation and sincere respect for one's teacher. In his works one can easily find positive description of samurai who showed loyalty to the nation and the feudal lord. Such persons were seen as perfect models for Japanese Christians. Uchimura stated that Japanese soldiers who happily accepted death for their family and nation had eschatological hope. Uchimura Kanzō, *Questions and Answers in Christianity*, trans. Ch'oe Hyōn (Seoul: Saminsa, 1985), 26-27.

12) Uchimura Kanzō, *Zenshu* [The Complete Works], trans. Kim Yong-gŏn and Kim Yun-ok, vol. (Seoul: Sŏrusa, 1975), 8: 353-54, 369.

lives after the Christ, and thus it did not make a distinction between the sacred and the profane, between the act of worship and every day life.”¹³⁾ Uchimura was convinced that Non-Church is the best form of the Church in this world that satisfies his understanding of an ideal form of a historically concrete Christian gathering. He admitted, based on his Christian understanding of human nature as free but imperfect, that human beings are not able to accomplish the task of founding a perfect church on earth. The perfect form of Christian gathering would be achieved only in the final Kingdom of God. What has to be done on earth is to establish a better form of the church as a continuous process of denying any form of the church that becomes a fossilized organization. In this sense, Non-Church is “universal” in terms of its principle of continuous negation of any “universal” form of the church in history.¹⁴⁾

In a Bible meeting led by Uchimura, the six Koreans (Kim Kyo-sin, Ham Sŏk-hŏn, Song Tu-yong, Chŏng Sang-hun, Yu Sŏk-dong, and Yang In-sŏng) met together and shared a vision for the reformation of Korea through Christian faith. They started their own Bible meeting in which they fostered not only biblical knowledge but also their patriotic concerns about Korea. Issuing the first edition of *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn* (Bible Korea, the group’s written faith statements) in July 1927, the Korean Non-Church Christians (hereafter KNCC) set up the motto of the journal as “Bible to Korea and Korea on the Bible.” The KNCC adherents skipped the word “and” between *Sŏngsŏ* and *Chosŏn* when they created the name of journal because they could not prioritize between the two. Considering being a Korean to be equally important to being a Christian, they took out the word “and” that might separate the two from each other (Kim, 2: 20-21).¹⁵⁾

The KNCC community did not agree with the mainline Korean denominational churches’ interpretations and practices of the Christian faith as given from Western denominational churches. The KNCC community understood that it should undertake a twofold task: to

13) Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity the Japanese Way* (Leideu: E. J. Brill), 1979, 51.

14) Soyoung Baik Chey, “Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church,” Boston University Th. D. dissertation, 2003, 95-96.

15) Kim Kyo-sin, *Kimkyosin Chŏnjip* [The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin] 6 Vols., ed. No Pyŏng-gu (Taegu: Ilsimsa, 1981). Hereafter I will put the volume number and the page numbers in the text at the end of cited contents.

transform Korea in light of Christianity and to challenge Western-oriented denominational Korean churches in light of traditional Korean moral teachings. Although *Söngsö Chosön* was not a popular journal (with less than three hundred subscribers), it continued every month for fifteen years providing autonomous and creative interpretations on the Bible, critical reflections on their timely matters, and spiritual and moral tasks of Koreans in history. An episode in the 1942 *Söngsö Chosön* case, of which result was the stoppage of its publication, shows that intellectual and spiritual power of the KNCC was considerable. A Japanese police officer who investigated the *Söngsö Chosön* accomplices saw the potential power of KNCC: "You [the KNCC group] are the worst group that we have caught. Those who formulate social associations for the independence of Chosön are bearable. But, you are devious people who attempt to implant the spirit of Chosön people in the name of religion, a basis for independence a century or five centuries later."¹⁶⁾

Ham Sök-hön, one of the starting members of KNCC, inherited the initial passion for and concerns about the harmonization of their Christian (universal) faith and national (local) identity, and led the second generation of KNCC since 1945, the year of Kim's sudden death of typhus and of the national independence. Although conservative and fundamental line of KNCC, represented by No P'yöng-gu (1912-2003), condemned Ham for his growing faith confessions in dialogue with Korean cultural and religious heritages, from my understanding, Ham was the person who kept the core KNCC principles through his lifetime and even went further to produce significant local religious intellectual contents in a deeper level than the first KNCC generation.

After reading *Söngsö Chosön* and KNCC members' works such as Kim's and Ham's *Complete Works*, I have categorized the principles into three major themes. 1) The first principle is the autonomy of *al* (a part/an individual) in correlation with *Han* (the Whole). 2) The second principle is protesting pacifism in concrete historical contexts. 3) The third one is an ongoing spiritual journey of learning Christian faith that should be ceased in a certain moment.

16) Yu Tal-yöng, "Kim Kyo-sin kwa han'guk" [Kim Kyo-sin and Korea] in *Kimkyosin kwa han'guk* [Kim Kyo-sin and Korea], ed. No P'yöng-gu (Taegu: Ilsimsa, 1981), 167.

The First Principle: Autonomy of *al* (the Singular) in Correlation with *Han* (the Whole)

The understanding of *al*, an individual who belongs to and is thus relational with *Han* (the One Great Divine) led the KNCC adherents to demonstrate autonomy and freedom of an individual believer who is able to seek God without any authorized institutions. Ham Sök-hön furiously emphasized this aspect of *al*'s autonomy: "The fundamental principle of life is do-it-by-itself. Since God is the Spirit of do-it-by-itself, God wants the world God has created to reach the life as do-it-by-itself" (Ham, 1:48);¹⁷⁾ "A life in history is supposed to become oneself as it is" (Ham, 1:63).

The KNCC concept of *al* is, however, different from that of the self in the modern Western philosophy. The KNCC believed that *al* is not a being separated from *Han*, the world, and one's neighbors. *Al* is a relational being. The KNCC members shared an organic worldview in which every living thing is in a relational status of being. Although *al* is free from human-made institutions, *al* belongs ontologically to a bigger community of life as created by *Han*, the One Wholly Divine. Korean religious and cultural traditions, especially neo-Confucian teaching, had taught the KNCC members that the self is constituted by its relations to significant others such as parents, spouse, children, friends, and furthermore all the myriad things in universe.

Based on his understanding of *al*'s capability to receive *Han*'s divinity, Kim Kyo-sin was convinced that Koreans and East Asians, as *al* of *Han* in Ham's language, are able to communicate with God even before the advent of Christianity on Korean peninsular. Confucius, Mencius, Lau Tzu, Chang Tzu were those who taught the teaching of God (Kim, 2:202). Kim confessed that religious thoughts in East Asia were like the Old Testament, which reveals and prepared the Christian thought in the pre-Christian era. Kim sometimes expressed his preference for Confucian cultural presuppositions when Christian teachings that Western theologians produced did not make sense to him. One instance of this concerned the issue of "individual salvation." Convinced that God would ultimately save

17) Ham Sök-hön, *Hamsökhön Chönjip* [The Complete Works of Ham Sök-hön] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983). Hereafter I will put the volume number and the page numbers in the text at the end of the quoted contents.

all living things, Kim rejected the idea of “Predestination” that says God would save parts of creation in an exclusive way. Kim even announced that, although his assertion is not orthodox in Christian tradition, he cannot accept his own salvation if there is no man who would not be saved (Kim, 1:179-180). With a belief in an organic universe of God, Kim was convinced that God would save the whole humankind and all living things on “that day,” the eschatological moment of universal accomplishment.

Ham also rejected the doctrine of individual’s spiritual salvation, asserting that an individual cannot be saved if one does not complete one’s own historical vocation given from God (Ham, 3:15). Receiving insights from Yu Yŏng-mo’s (1890-1981) religious philosophical concept of *ssial* (seed),¹⁸⁾ Ham developed a panentheistic idea of divine incarnation of *ssial*, the spirit of God, in every human mind. Influenced by Yu, later Ham considered Eastern teachings and Korean religious-cultural traditions as the main resources for his religious reflection. Most of all, Ham appreciated the shared religious mind of Koreans’ worshipping *Hananim*, the One Wholly Divine, because it could become the ground of a peaceful, kind, inclusive, and harmonious collective consciousness among Koreans and other peoples. Although Ham did not develop a systematic theory of *Han*, his

18) As a religious thinker and ascetic who read the Bible in light of his deep understanding of Korean and Eastern religious traditions, Yu developed his own creative religious thought, which was quite different from orthodox Christian thought. To Yu, *ssial* is the same as the spirit or the seed of God on one hand, and as the common people in history on the other hand. *Han ʔl* is the name of the Spirit and God in Yu’s thought. It is similar to Christ or logos in Hellenistic Christian tradition. Since Christ or *Han ʔl* is the divine principle or power from heaven incarnated in every human being, it cannot be existed solely in Jesus. In the intellectual structure of neo-Confucian cosmology, Yu asserted that God is *mugŭk* [endlessness], whom the existential entities can neither perceive nor fully explain. A human being is only able to experience and tell about *t’aegŭk* [the Great Absolute] as *Han ʔl*, who participates in the world of creation and reveal the Deity. Although God as *mu* is beyond human grasp, according to Yu, a human being is able to long for and (partially) understand God because God has planted logos, the seed of God, inside of every human being. Park Yŏng-ho, *Tasŏk yuyŏngmo ũ saengae wa sasang* [The Life and Thought of Tasŏk Yu Yŏng-mo] (Seoul: Munwha ilbosa, 1996), 1:68, 164 and 375.

religious thoughts and practices were founded on the basic understanding of *Han* as the One Wholly Divine. Ham stated: “When one realizes that human beings originated from, belong to, and will return to *Hananim*, such awareness of the One True Self leads the person to be unified with the One Wholly Divine” (Ham, 4:65). Ham’s *ssial* was not only the name of the Divine but also that of common people: “God and common people are one. If God is head, God’s feet are called *ssial*, the common people. The feel of the holy God, put on earth and being dirty by soil, is called the common people in history (Ham, 3:147-148).

The awareness that *al* (*ssial*) as a free, autonomous, communal and divine individual who should establish the person’s own subjective faith confession led Ham to set forth his own interpretation of Jesus Christ. Ham now rejected the ‘atonement doctrine’ in its literal sense. To Ham, the word ‘atonement’ was regarded as invalid in modern times because the term was used in the period of slavery. Ham did not believe that one, even Jesus, is able to replace another’s personality which is subjective, free and autonomous. Accordingly, Ham thought that, in order to experience atonement, a Christian should be unified not with Jesus, a historical person, but with a permanent Christ, who exists not only in the mind of Jesus but also in the mind of all human beings. To Ham, the unique role of historical Jesus was to show the life of a free spirit, an instrument with which a person is able to perceive the Transcendent Deity and to reject any attempts to claim absoluteness of human-made religious systems. Ham concluded that only bare spirit that is free from human-made Christianity is able to enter the Kingdom of God (Ham, 6:315-316). As found in Ham’s autonomous interpretation of Jesus Christ, free from given Western doctrinal contents, the KNCC’s first principle of the autonomy of *al* in correlation with the *Han* allows them to develop their religious thinking in local language.

The Second Principle: Protesting Pacifism in History

According to Ienaga Saburō, a prominent Japanese modern philosophical thinker, it was Jewish-Christian tradition that has brought “logic of negation” into the Western intellectual and religious heritages. By the logic of negation, Ienaga means “the denial of this world as the truth and the proclamation of the other dimension of the one, true, and transcendent entity as real.”¹⁹⁾ Ienaga’s logic of negation may be closer to Weber’s *liebesakosmismus*, which Robert Bellah translates into “world-denying

love.”²⁰⁾ While Ienaga’s concept of “the logic of negation” does not explain the aspect of historical participation of an individual believers to the world, the place of God’s providence, Weber’s concept of world-denying love allows a room for embracing an individual believer’s motivating power to participate in worldly affairs, not because this world is permanent and divine but because a religious person has a loving mind to participate in the world. Nevertheless, the concept still fails to show the historical obligation of an individual believer’s participation in this world in that God wants to complete God’s order of Creation. For that reason, I suggested in my doctoral dissertation the terminology “world-transcending historical consciousness,” as a salient characteristic of Jewish-Christian thought. The world-transcending historical consciousness as I defined is that: “a worldview or standpoint similar to that possessed by ancient Judaism and ascetic Protestantism, that is, the vertical dimension of a belief-system in God the Transcendent who is also immanent in terms of God’s main concerns on the world as the realm of God’s creation. This standpoint leads the beliefs to live with ethical responsibility in the world and history as the realms of God’s

19) Ienaga insisted that, in the West, the logic of negation in Jewish-Christian thought denied “the logic of affirmation” in the ancient Western world that is represented by Greek philosophy. While Greek philosophy idealized God as the perfect reflection of humanity, the essential message of Christianity denied the possibility of human salvation through self-righteousness. The belief that God has absolute sole power for the salvation of human beings leads believers to deny optimistic views of human will and to negate perpetuity of the given world. While Greek philosophy teaches that the salvation of human being could be achieved through a gradual development of human’s eagerness for the truth, Christian doctrine says human salvation can be completed solely through one Divine-Man, Jesus the Christ, who paid for all human sins through crucifixion. Ienaga believes that the Christian message of radical negation of human capability and perpetuity of the world is surely the center of Christianity, which brought the notion of negation to the West. Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon shisoshi ni okeru hitei no ronri no hattatsu* [The development of logic of negation in the history of Japanese thought] (Tokyo: Shinsensa, 1983), 17-44.

20) Max Weber, “Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 330; Robert Bellah, “Max Weber and the World-Denying Love: A Look at the Historical Sociology of Religion” *Journal of American Academy of Religion* vol. 67, no. 2 (June 1999): 277-278.

rule, keeping the ultimate pursuit in an alternative world, the Kingdom of God.”²¹⁾ This “world-transcending historical consciousness,” as I believe, is what the KNCC inherited.

The KNCC adherents asserted that Christian belief in the world and history as the realm of God’s providence facilitates the believers to fight against any human practices against Godly will and order. Nevertheless, what Jesus taught to his disciples is that the fight should be always non-violent because even those who are against God share the seed of God as the created being. Nobody has a right to destroy the divinity in a person. For that reason, Christian’s spirit of protesting against any institutional and personal practices against God’s order should take the way of pacifism, professed the KNCC members. Believing that a Non-Church Christian is not a scholar that lives for academic concepts but a living person who lives in a real world, in which the person should find fighting counterpart in a changing situation (Kim, 1:297), the KNCC members did not restrain their protesting spirit only in the realm of Christian communities. To find the timely counterparts, they kept analyzing the time, history, and the contexts of their lives.

Accordingly, Christian love, to KNCC adherents, was not merely “world-denying” but righteous love (*üiae*) which requires acute historical awareness of the time and locus (Kim, 3:155-156). Identifying themselves inheriting the Jewish-Christian prophetic tradition, Kim and his colleagues insisted that practicing the righteousness of God requires a sharp analysis of one’s historical and social contexts (Kim, 2:294-296). For that reason, the KNCC members criticized their contemporary Pentecostal sects in Korean churches, calling them as groups of Christian shamans emphasizing ecstatic faith without rational reflection on the Gospel. Kim asserted that Korean churches should learn to be “rational.” According to Kim, KNCC existed as a strong protest against present-day Korean churches, not because protest was the intrinsic nature of KNCC but because present-day Korean churches had strayed far from the authentic meaning of the church. The KNCC referred to the spirit that dominated denominational Korean churches as *kyohoechuü* (churchism) - the Church Christians’ compromising relationship to the world, ecclesiastical authoritarianism, the institutionalization of a

21) Soyoung Baik Chey, “Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church,” 51.

living faith, and deification of the church (Kim, 1:123-124).

Kim continuously guarded whether a Non-Church itself maintains its prophetic historical consciousness. In this regard, Kim once criticized Tsukamoto Toraji, the major leading figure in JNCC after Uchimura, for his “evangelism first” principle, which led to overlook the prophetic task of Christianity in history. Facing international wars started by Imperial Japan, Tsukamoto, instead of criticizing the national guilt, dichotomized Christian life into the secular and the sacred and emphasized that Non-Church Christians are evangelists who believed in spiritual salvation through faith alone. In his diary entry on 4 November 1938, Kim wrote with anger, ‘Even Non-Church has been helpless as it is getting old. Salt that has lost its taste should be abandoned and a Non-Church community that has lost its prophetic spirit should be discarded. Let it be exterminated you Non-Church, who is not a prophet any longer’ (Kim, 6:125-126).

To KNCC adherents, the most severe sin was the failure of recognizing the divine seed in oneself, which leads one to recognize oneself as worthy and as a historical agent participating in the world to accomplish God’s will on earth (Ham, 3:110, 119). For that reason, Christianity cannot be a private matter but “a continuous movement” that redirects the wrong direction of human history in accordance with God’s will (Ham, 1:38, 52-53, 57). The Non-Church protestant spirit led the first generation of the KNCC to fight with Korean churches’ churchism and imperial Japan’s violent oppression over *ssial*, and Ham and his followers to fight with materialistic capitalist modern system of the twentieth century and military governmental power.

If the KNCC had a furious zeal to make the history right in accordance of God’s will and order, what is the difference between current Christian fundamentalism’s zeal for world renewal and the KNCC spirit of protest? To me, the major difference seems to lie on the understanding of God’s will and of Christians the chosen people of God. To KNCC believers, God’s will as revealed in the Bible is not the spiritual salvation of an individual. To them, God’s will is to construct an egalitarian faith community of humankind on earth, in which all myriad things recover their created states and flourish the life. In such a community, which is symbolized by the Kingdom of God, there is no such thing like material inequality, political authoritarianism, and social discrimination. Non-Church members are open-minded to all kinds of spiritual experiments of individual believers to express their own faith expression. Nevertheless, they believed that all

various faith expressions should be constructed on a common, universal ground of the Kingdom of God, the essential teaching of the Bible. They certainly distinguished false from differences.

To Ham, for example, capitalist system and its institutional order was the matter of false, not the matter of different way of living. It is false because it violates the universal principle of God who concerns on common people and the created world. In a capitalist system with its principle of free competition to earn material benefits, there is no room for Christians to construct a world and life style that takes care of common people, the incarnated form of God. By the meaning of “chosen,” according to Ham, it does not mean that a Christian individual has been elected and will acquire eternal salvation on heaven, but mean that a Christian individual has been “chosen” to practice coming out from the God-absent worldly order, represented by modern capitalism, and live out an alternative life in accordance with God’s order as revealed in the idea of the Kingdom of God (Ham, 9:245-246). “God-centered life,” to Ham and the KNCC adherents, does not to make all nations to convert into Christianity, a human-made religious system, but to participate in the movement for accomplishing God’s order on earth, that is, flourishing free and autonomous life of all *ssial*. The very principle, not contents, which Non-Church demonstrates is universal.

The Third Principle: “Ongoing” and “Ceasing” in Spiritual Journey

Although a human being as an *al* in correlation with *Han* is able to perceive God, according to the KNCC adherents, it is always partial and limited because of the finitude of human nature. For that reason, they prohibit any human attempt to absolutize or doctrinize one’s own thought and a human-made institution, while encouraging an individual believer’s seeking God by oneself in one’s own existential and historical conditions. This is what Ham called “the spirit of continuous protestant,” the “ism” that rejects all kinds of “isms,” “the principle not to have a system forever,” and “the spirit to have a permanent youth” (Ham, 3:123). Ham asserted: “The truth is something alive. It is the principle that grows. Thus it protests against anything that prevents a living truth from growing” (Ham, 9:186). Witnessing denominational churches in Korea that had continued doctrinal debates

while claiming the infallibility of their own doctrines, the KNCC members criticized the hardness of the Church as the spirit which is a more severe disease than arteriosclerosis. Kim stated that a true Christian's attitude toward the Gospel would lead to an open mindedness in the lifelong journey towards truth. Since a human being is a "disqualified being" (*mujagyŏk ŭi chonjae*) who cannot proclaim one's impeccability, there is neither a church nor a non-church under the heaven, a human-made institution, to proclaim that it is perfect and completed (Kim, 2:104).

That is why the KNCC members had pinpointed the importance of continuous process of learning. They understood the Christian life as an ongoing spiritual journey of growth in faith. Just as Moses prepared for eighty years to lead the Israelite from Egypt and just as Confucius reached the status of *purhok* (absence of temptation) at the age of forty, Kim and other KNCC members highly valued the gradual intellectual and spiritual process of maturation of an individual Christian and Christian communities (Kim, 2:154). The Confucian teaching concerning the need for continuous learning was Kim's favorite verse for frequent citations: "Isn't it a pleasure, having learned something, to try it out at due intervals?" (*Analects* I, 1:59)

Adopting the traditional Confucian notion of *chisŏng* (perfect sincerity) in interpretation of prayer, the KNCC members regarded prayer as a continuous sincere effort to communicate with God (Kim, 2:169-170). The word *sŏng* (sincerity) is a central concept for the understanding the nature of and vision for a KNCC faith community. *Sŏng* is a Confucian virtue as seen in *The Doctrine of the Mean*. The book says that *sŏng* is the way of Heaven and the continuing effort to reach the state of *sŏng* is the way of human beings. It is also written, "He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends the exercise of thought - he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast."²²⁾ KNCC adherents considered the KNCC *ecclesia* as a community of sincere Christians who continuously study the Bible and deepen the Christian faith until they finally achieve the state of perfect sincerity in the Kingdom of God.

22) *Four Books: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, and the Works of Mencius*, trans. James Legge (Shanghai, China: The Chinese Book Company, [1933]), 394.

Applying religious-cultural and historical background to their efforts to construct a Korean form of Christian ecclesia, Kim and his KNCC colleagues felt comfortable with voluntary small gatherings among lay Christians that resemble *sōdang*, the informal village school in which Confucian texts had been taught.²³⁾ KNCC's focus on "bookish learning" that excluded emotional involvement was one of the distinct characteristics of Confucian culture. Just as *sōdang* was managed by self-governing of local village people, the KNCC's small-sized informal *ecclesia* was designed to be independent from central control of a denomination and to develop its community in response to the needs of the local congregations and of the broader community in which the ecclesia was located.

The KNCC vision for *sōdang*-like ecclesia is not always "bookish" in an exclusive scholarly community. It was also a community "diffused" into local daily lives.²⁴⁾ The KNCC adherents wanted their ecclesia to become a

23) Kim's Bible study meeting had affinities with the traditional *sōdang* system in terms that it did have neither a professional religious leader nor an established liturgical practice and simply gathered for reading and interpreting biblical passages. From the outset, the *sōdang* had always been an unofficial educational institution free from the control of the central government. Each *sōdang* was composed of one teacher, called a *hunjang* [a village schoolmaster] and small numbers of students (mainly male). The major teaching-learning methods of the *sōdang* included reading, memorizing, and interpreting Confucian texts. Kim Kyo-sin himself compared his Bible study group to an old-fashioned Korean village school in which they used to study the Confucians' *Analects* or *The Great Learning*. Kim was proud of the gathering for its intensive and intellectual study of the Bible and for the absence of emotional preparation for worship service such as singing and playing musical instruments and psychological methods of preaching to manipulate the audience. Kim's KNCC community simply paid attention to the biblical text (Kim, 5: 10).

24) C. K. Yang, using Joachim Wach's typology of two religious groups, the "institutional" and the "diffused," observed that East Asian religions belong to the category of "diffused" religion. Institutional religions have well-established theologies, rituals, and organization, whereas diffused religions have no structural, theological, and ritual independence from societal life as a whole. Diffused religions are part of secular social institutions. C. K. Yang, "Diffused and Institutional Religions in Chinese Society," in *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their*

living community that shares daily lives with local people. The KNCC adherents disliked the model of the church known as “Noah’s Ark” which drew an exclusive line between the secular world and the church. Kim and other KNCC members understood ecclesia as a community of sacred people who live in the secular world.

Kim never considered his sōdang-like *ecclesia* to be the single proper form of Korean *ecclesia*. Kim encouraged various assessments of KNCC ecclesia, allowing for the possibility of a horizontal *koinonia* different from one teacher-his pupils system, which the KNCC members felt comfortable due to their Confucian heritages, and of a new form of Bible meeting working at farms or orchards (Kim 1:311-312). Perhaps, from 1957 to 1973, Ham’s practice of creating a small religious community in which Korean common people live daily life in accordance with a religious worldview could be in a new form of the KNCC *ecclesia* (Ham, 4:72-73). Getting up at six o’clock every morning to engage in still meditation and Bible study, and attending to the cultivation of fruits and vegetables in the Ssial Farm, Ham and his followers hoped that place be the birthplace of raising hard-working common people who have both religious beliefs and historical consciousness, and who lead a movement for recovery and sustenance of life as given from God.²⁵⁾

What a community of Christian believers can do in history is to construct an ecclesia approximate to the Kingdom of God, believed the KNCC members. Just the KNCC allows various approaches to make an ecclesia because of human autonomy and finitude, so they admonish the closing of the community when one dies or get old for the same reason. It is because every human being, each historical context, and different local

Historical Factors (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 294-295.

25) In spite of Ham’s dream for constructing a community of religious common people, evaluates Kim Sung-su who wrote a doctoral dissertation about Ham, the Ssial Farm primarily attracted intellectuals whose main purpose in joining the community was to benefit from Ham’s intellectual achievements, which became one of the reasons for the failure of the farm management. Kim Sung-su, ‘An Examination of the Life and Legacy of A Korean Quaker, Ham Sōk-hōn (1901-1989): Voice of the People and Pioneer of Religious Pluralism in Twentieth Century Korea,’ Ph. D. diss. (Center for Korea Studies, School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield, 1998), 111-113.

situation would lead a different form of an *ecclesia*. To me, for the very principle of ceasing of an *ecclesia*, rather than autonomy to build one's own *ecclesia*, the KNCC could hold universality as the name of potential ideal church on earth. *Söngsö Chosön* was ceased by force in 1942, Ham's *Ssial ui sori* (the voice of common people) was also stopped by the governmental pressure in 1980. Song Tu-yong stopped his journal *Söngsö Sinae* (Faithful Love of the Bible) in 1980, six years before his death. No P'yöng-gu stopped his Bible meeting in 1999 and died in 2003. To them, the KNCC is universal not because of its particular form or contents but because its principle of ceasing an autonomous but disqualified person's free spiritual journey on earth.

Concluding Remarks: For the 21st Task of Localizing the Universal Gospel

Ham in his later days envisioned a universal religion as “round, colorless, and penetrating,” by which he meant a religion which embraces all living things on earth, which does not have any distorted, biased perspective, and which includes ongoing human efforts to realize the will of God on earth in history (Ham, 3:222-235). By Ham's vision of a universal religion, however, it was not universalization of a particular (Korean or Eastern) religious tradition. In fact, Kim Kyo-sin, as a teacher of geography, once demonstrated the role of Korea as a peninsular would be the most beneficial place to deliver ideas and thoughts to the world and to produce noble thoughts for the world (Kim, 2:36, 67-69). However, Kim's vision was not spiritual imperialism. Witnessing suffers of Koreans under the colonial rule and their failure to practice autonomous capability, what Kim wanted was to encourage his fellow Koreans to take a pro-active attitude in going forward to understand and accomplish historical task of their own, which might contribute to the communal coexistence of the world. The shared attitude of Kim and Ham, along with other KNCC adherents, was to take their locality seriously in communication with universal teaching of Christian Gospel. Their KNCC principles, i.e., autonomy of *al* in correlation with *Han*, protesting pacifism in history, and ongoing-ceasing in spiritual journey, give us an insight to rethink Korean *ecclesia* in the midst of global rush of a homogeneous American-originated Christian movement that tends to universalize its form and contents. What are the most urgent historical tasks

of the contemporary community of Christian believers, first as Korean and second as global? Who are the timely counterparts of the contemporary Korean and global community of Christian believers? What would be the local faith expressions, using Korean symbols and languages, which explain the universal concerns of God over the universe? We do not have time to loose since the world is already full of particulars' violent attempts to universalize their own ideology and religion. We should take the KNCC principles seriously to learn how to distinguish what are particulars (locals) from what are universal.

Abstract

This article starts with an awareness of twofold task in the global world, i.e., to establish local identity in encounter with a Euro-American homogeneous global product and to create “universal universalism,” in use of Wallerstein’s terminology, not as a universalism that make a particular idea or institutional life universal, but as a metaphysical common ground for the global citizens living together in egalitarian and harmonious relations. Diagnosing our contemporary mainline Korean Protestant churches, which have become passive adopters of Western Christian form and contents, fail to perform the task, this study values the Korean Non-Church Christianity and its principles to make a balance between their local identity and the universal aspects of Christian teaching. The KNCC adherents, represented by Kim Kyo-sin (1901-1945) and Ham Sök-hön (1901-1989), were those who attempt to build a local ecclesia that performs its historical, local, and universal tasks. The KNCC principles, that is., 1) autonomy of *al* in correlation with *Han*, 2) protesting pacifism in history, and 3) ongoing-ceasing in spiritual journey, had been firm guiding poles for them to distinguish what the intrinsic elements of the Christian faith community from non-intrinsic formalism in the Church, and to distinguish universal messages in the Gospel from human-made doctrines that the Western Christian religious authorities have been universalized and absolutized. Urging a normative task for Korean Christian faith communities to contribute to make “universal universalism,” this article takes the KNCC principles seriously for an assessment of Korean ecclesia which holds universal statements of truth in local languages.

Key Words

Korean Non-Church Christianity, Ecclesia, Universal universalism, Globalization, Euro-American global culture, locality, Kim Kyo-sin, Ham Sök-hön, Uchimura Kanzō, Yu Yōng-mo, *Ssial* (spiritual seed of God), *Han* (the One Great/Wholly Divine), Protesting Pacifism, Ongoing-ceasing in spiritual journey, Chosen people.

Reconstruction of Korean-Christian Experience in Post-Colonial Era: Understanding Edward Said's Orientalism and Lee Jung Young's Theory of Marginality

Choi Dae-Kwang*

Introduction

Theological research has a tendency focus on western Christianity in attempting to understand Korean Christians. Because this traditional method has concentrated on abstract 'Christianity,' Korean particularity becomes the secondary element given the postulation of western theological implications. This presupposes a monolithic interpretation of Christianity and alienates Koreanness from Christianity. In this thesis, I would argue that "Orientalism" is the basis of the distortion, and illustrate the method to get away from it. I will discuss on Edward Said's Orientalism and the problem of understanding Korean-Christian 'self.'

In the second part of this thesis, I will introduce Lee Jung Young's theological methodology of 'marginality.' Lee earned the fame for his bold

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interpretation of Christian theology through I Ching or the Book of Change. Constructing his theology, he uses the idea of 'change' in I Ching, and suggests Asian way of doing theology from "creative core," the place of in-between and in-both. I will illustrate this idea as a possible way of overcoming Orientalism.

Main Subject

The Discourse of Orientalism and Problem of Understanding Self

Edward Said, a leading figure in the discourse of post-colonialism, defines Orientalism as follows: "...European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."¹⁾ Externally, westerners have also created an "other" against which to perceive themselves. In other words, the West's technique of gaining identity is through a projection of their 'surrogate' and 'underground' self onto Orientals, and their setting themselves off from the Orient. In other words, Said argued that the Europeans used their geographical imagination to achieve objectification of their subject. This is his critical reconstruction of Foucault's major interest of "achieving normality through objectifying abnormality." To analyze the technique more closely, Said draws on Foucault's definition of discourse as follows:

Without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.²⁾

As he confesses, Said gets vast influence from Foucault: "Michel Foucault, to whose work I am greatly indebted."³⁾ Then, I need to discuss Foucault's idea of discourse first:

1) Said, Edward, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 4th ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 3.

2) Ibid. 3.

3) Ibid. 23.

...all manifest discourse is secretly based on an 'already-said' is not merely a phrase that has already been spoken, or a text that has already been written, but a 'never-said,' an incorporeal discourse, a voice as silent as a breath, a writing that is merely the hollow of its own mark... The manifest discourse, therefore, is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said.⁴⁾

Discourse is something, which makes 'said' possible. Nobody talks about the discourse, but everybody knows how to say through it. To meet this argument, Foucault defines discourse as historical a priori "that is not a condition of validity for judgements, but a condition of reality for statements."⁵⁾ These statements are called archives as he describes them as follows:

Instead of seeing, on the great mystical book of history, lines of words that translate in visible characters thoughts that were formed in some other time and place, we have in the density of discursive practices, systems that establish statements as events (with their own conditions and domain of appearance) and things (with their own possibility and field of use). They are all these systems of statements (whether events or things) that I propose to call *archive*.⁶⁾

In Foucault's idea, therefore, the "shown or said" of archives always depends on the "not-shown or unsaid." Archives conditioned by discourse develop into knowledge, and his archeological analysis is to find permeated discourse from statements to knowledge.

"Orientalism" is not a statement, but 'discourses.' In other words, western statements such as novels, poems, philosophy and theology about the east have always hid the discourse of Orientalism, and he proves it through his books of *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*. Said argues that the core of the discourse of Orientalism is the Europeans' positional

4) Foucault, Michel, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. Sheridan A.M. Smith, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 25.

5) Ibid. 127.

6) Ibid. 128.

superiority: “In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on the flexible *positional* superiority, which put the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.”⁷⁾ This positional superiority productively reformulates or ‘distributes’ Orientalism into diverse academic disciplines:

Therefore, Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive some nefarious “Western” imperialist plot to hold down the “Oriental” world. It is rather a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of “interest” which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains.⁸⁾

In the final analysis, Said’s argument is that Europeans’ use of their positional superiority to distribute their objectified identity into the diverse field of knowledge, and the discourse of Orientalism is elaborated by diverse academic disciplines. In this process, quite separate from the reality of Orientals, “Orientalism not only creates but also maintains.” Paradoxically, East Asians have imported those disciplines to understand themselves.

U Sirha, a lecturer in sociology at Yonsei University, clearly shows the domination of colonial ideology today: “During the first class of each semester, I often asked students to draw a picture of the East and the West.”⁹⁾ The gathered sheets showed the result of the students’ ordinary understanding of the images as follows.¹⁰⁾

7) Ibid. 7.

8) Said. *op.cit.* 12.

9) U, Sirha, *Deconstruction of Orientalism and Reading Our Culture Properly* (Seoul: Sonamu Press, 1997), 42-43.

10) Ibid. 43.

	West	East
Positive Image	Rational, Reasonable, Scientific, Progressive, Logical Active	Spiritual, Contemplative
Negative Image	Material, Imperial	Irrational, Unreasonable, Unscientific, Non-Progressive, Mystical, Superstitious, Quiet, Contemplative

For the students, the image of the East is “almost made by putting a negative prefix to that of the West. Already, the students put a superior value on the image of the West, and then they produced the opposite value of the East. In addition, the images of the East were mostly negative. The positive images of the East, “spiritual and contemplative,” are also the opposite of the negative western images, “material and imperial.” The result of Wu’s work cannot always be the same as that of other departments of the university. But, Wu’s intention is to illustrate the fact that colonial ideology still dominates the Koreans.

In Korean seminaries, there is a course entitled “Church History.” Actually, the title, “Church History” means “Western Church History.” When the schools offer a course in Korean Church History, the title is “Korean Church History.” Western Church History is generally taught in sophomore year, and Korean Church History is taught in the senior year. In other words, the schools universalize western church history as “Church History,” and marginalize Korean Church History through adding the prefix, ‘Korean.’ The problem is the tip of an iceberg. Almost all of the theological disciplines, such as Systematic Theology, Biblical Study, Christian Ethics, Practical Theology, are taught in Korea omitting the prefix ‘Western.’ Without the course on “Korean Church History,” the student would not even learn any ‘Korean’ or ‘Asian’ prefix-added course in theology.

Then, is there any way to get away from the discourse of Orientalism, and produce our own theology? Does Said suggest anything to exodus from the discourse produced by Europeans for hundreds of years? Said criticized dominated Orientalist discipline in current academic discipline, but he himself suffers the effect of Orientalism. Although it is true, he shows how to get free from orientalist discipline. Said shares this insight with the readers:

For objective reasons that I had no control over, I grew up as an Arab with a Western education. Ever since I can remember, I have felt that I belonged to both worlds, without being completely *of* either one or the other. During my lifetime, however, the parts of the Arab world that I was most attached to either have been changed utterly by civil upheavals and war, or have simply ceased to exist. And for long periods of time I have been an outsider in the United States, particularly when it went to war against, and was deeply opposed to, the (far from perfect) cultures and societies of the Arab world. Yet when I say 'exile' I do not mean something sad or deprived. On the contrary belonging, as it were, to both sides of the imperial divide enables you to understand them more easily.¹¹⁾

According to Abdul JanMohamed's description, Said's experience of 'exile' has the character of: "worldliness-without-world, homelessness-as-home."¹²⁾ This situation of exile pushes Said to constitute his own place, which is neither Palestine nor the U.S. JanMohamad comments on Said's overlapped self-identity for creativity, and he categorizes this into the paradigm of 'border' :

In theory, and effectively in practice, borders are neither inside nor outside the territory they define but simply designate the difference between the two. They are not really spaces at all; as the sites of differences between interiority and exteriority, they are points of infinite regression. Thus, intellectuals located on this site are not, so to speak, "sitting" on the border; rather, they are forced *to constitute themselves as the border*, to coalesce around it as a point of infinite regression.¹³⁾

Border is the place of continuous re-construction, and to promote this creativity, Said's writings suggest alternative 'contiguity' rather than 'hierarchy' of Orientalism:

11) Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), xxx.

12) JanMohamed, Abdul R., "Worldliness-Without-World, Homelessness-As-Home: Toward a Definition of the Specular Border Intellectual," in Sprinker, Michael, *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford U.K & Cambridge U.S.A: Blackwell, 1992), 96.

13) Ibid. 103.

Said's world-view does not "authorize" either the logic of identity and contradiction (the logic of the syllogism) or the principle of analogy as methods of representation. This means that he does honor, as noted above, the notions of adjacency, complementarity, discontinuity - in other words, *contiguity*, which serves as both an ontological principle and a method of exposition. In Said's world-view, things exist side-by-side with one another, not in hierarchies of relative reality or ordered series of dynastically related groups.¹⁴⁾

Said's presupposition of contiguity is permeated in his writing, but he never analyze a detailed strategy to get beyond Orientalism. If I connect this idea of contiguity with Korean theological discipline, western theological ideas becomes close to Korean religious traditions as well as cultures, and create diverse metaphysical ideas. Although he struggled hard, it is not so clear to adapt his theory to theological methodology. This idea of 'contiguity,' however, was elaborately analyzed by Lee Jung Young, the late Korean-American professor of theology at the Drew University in the U.S. Different from Said, Lee developed a careful method to exit from dominating culture of western imperialism. Lee names the 'border' as marginality, and analyzes 'contiguity' into 'in-between,' 'in-both' and 'in-beyond.' In the next section, I will discuss Lee's idea of "margin of marginality."

Margin of Marginality: Lee Jung Young's Idea of Post-Colonialism

According to Richard King, a professor of religious studies in the University of Stirling, Scotland, there is no such thing as 'pure' religion or spirituality:

The a priori (and largely uncontested) status of the category 'religion' is reflected in the fact that in the West it is thought to be *simply common sense* that all cultures have religions and that those religions have been important constitutive factors in the development of those cultures. Debates about the precise denotation of the term 'religion,' whether there is an 'essence' to religion or whether it is a polytheistic concept,

14) White, Heyden, "Criticism as Cultural Politics," in *Diacritics*, Vol 4, Part 3, 1976.

do not question the fundamental assumption that there are things called 'religions' that are easily identifiable and classified in terms of specific names such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Janism, Taoism, etc.¹⁵⁾

In King's view, religion must be hyphenated with culture. Like his insight, theology in Korea has the significance of Orientalist culture of narrating the Korean's Christian experience with the western theological discipline. Then we need to approach more closely to Korean-Christianity, not Christianity in general. Lee Jung Young invested almost all of his life of theology in clarifying East-Asian-Christianity.

To follow his thought, I will describe Lee's theology first, and then illustrate his strategy of rebuilding self in the place of border. Lee regards Orientalist worldview as that of the centralist,¹⁶⁾ and he criticizes western "either/or" thinking:

First of all, the either/or way of theological thinking in the West not only promoted but shaped the absolute dogma of God. The God of dogma is not God at all. The God who is absolutized by human words is less than the God of Christianity... Secondly, the either/or way of theological thinking is responsible for the predicament of Christianity in the world of today... Christianity has no choice but **either** to accept **or** reject them totally... Thirdly the either/or way of thinking has made scientific technology possible. Thus Christianity is allied with technology to reject the non-rational aspects of human life... Her rejection of them is based on the absolute style of either/or thinking, which allows no room for mysticism. Finally, the either/or style of theological thought has contributed toward the pollution of our environment... Man [sic] must **either** conquer nature **or** nature will conquer him [sic]. **Either** the spirit overcomes the body **or** the body will overcome the spirit.¹⁷⁾

15) King, Richard, *Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India, and the Mystic East* (London: Routledge, 2000), 41.

16) The term, centrality is equivalent to hierarchy, and this word will be discussed in the next section.

17) Lee Jung Young, "Yin-Yang Way of Thinking," in Elwood Douglas J. ed., *What Asian Christians Are Thinking* (New Day Publishers, 1976), 60-61.

His criticism on “either/or” way of thinking is that it makes humans fragmented and alienated from themselves. They are alienated or fragmented from God, Christianity from world religions, human experience from mysticism as well as emotion and humans themselves from nature. Against the framework, Lee is suggesting “both/and” way of thinking. In the matter of “both/and” thinking, Lee suggests:

The goal of every religion is the transformation of an “either/or” way of thinking to a “both/and” way of thinking, that is, the transition from a reasoning process to a faith-filled process. In this transition, man [sic] experiences transcendence. This is a salvation experience, the experience, the experience of totality from that of fragmentation. This experience transcends the partiality and discrimination of the world. It is the experience of wholeness and unity, the experience of realizing the Change in himself.¹⁸⁾

“Both/and” thinking goes together with negation of self-fragmentation caused by separation from totality. To achieve the state, Lee suggests solidarity with Jesus in self-negation or in “margin of marginality” :

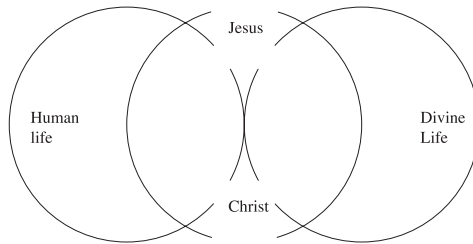
The greatness of Jesus-Christ lay in his renunciation of his rights and privileges by emptying his glory and power, becoming a lowly and helpless person, the slave of humanity, and belonging to the company of the marginalized on earth. By becoming a marginal person, he was in touch with two different worlds; the world of Heaven and the world of Earth, the world of the Father and the world of the Mother (Spirit). As a marginal person, he was placed “in-between” conflicting worlds. He was neither in this nor in that world. Yet, at the same time, he belonged to both worlds and transcended them. He was in the world but not of the world. He was both detached and attached...¹⁹⁾

Although Jesus was marginalized by the divine world and by the human world, he could take both worlds, and even transcend (resurrect)

18) Lee Jung Young, *Cosmic Religion* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1973), 37.

19) Ibid. 76.

both of them. Therefore, “both/and” way of thinking presupposes “nether/nor”: Jesus was contained neither in the human life, nor was in the divine life. Because of the reason, Jesus embraces the two conflicting worlds into one. This paradox embraces the negative and positive entities. Lee depicts this as a diagram.²⁰⁾



Being a connecting principle, Jesus makes this world sacred, because he is both the Divine Being ‘in’ human life ‘and’ he is human being ‘in’ Divine life. Lee applies this through the paradox of “neither/nor” and “both/and” with crucifixion and resurrection:

Crucifixion means the negation of life, while resurrection means the reaffirmation of life. Man [sic] does not have one without the other, for reaffirmation presupposes negation. Resurrection is inseparable from crucifixion. In crucifixion life was negated, but it was also the way of reaffirming life. Without negation there is no affirmation. If resurrection is impossible without crucifixion, crucifixion is necessary for resurrection.²¹⁾

Through Jesus, divine world cannot exist without human world and vice versa. This dual aspects depend on one another illustrates that salvation is not the traditional concept of deliverance to exit from this world but the ‘connection’ of the Divine and the human worlds. Compromising deliverance with connection, Lee suggests inclusive Korean language:

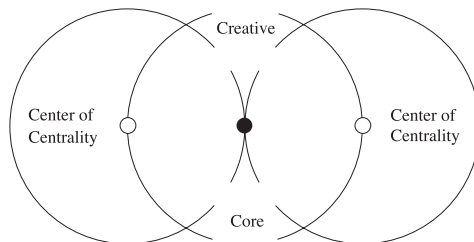
20) Lee Jung Young, *Trinity in Asian Perspective* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 77.

21) Lee, “Cosmic Religion,” 51.

...Jesus Christ as the people of God is acceptable from the Asian perspective. In East Asia, "I" is interchangeable with "we." Especially in Korea, my book is "our book," my house, "our house," my friend, "our friend," or my children, "our children." "I" and "we" are interchangeable, for they are inclusive... Because of this inclusive thinking, the concept of the Son is interchangeable with that of "children" from an Asian perspective. This new interpretation from an Asian way of thinking may provide a new understanding of divine plurality, without denying the singularity of the historical Jesus.²²⁾

When I introduce my wife to friends in Korea, I say, "She is our wife." There is no "my" family, "my" house, "my" father, or "my" mother etc. but "our" family, "our" house, "our" father, and "our" mother. Lee accepts East-Asian trinitarian thinking of concreating unity of Heaven, Earth, and Human through adopting the inclusive Korean word, *oori* 우리. The ground of Jesus and us are merged into the Korean inclusive word, *oori*. God's Child, Jesus, according to Korean's inclusive communal idea, can imply God's children. This idea is not a unique Korean word, because the Lord's prayer starts from "our" father, which can be interpreted to Jesus' proclamation of sharing his ground with us.

In this idea, the more Asians have solidarity with Jesus, the more do they have a harmonious perception of God and the world. In the final analysis, Jesus becomes the creative core to make people in the margin of marginality to be children of God. In this theological framework, Lee identifies the place of Asian-American with Jesus' margin of marginality. Using the diagram above, he recreates another as follows:²³⁾



22) Ibid. 64-65.

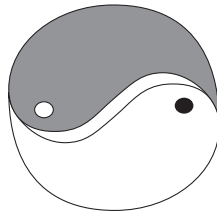
23) Lee, Jung Young, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis: The Fortress Press, 1995), 98.

The intention of this diagram is to embrace Asian-American Self-Identity. Because Asian-Americans are neither Asian nor American, they become marginalized by both cultures or two centers of centrality, as the two white dots show (in-between). But, as the black dot in the middle implies, this marginality has the possibility of embracing both the cultures (in-both) and transcending both of them as a continuous creativity for the formation of a new culture (in-beyond). Explaining the diagram, Lee maintains the following:

...the creative core or the new center marginalizes the center of centrality and brings the marginal toward the creative core. Previous centers become margins, and margins cores (the new centers). The new, transforming core will never replace the center of centrality, for it is also the margin of marginality. It is a dynamic, creative, transforming core, because it does not dominate but harmonizes margins with coexistence. In this dynamic process everyone moves toward the margin of marginality, the real center where marginality is overcome by marginality. When the former marginality is overcome by the new marginality, a creative core is formed again.²⁴⁾

Lee sees this margin of marginality positively, because it is the place of a creative core for a new paradigm of social formation. Lee does not imply any 'essentialist' theory to perceive Asian-American's diverse social formation uncritically. Negative experience on in-between can be transformed into all embracing inclusivism. Lee's idea of "in-between" and "in-both" does not come from the western theory of cultural theory, but from his consistent recapitulation of the yin-yang theory.

To begin with, Lee introduces the symbol of the Great Ultimate, 太極, the beginning of yin (quiescence) and yang (movement) as the origin of the cosmos:



24) Ibid.

One of the significant description of the yin-yang symbol is written in Chou Tun-i's "the Diagram of the Great Ultimate":

The Infinite! Also the Supreme Ultimate! The Supreme Ultimate [Great Ultimate] through creative Movement manifests its Yang Aspect. This Movement, having reached its limit, is followed by Quiescence, and, by this Quiescence, it manifests its Yin Aspect. Thus, Movement and Quiescence, in alternation, become each the root of the other. The distinction between Yin and Yang is determined and the Two Modes (i.e., Yin and Yang) are established. By the transformation of Yang and the union therewith of Yin, the Five Elements of Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth are produced. These five ethereal forces (ch' i) are diffused in harmonious order, and the four seasons proceed in their course.²⁵⁾

Chou describes that the dispersion is not an artificial procedure of leading into illusion, but the cosmological events to create time and space. Using the diagram, Lee focuses on the 'change,' and it is possible through black and white dots in the yin-yang symbol above. The dots are the yin element in the place of yang and the yang element in the place of yin. Because of them, the Great Ultimate can be changed. In other words, Lee separates the Great Ultimate, and highlights 'inness' for the "creative core." He restructured this yin-yang symbol for the diagram of Asian-American experience. They are Asians in the place of America and they are Americans in the place of Asia, but because of them, the two cultures can compromise with each other.

In the context of Orientalist theological discipline, it is hard to define Korean-Christians' spiritual formation in the overlapping cultural system. They are neither traditional Koreans, nor western Christians. According to Lee Jung Young's way, this "double marginality" gives them the possibility to embrace the two different entities and to create their own place. Then, Koreans' multi-religious setting of Buddhist, Confucianist, Shamanist,

25) Wei, Tat, *An Exposition of the I Ching* (Hong Kong: Dai Nippon Printing Co., 1977), 71. 無極而太極! 太極動而生陽, 動極而靜, 靜而生陰, 靜極復動, 一動一靜, 互爲其根. 分陰分陽, 兩儀入焉. 陽變陰合而生水火木金土, 五氣順布, 四時行焉.

Taoist and their western theological learning become the sources of recreating theological creativity. The black and white dots are Koreans in the place of Christianity, and Christians in the place of Koreans, but because of them, the two cultures can compromise with each other. Edward Said's experience of exile of contiguity can be interpreted as the combination of "in-between" and "in-both." Then, theology should interpret the formation of spirituality influenced by Christianity and other religions. In other words, we have to overcome monolithic western 'theological' interpretation of Christianity, and theology should adopt diverse methodology of religious and cultural studies. From this particular experience of Korean-Christians, we can creatively construct 'Christianity' including and transcending the East and the West.

Conclusion

Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million men, and one thousand five hundred natives. The former had the Word; the others had the use of it. (Jean-Paul Sartre)²⁶⁾

Sartre's writing above is in the preface of the Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. He was an Algerian and took part in the struggle for the liberation of his country, but his point of need was to find the identity of himself and his people. It was pictured, divided as well as subdivided, and structured by French intellectuals. Colonial intellectual's dilemma of finding themselves behind the ideological fiction of Orientalism is described as follows:

But at the moment when the nationalist parties are mobilizing the people in the name of national independence, the native intellectual sometimes spurns these acquisitions which he suddenly feels make him a stranger in his own land. It is always easier to proclaim rejection than actually to reject. The intellectual who through the medium of culture has filtered into Western civilization, who has managed to become part of the body

26) Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Philcox, Richard trans., (New York: Grove Press, 2004), xliii.

of European culture.²⁷⁾

Although he decided to mobilize people into the national independence, he was another westerner establishing another western civilization. He disappointedly confesses: "He wishes to attach himself to the people; but instead he only catches hold of their outer garments."²⁸⁾ As Sartre says thousands of natives only use of the Word.

Colonial intellectuals just like Fanon are placed 'in-between.' However, Lee's idea illustrates that they have to 'make' their identity through "catching hold of the natives' outer garments." They are not intellectuals of a colonial power, nor natives of colony. But they have a role of connecting these two opposite sides. The 'connection' implies dialectic creativity, and it is the creative core of self-identity. Then, theology in Korea is the process of creating Korean-Christian self identity through recapturing the ideas of East and West, and produces its own specific theological works. Identity is not something which is given, but we create it in the place of margin of marginality.

27) Ibid. 176.

28) Ibid. 180.

Abstract

This thesis is a critique of Korean-Christian experiences in post-colonial era, and it suggests the method of getting over the ideology of Orientalism. Illustrating Orientalism as ‘discourse,’ this thesis criticizes the West’s “positional strength” over the East. In addition, almost all of imported knowledge from the West hides the discourse of Orientalism, and Koreans understand themselves through the eyes of the West. In the second part of this thesis, it introduces Lee Jung Young’s theological methodology. Chasing after his theology influenced by I-Ching, this writing argues that Korean-Christian experience of “in-between” can be transformed into that of “in-both,” and it is a possible way of overcoming Orientalism.

Key Words

Post-Colonialism, Cultural Studies, Theology, Religious Studies

Life, Ecology, and Theo-tao: Towards a Life Theology of Theanthropocosmic Tao

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The ecological crisis is a great *koan* (an evocative question) for contemporary Christian theology. As a scholar has worried, “If current trends continue, we will not.”¹⁾ Thomas Berry raised a serious question, “Is the human a viable species on an endangered planet?” Furthermore, Lynn White criticized the emphasis on divine transcendence and the endorsing of human “domination” over nature. Christianity has offered the “historical root” of the ecological crisis. Despite his defective knowledge of Christian

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1) Daniel Maguire, *The Moral Core of Judaism and Christianity: Reclaiming the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993), 13.

theology, White made an important observation: "What people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them. Human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and destiny-that is, by religion."²⁾ In fact, this statement of a scientist evoked scholars and theologians to reexamine Christian traditions and seek alternative resources in other religions.

Liberation (social justice), dialogue (world religions), and ecology (life) are regarded as the three most significant themes for Christian theology in the twentieth century.³⁾ Various liberation, political, feminist/womanist, black, third-world, minjung theologies have argued that liberation and orthopraxis are primary but neglected motives for Christian theology owing to the White, male, middle-class privatization of Christianity on the pretext of orthodoxy. Having realized the values of world religions, Western theologians began to appreciate the wisdom of 'other' religions by means of interreligious dialogue, theology of religions, comparative theology, or religious pluralism. Nonetheless, late twentieth century contextual and constructive theologies lingered on in the division of these two major camps, the theology of religions (inculturationist) and liberation theology (liberationist), failing to surmount the inherited Greek dualism between logos (theory) and praxis (practice).⁴⁾

The ecological crisis offered a common *koan* for theologians in this division. Western religious scholars and theologians have strived to find alternative means to overcome the 'autism' of Western religions in the interaction with the natural world. In the series foreword of *Religions of the World and Ecology*, Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim wrote, "we are currently making macrophase change of the life systems of the planet with microphase wisdom. Clearly, we need to expand and deepen the wisdom base for human intervention with nature and other humans. This is particularly true as issues of genetic alternation of natural processes are already available and in use. If religions have traditionally concentrated on

2) Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967), 1203-7; 1204.

3) See Peter Hodgson, *Winds of the Spirit: A Constructive Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), esp. Part 2.

4) See Heup Young Kim, *Christ and the Tao* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 2003), 135-8, 155-9.

divine-human and human-human relations, the challenge is that they now explore more fully divine-human-earth relations.”⁵⁾ Having realized the problems of anthropocentric ethics and worldviews in Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), Western scholars have begun to pay attention to eco-friendly and life-affirming East Asian religions.

Harvard University’s Center for the Study of World Religions organized an important conference on Christianity and ecology.⁶⁾ Most of the Western theologians in the conference agreed that three theological revisions are necessary to construct a proper Christian ecotheology (e.g., Elizabeth Johnson, Sallie McFague, Mark Wallace); These revisions are, namely: a shift of the fundamental vision from anthropocentrism to cosmo- or earth-centricism, a revision of theological metaphors and symbols, and a shift of the focus from orthodoxy and christology to orthopraxis and pneumatology. Yet, in spite of these valid revisions, Western ecotheologies so conceived seem not to have suitably overcome the inherited habit of Greek anthropomorphism.⁷⁾ It might be too much to expect Westerners accustomed to personifying God in human form to fully transcend this deeply embedded inclination.

Therefore, to construct ecotheology or the theology of life, would be rather a mission bestowed to East Asians who are not so much addicted to a narcissistic attachment to the human body, but instead more interested in keeping harmony with nature such as mountains, waters and trees (cf. Greek sculptures and East Asian landscapes). Grounded on “the harmony and symbiosis of humanity and things,” Korean thought is particularly ecological and life-affirming.⁸⁾ Korean and East Asian religious thoughts can be profound resources for Christian ecotheology, but Christian theology needs an East Asian enlightenment to utilize them. Furthermore, the *Yang*

5) Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim, “Series Foreword,” in *Christianity and Ecology: Seeking the Well-Being of Earth and Humans*, ed. Dieter T. Hessel and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), xxiv.

6) The conference was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 16-19 April 1998. Proceedings were published in *Christianity and Ecology*.

7) See Gordon D. Kaufman, “Response to Elizabeth A. Johnson,” in *Christianity and Ecology*, 23-27.

8) Hee-byung Park, *Hankook ŭi Sangtae Sasang* [The Ecological Thought of Korea] (Seoul: Dolbaegye, 1999), 35.

Christianity which developed in the soil of the anthropomorphic Greek culture and flourished for two millennia seems to have arrived at its limit, and a paradigm shift toward the *Yin* Christianity is in progress. The late Bede Griffiths expressed this well:

This may sound very paradoxical and unreal, but for centuries now the western world has been following the path of *Yang* of the masculine, active, aggressive, rational, scientific mind and has brought the world near destruction. It is time now to recover the path of *Yin*, of the feminine, passive, patient, intuitive and poetic mind. This is the path which the *Tao Te Ching* sets before us.⁹⁾

In this paper, I will propose three East Asian alternatives with reference to the revisions of Western ecotheology (vision, metaphor, and focus); a theanthropocosmic vision, a theo-tao (tao), and a pneumatociocosmic biography of the exploited life. In sum, (1) I advocate adopting a theanthropocosmic vision, East Asian triadic worldview in organismic unity of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, as the foundation of ecotheology. (2) I propose constructing a new paradigm of theology, *theotao*, by changing the theological root-metaphor, from two Western metaphors - the logos and the praxis - to the life-affirming East Asian metaphor, the tao. And (3) I suggest focusing on a pneumatociocosmic biography of the exploited life in the planet, pneumatologically and ecologically expanding the notion of sociobiography of minjung.

Theanthropocosmic Vision.

First of all, I advocate that a theanthropocosmic vision be adopted as the foundation of Christian theology in the ecological age. Heavily influenced by the tradition of salvation history and modern historical consciousness, theology became anthropocentric and history-centered. For the last five hundred years, the earth, nature, and the cosmos, "got lost" in Christian theology with an exclusive focus on God and the human self. In this situation, the ecological disaster in fact has awakened Western theologians

9) Bede Griffiths, selected and introduced, *Universal Wisdom: A Journey Through the Sacred Wisdom of the World* (San Francisco: Harper Sanfrancisco, 1994), 27-8.

to realize the devastating results of “such amnesia about the cosmic world” and become eager to find creation in the Christian tradition.¹⁰⁾ Nevertheless, the inherited Western habit of dividing (‘either-or’) seems to be problematic again, selecting either God or Earth, or either humans or nature. However, God, Earth (the cosmos), and Humanity compose a triad, an ontologically indivisible reality. True humanity can be realized only through the right relationship with God and the earth. A theanthropocosmic vision refers to this triadic communion of God, the cosmos, and humans.

As the North American ecofeminist theologian Elizabeth Johnson elaborated, the loss of the creation or the amnesia of the earth is a modern phenomenon that had not happened for the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity. First of all, both “the Jewish and Christian scriptures honor the religious value of the earth.” The Jewish scriptures speak of the earth filled with the glory of God. The Christian scriptures are obviously “earth-affirming,” as is expressed in the notions of incarnation, resurrection of the body, eucharistic sharing, and eschatological hope. Early and medieval theologies dealt with humanity in association with the natural world as the common creation of God. “God-world-humanity: these form a metaphysical trinity.” “cosmology, anthropology, and theology of God formed a harmonious unity” (e.g., Hildegard of Bingen, Bonaventure, and Aquinas).¹¹⁾ Hence, the theanthropocosmic vision is nothing new but an original vision of Christian theology.

Nevertheless, both Catholic and Protestant theologies “focused on God and human self, leaving the natural world to the side.” The Reformation’s doctrines of Christ alone, faith alone, grace alone, and scripture alone gave Protestant theology and subsequently Catholic theology “an intensively anthropocentric turn.” “The center of gravity shifts to the human subject.”¹²⁾ However, the thoughts of reformers like John Calvin were in fact affirmative toward nature, endorsing it as the inscribed locus of the divine glory. The antinatural views of modern science, philosophy, and history accelerated this shift. Francis Bacon proudly declared, “Nature with all of her children to bind her to your service and make her your slave.”¹³⁾ The

10) Elizabeth Johnson, “Losing and Finding Creation in the Christian Tradition,” in *Christianity and Ecology*, 4.

11) Johnson, 5-6. See also 6-8.

12) Johnson, 8-9.

Cartesian idea of the self and the Kantian turn to the subject “divorced” the human person (the internal, active subject) from nature (the external, passive object). The modern emphasis of history reinforced this division. History (actual events in linear time) was regarded as the locus of God’s salvific work, whereas nature (cyclical time) was seen as the realm of paganism. Most twentieth century theologies such as existentialist theology, neo-orthodoxy, political theology, and early liberation theologies did not take creation seriously.

At last, the ecological crisis has awakened Western theologians “to incorporate the natural world as part or even the center of their work.” The geocentric, unchanging, hierarchical medieval cosmology and the deterministic, mechanistic modern worldview are inaccurate views. Rather, the natural world discovered by contemporary science is “surprisingly dynamic, organic, self-organizing, indeterminate, chancy, boundless, and open to the unknown.” Furthermore, the “rape of the earth” has a close link with “male hierarchy over women and nature,” that is “violent sexual conquest of women, and of virgin forest.” Accordingly, Johnson argued for an ecofeminist approach: “To be truly effective, therefore, conversion to the earth needs to cut through the knot of misogynist prejudice and shift from the worldview of patriarchal hierarchy to a holistic worldview of relationships and mutual community.”¹⁴⁾

Ecofeminist theology is without doubt an important contemporary theological movement with rightful correctives to Western theologies. However, from an East Asian perspective, it is still questionable whether ecofeminist theology can fully transcend the inherited habit of an ‘either-or’ way of thinking (either anthropocentrism or cosmocentrism) or monistic dualism (not unrelated to essentialism, substantialism, and reductionism—though ecofeminist theology tries to avoid them). By monistic dualism, one cannot achieve a genuine holistic, mutual, and reciprocal mode of relationship (cf. Tillich’s analysis of monism and dualism). A theanthropocosmic vision presupposes an entirely different paradigm that is ‘both-and,’ pluralistic (triadic) and concentric. The history of world religions presents three great religious visions; namely, ancient cosmocentrism, medieval theocentrism, and modern historico-

13) Francis Bacon, *The Masculine Birth of Time*, quoted in Johnson, 10.

14) Johnson, 11, 13, 17.

anthropocentrism (R. Panikkar).¹⁵⁾ However, all of these are inaccurate, one-sided, reductionistic views (monocentrism) of the reality. On the contrary, God, humans, and the cosmos constitute three inseparable and concentric axes of the one reality. Early and medieval theologies presupposed this theanthropocosmic (or cosmotheandric) vision. Moreover, the genius of the doctrine of the Trinity lies in the capacity that enables the articulation of the pluralistic and concentric reality of the Triune Godhead beyond Greek monistic dualism.¹⁶⁾

Since the beginning of their history, Korean people have believed in the triadic reality of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, by calling it the Trinity (三才) or the Triune Ultimate (三極). The ideographic structure of Korean language prominently embodies this triadic vision. It also appears saliently in the trigrams and the hexagrams of *I-ching*, a foundation of East Asian thought.¹⁷⁾ In this regard, Confucian scholar Cheng Chung-ying made an illuminating suggestion:

The concept of the trinity is derived from Christian theology, in which God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit form a triad and yet are considered one, though as three positions within one. As this trinity is historically soteriological, the question of how a trinity may be applied to cosmology, ecology, and ethics is a subtle and challenging question. ... we might see God the Son as the ideal human, God the Father would be Heaven (the creative spirit), and God the Holy Spirit the earth (the receptive co-spirit), or agent of the world which testifies to the accomplishment of the divinity.¹⁸⁾

Furthermore, in Korean Christianity, the theohistorical vision (salvation history) of Christianity encounters the anthropocosmic vision of East Asian

15) See Raymond Panikkar, *The Cosmotheandric Experience: Emerging Religion Consciousness* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1993).

16) See Hodgson, *Winds*, esp., 45-50, 109-10.

17) See Hellmut Wilhelm, *Heaven, Earth, and Man in the Book of Changes* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977).

18) Cheng Chung-ying, "The Trinity of Cosmology, Ecology, and Ethics in the Confucian Personhood," in *Confucianism and Ecology: The Interpretation of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity*, ed. Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong (Harvard University Press, 1998), 225.

religions (esp., Neo-Confucianism). This encounter leads to a fusion of hermeneutical horizons that entails a the-anthropo-cosmic vision.¹⁹⁾ In Korean Christianity, Christian theology, East Asian religions, and ecology meet together. It is an ideal locus to construct a viable paradigm of the theology of life for the third millennium. This is because Christian theology presents a thoughtful view on God (Heaven), East Asian religions (Neo-Confucianism) offer a profound wisdom on humanity and life (the Son), and ecology (natural sciences) submits the most updated knowledge of the earth (the Holy Spirit). Thereupon, Christian theology, East Asian religions, and ecology constitute the triadic polarities that entail a Triune Great Ultimate (三太極). A theanthropocosmic paradigm of Christian theology can be constructed with these three great resources in a Triune Great Ultimate. These relations may be illustrated as follows:

Triune Great Ultimate of Theotao

Christian Theology	<i>Theos</i>	Heaven	<i>Ki (Ch'i, Pneuma)</i>	Father	Emancipation
East Asian Religions	<i>Anthropos</i>	Human (Life)	<i>Society</i>	Son	Dialogue
Ecology (Natural Sciences)	<i>Cosmos</i>	Earth	<i>Cosmos</i>	Holy Spirit	Ecology
<i>Theanthropocosmic Vision</i>			<i>Pneumatociocosmic Biography</i>		

Tao Paradigm of Theology: Theo-tao.

Secondly, I argue that theo-tao should be a paradigm of Christian theology for the third millennium. Theotao searches for the theanthropocosmic Tao, the Way of the Triune Great Ultimate where the Heavenly way (天道), the human way (人道), and the earthly way (地道) are united as one. It seeks the way to embody the trinity of theology, life, and ecology through profound insights of Christianity, East Asian religions, and natural sciences. Therefore, theotao is a theology of learning how to participate in this

19) Simply, the anthropocosmic vision refers to the Confucian idea of the unity of Heaven and humanity, whereas the theohistorical vision means the Protestant view of salvation history. For the anthropocosmic vision, see Tu Wei-ming, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness*, rev. ed. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989). For the fusion of these two hermeneutical horizons, see Heup Young Kim, *Wang Yang-ming and Karl Barth: A Confucian-Christian Dialogue* (Durham: University Press of America, 1996), esp., 175-180.

holistic trajectory, i.e., the theanthropocosmic Tao.

The dominant root-metaphor of Christian theology for the last two millennia, logos, seems to have reached a limit. Having been rooted in Greek hierarchical dualism, it was moreover reduced to technical reason by the influence of modernism. Logos has become an inappropriate root-metaphor for ecotheology. Thus, instead, I argue that tao should be the new root-metaphor of Christian theology of life. First of all, tao is “the most life affirming” root-metaphor.²⁰⁾ Further, tao is more biblical than logos, for Jesus said, “I am the way, truth, and life” (Jn 14:6a), that is to say, the ultimate way (tao) of life. Jesus did not identify himself as the incarnate logos but as the tao toward God (Jn 14:6b). Furthermore, the original title for Christianity in Greek was *hodos* (way); this was translated as tao in the Korean Bible (Acts 9:2; 19:9; 22:4; 24:14, 22).

I coined the term theo-tao (tao) to contrast with the traditional theo-logy (logos) and its modern alternative, theo-praxis (praxis).²¹⁾ As its Chinese character consists of two ideographs, meaning ‘head’ (being) and ‘vehicle’ (becoming), tao means both the source of being (logos) and the way of becoming (praxis). It denotes the being in becoming or the logos in transformative praxis. Tao does not refer to an option of either-or, but embraces the whole of both-and. It does not force one to stay at the crossroad of logos (being) and praxis (becoming), but actualizes one to participate in a dynamic movement to be united in the cosmic track. The tao as the ultimate way and reality embodies the transformative praxis of the sociocosmic trajectory of life in the unity of knowing and acting.

If theo-logy is a perspective from above and if theo-praxis is that from below, then theo-tao is a perspective from an entirely different dimension, theanthropocosmic intersubjectivity. Theotao as a theology of life is neither logos-centric (knowledge) nor praxis-centric (action), but tao-centric (so to speak, *sophia* in action). Theotao can be reduced neither to an ortho-doxo (a right doctrine of the church) nor to an ortho-praxis (a right practice in history), but should embrace holistically the right way of life (ortho-tao), the

20) In the series foreword of *Religions of the World and Ecology*, Mary Evelyn Tucker and John A. Grim stated, “The East Asian traditions of Confucianism and Taoism remain, in certain ways, some of the most life-affirming in the spectrum of world religions” (“Series Foreword,” xxvi).

21) Heup Young Kim, “A Tao of Asian Theology in the 21st Century,” *Asia Journal of Theology* 13:2 (1999), 276-93; Kim, *Christ and the Tao*, 135-54.

transformative wisdom of living in a theanthropocosmic trajectory. What theotao pursues is neither only a metaphysical debate for church doctrines nor exclusively an ideological conscientization for social action, but a holistic way of life. The key issue is whether we are in proper communication with the Spirit to participate in the loving process of theanthropocosmic reconciliation and sanctification.

While orthodoxy emphasizes faith and while orthopraxis underscores hope, orthotao focuses on love (I Cor. 13:13). Whereas the primary theme of traditional theology is the epistemology of faith and whereas that of the modern theopraxis is the eschatology of hope, the cardinal theme of theotao is the pneumatology of love. If the classical definition of theology is *faith-seeking-understanding* (*fides quaerens intellectum*) and if that of theopraxis is hope-seeking-practice, then theotao takes the definition of *love-seeking-tao*. Whereas theology (God-talk) focuses on the right understanding of Christian doctrines, and theopraxis (God-walk) on the right practice of the Christian ideologies, theotao (God-live) searches for the way and wisdom of Christian life.

In fact, the actual teachings of Jesus were not so much an orthodox doctrine, a philosophical theology, a manual of orthopraxis, or an ideology of social revolution, but the tao of life and living. Jesus Christ cannot be divided between the historical Jesus (theopraxis) and the kerygmatic Christ (theology). Following the first Korean Catholic theologian Yi Pyŭk (1754-1786), theotao conceives Christ as the crossroad of the Heavenly Tao and the human tao; that is to say, the theanthropocosmic Tao (neither Christology nor Christo-praxis, but Christo-tao).²²⁾ Christotao comprehends Jesus Christ as both the Tao of crucifixion - the way of theanthropocosmic reconciliation; and the Tao of resurrection - the way of theanthropocosmic sanctification. This teaches us how we, cosmic sojourners, can live fully human in solidarity with other cosmic co-sojourners, particularly with the fullness of other exploited lives.

Ryu Young-mo (1890-1981), a seminal Korean Christian thinker, conceived the cosmogonic Christ from the deepest heart of the East Asian

22) For Yi Pyŭk, see Jean Sang Ri, *Confucius et Jesus Christ: La Premiere Theologie Chrestienne en Coree D'apres L' oeuvre de Yi Piek lettre Confuceen 1754-1786* (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1979). For christotao, see Heup Young Kim, "Toward a Christotao: Christ as the Theanthropocosmic Tao," *Studies In Interreligious Dialogue* 10:1(2000) 5-29; also Kim, Christ and the Tao, 153-82.

hermeneutical universe of tao. He believed that, in Christ, the Non-Ultimate (or the Ultimate of Non-being) and the Great Ultimate (*T'ai-chi*, *T'aegŭk*) become one. In Neo-Confucianism (Chou Tun-i), this unity denotes the ultimate complementary and paradoxical opposites of the ineffable Vacuity (the Non-Ultimate) and the Cosmogony (the Great Ultimate).²³⁾ From the vantage point of this supreme cosmogonic paradox, Ryu understood "the cross as both the Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate ... Jesus is the one who manifested the ultimate in Asian cosmology. Through the sacrifice of himself, he achieved genuine humanity (*jen*). That is to say, by offering himself as a sacrifice, he saved the human race and opened the kingdom of God for humanity."²⁴⁾

Further, Ryu articulated the cross as "the blood of the flower" (*kkotpi*) through which the Son reveals the glory of the Father and the Father the glory of the Son.²⁵⁾ Seeing the blossom of this flower of Jesus (at the cross), he envisioned the glorious blossom of the cosmos (cosmogony). For Ryu, "the cross is a rush into the cosmic trajectory, resurrection is a participation in the revolution of the cosmic trajectory, and lighting up the world is the judgment sitting in the right-hand side of God."²⁶⁾ Hence, according to him, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ do not refer to a narrow story about God's saving work exclusively for a species of *homo sapiens* in the linear history in a tiny planet of the solar system, the Earth. On the contrary, these events signify a grand narrative of theanthropocosmic drama that Jesus, true humanity, has successfully penetrated into the cosmic trajectory to achieve the cosmotheandric union, lightening up the entire universe, and thus becoming the christic tao of true life (cf. Col 1:16-7, Jn 1:3).

23) See Chan Wing-tsit, trans. and compiled, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 463-5; also, Michael Kalton, trans., ed., *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning by Yi T' oegye* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 37-50.

24) Kim Heung-ho, "Ryu Young-mo's View of Christianity from the Asian perspective," Park Young-ho, ed., *Tasŏk Ryu Young-mo* (Seoul: Muae, 1993), 299.

25) By this Korean word, Ryu expressed two metaphorical meanings of the cross simultaneously. On the cross, Jesus spilled blood like the blood of a flower, which is also like the blossoming of the flower (of life).

26) Kim Heung-ho, "Ryu Young-mo's View," 301.

Furthermore, according to Ryu, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are events that make the Being in Non-Being. Western christologies, preoccupied by being (substantialism), neglect this dimension of non-being. In fact, the core of christology is in this paradoxical mystery of creating the being (resurrection) from the non-being (crucifixion), which is God's cosmogonic principle (*creatio ex nihilo*). From this vantage point, Ryu formulated a fascinating Korean apophatic christotao. Jesus is the One who "Is" in spite of "Is-Not," that is to say, "Being-in-Non-Being (*Ŏpshigyeshin nim*)."²⁷ Whereas we are those of non-being-in-being, He is the One of Being-in-Non-Being. Whereas we are the "forms" that are "none other than emptiness" (Heart Sutra), he is the "emptiness" that is "none other than form."²⁷ Christian theology needs to embody this cosmogonic principle of being-in-non-being in order to be ecological and life-affirming. Here is the significance of the medieval traditions of negative theology (*via negativa*) and *kenosis* (emptiness).

Tao-te ching describes tao with basically feminine metaphors: "mother of all things," "the root," "the ground" (of Being), or "the uncarved block" (the original nature). Tao is called "the mystical female": "The spirit of the valley never dies. It is called the mystical female. The gateway of the mystical female is called the root of Heaven and Earth" (*Tao-te ching*: 6). "Can you play the role of the female in the opening and closing the gates of the Heaven?" (10).²⁸ This feminine vision is based on *Lao-tzu's* principle of "reversal." *Lao-tzu* always put the preferential option to the strategy of *yin* rather than that of *yang*.²⁹ This *yin* principle of reversal is closely connected

27) Kim Heung-ho, *Jesori* [The Genuine Voice: The Words of Ryu Young-mo] (Seoul: Pungman, 1985), 68.

28) Chan, *A Source Book*, 144.

29) A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1989), 223. Graham contrasted this strategies of *yin* and *yang* in the following chain of oppositions:

<i>Yang</i>	<i>Yin</i>	<i>Yang</i>	<i>Yin</i>
Something	Nothing	Before	Behind
Doing Something	Doing Nothing	Moving	Still
Knowledge	Ignorance	Big	Small
Male	Female	Strong	Weak
Full	Empty	Hard	Soft
Above	Below	Straight	Bent

with the principle of return. "Attain complete vacuity, maintain steadfast quietude. All things come into being, and I see thereby their return. All things flourish, but each one returns to its destiny. To return to destiny is called the eternal (Tao). To know the eternal is called enlightenment" (16).³⁰⁾ The principle of reversal and radical return entail the spirituality of tao with the paradoxical power of weakness and emptiness.

Pneumatociocosmic Biography of the Exploited Life.

Thirdly, I suggest that theotao, as a theology of life in this age of ecological crisis, should take this spirituality of tao seriously. In order to resist merciless processes of genocide, biocide, and ecocide, theotao needs to be equipped with a strong Christian spirituality that embodies the principle of radical return and reversal with the paradoxical power of weakness and emptiness. Through his life-act, Jesus Christ taught us this spirituality of tao. The life saving mystery of his resurrection entails a Christian principle of radical return (the victory of life over the power of death). At the same time, his crucifixion on the cross denotes a Christian principle of reversal with the paradoxical power of weakness and emptiness (cf. Isa 53:5, Lk 6:20f, 1 Cor 1:18). The preferential option (the *yin* strategy) should be placed not only to the poor, minjung, and women but also extended to the wounded ecosystem as a whole including endangered species. In this regard, theotao should focus on sociocosmic biographies of the exploited life, i.e., underside histories of ecological suffering, oppression, and exploitation. With these narratives as a point of departure, theotao can embody the Christian spirituality of reversal and return to execute sociocosmic transformative praxis, the tao, healing the wounded mother Earth. In Christian faith, this spirituality implies nothing other than the eschatological hope of resurrection.

Kim Yong-bock argued that the social biography (the underside history) of minjung is a more authentic historical point of reference for theological reflection than doctrinal discourses (the official history) superimposed by the Church and in the orientation of Western rationality.³¹⁾ It was an

30) Chan, *Source Book*, 147.

31) Kim Yong-bock, "Theology and the Social Biography of Minjung," *CTC Bulletin* 5:3-6:1 (1984-5), 66-78.

important proposal for Asian theology to realize minjung as the subject of history and a legitimate correction to traditional theology, primarily based on autobiographical (psychological) or church (official) narratives. Nevertheless, its focus on the political history of God and subsequently the anthropocentric history hinders Asian theology in embracing profundities of Asian religious and ecological thoughts. Theotao as an Asian theology includes underside histories of whole life systems on the earth. It needs to thematize a sociocosmic (not only social but also cosmic) narrative of the exploited life, creatively crossing over both the social biography of minjung and the East Asian anthropocosmic vision. It is impelled to tell the story of the sociocosmic network of the exploited life in the light of the spiritual communion of outpouring *sin-ki* [*shen-ch'i*, *pneuma*], a primordial *ki* or vital energy, that is salvific, emancipatory, and reconciliatory.³²⁾ Hence, theotao should focus on the pneumatociocosmic biography of the exploited life.

Kim Chi Ha, a famous Korean poet, wrote an insightful essay, "The Ugūmch'i Phenomenon," that illuminates deeper meanings of *sin-ki* and pneumatociocosmic biography of the exploited life.³³⁾ To heal his sickness from the long period of imprisonment by the military dictatorship, Kim Chi Ha retired to a small city in the southwestern part of Korea. In front of his house there was a little stream. The once pristine stream was now hopelessly polluted by industrial waste. However, when it rained, the situation changed. The rain not only swept out the wastes but also made the water clean again. Moreover, he was surprised to see many small fish swimming upstream against the flood of water! How could such feeble fish

32) This term *sin-ki* (Korean transliteration) is composed of two Chinese characters *shen-ch'i*. The first character *sin* (*shen*) has various translations such as ghost, spirit, soul, vitality, and sacred. The second character *ki*, well known in the Chinese term *ch'i*, similar to the Greek word *pneuma*, has also various translations such as energy, vital force, material force, and breath. For the following Chinese terms, in this paper, I use their Korean transliterations to preserve peculiar nuances in their Korean usage:

Chinese	<i>ch'i</i>	<i>shen-ch'i</i>	<i>T'ai-chi</i>	<i>Wu-chi</i>
Korean	<i>ki</i>	<i>sin-ki</i>	<i>T'aegŭk</i>	<i>Mugŭk</i>
Translation	energy	vital energy	Great Ultimate	Non-Ultimate

33) Kim Chi Ha, *Sangmyung* (Seoul: Sol, 1992), 188-92. For a full English translation, see Kim, *Christ and the Tao*, 138-42.

swim upward against such a turbulent flow? This act puzzled him.

Through meditation, he realized that such a thing could happen by the work of *sin-ki*. The movement of one's *sin-ki* enables one to be aware of the *sin-ki* of others. When the *sin-ki* of a feeble fish becomes united with that of water, it can swim against even a mighty turbulent flood. Furthermore, as *ki*, "energy," always consists of *yin* and *yang*, the *ki* of water also moves in both directions of *yin* and *yang*. From the exuberant palpitation of the *sin-ki* of many fish in union with the *yin* movement of the water, Chi Ha discovered the key to understanding the mystery of the Ugŭmch'i War³⁴⁾ in which the feeble minjung - literally a multitude of people (in this case several hundred thousands) - fought vigorously against Japanese troops armed with powerful mechanized weapons. Their collective *sin-ki* inspired and empowered the minjung to participate courageously in the movement and to be united with the primordial *ki*, in the same manner as the feeble fish that swim vigorously upstream against the formidable flood to be in union with the *yin* movement of the water. The fierce palpitation of the minjung against the turbulent flood of historical demons is in fact a great cosmic movement united with the *yin-yang* movement of *ki*. Chi Ha called this the ugŭmch'i phenomenon.

The first realization of Chi Ha in this parable was an ecological insight that nature ("rain") has a self-saving power to bring forth life in a fateful environment ("the polluted water") seemingly beyond remedy. He saw a hope for life in this spiritually fragmented and ecologically destructive world spawned by the developmental ideology of modern technocized, commercialized, and cemented culture. A more important realization, however, is that from the tao world he found the clue to transcending historical dualism and the real source of the life energy which outpours such a vigorous vitality to the feeble fish and the minjung in Ugŭmch'i.

This marked a radical turning point for his thought. Chi Ha was the one who had formulated a creative Korean hermeneutics of suspicion from the perspective of *han*, "the suppressed, amassed and condensed experience of oppression caused by mischief or misfortune so that it forms a kind of 'lump' in one's spirit."³⁵⁾ He argued that minjung must be free from the

34) The last and fiercest battle during the second uprising of Tonghak peasant revolution that broke out on the Ugŭmch'i Hill of Gongju, Korea, in December of 1894.

vicious circle of *han*-riddenness to resolve their *han*. This inspired Korean theologians to formulate minjung theology, and *han* has become a famous idiom of minjung theology. Some minjung theologians went forward to argue that a main task of theologians is to become priests of *han* to motivate and participate in the movement of *hanpuri* (a collective action to release *han*) of minjung and women.³⁵⁾

Chi Ha finally returned to the old tao world. It tells of a paradigm shift in his thought from a Korean version of the dualistic mode of contradiction (*han*) to the East Asian correlative mode of complementary opposites (*yin-yang*). The shift involves his enlightenment to the true source of the tremendously life-empowering force manifested by the feeble fish in the turbulent flood and the multitude of minjung in the Ugümch'i War. The key to revealing the mystery of the ugümch'i phenomenon is the notion of *ki*, a very East Asian term. Just like *pneuma*, *ki* is not so much dualistic and analytic as holistic and embracing; at the same time, it is both the source and the medium of empowerment. In this phenomenology of *ki*, the East Asian anthropocosmic vision can be expanded to the new horizon in the unity of Heaven (God), Earth (the cosmos), and Humanity through the spirit (*ki*, *pneuma*), namely, "a pneumatoanthropocosmic vision."³⁷⁾ This pneumatoanthropocosmic vision can cultivate a symbiosis of the life network through the communication of *ki* that fosters the human race's relationship with other lives more holistically and profoundly.

Neither the logos nor the praxis paradigm fits with this phenomenology of *sin-ki* and fall short of the analogical imagination that it presents. If the polluted flood metaphorically refers to the force of destruction, the feeble fish represent the force of life. Deconstructionism has unveiled that the logosphonocentric paradigm has had more affinity to the force of destruction than the force of life. Rather it has helped the demonic movement of the historical flood, by its involvement with sociological plots such as androcentricism and ethnocentricism and endangered global life by its dualistic fragmentation.

35) The definition of Suh Nam-dong, a founder of minjung theology in *Minjung Theology*, 65. Suh's theology of *han* was heavily influenced by Chi Ha's philosophy of *han*.

36) See Chung Hyun Kyung, "Han-pu-ri: Doing Theology from Korean Women's Perspective," *The Ecumenical Review* 40:1 (1988), 27-36.

37) For the pneumatoanthropocosmic vision, see my *Asian Theology*, 285-7.

Although the praxis paradigm aggressively resists the force of destruction, it also remains within the limit of narrowly defined historical, social and economic concerns that do not proceed beyond the logic that the force of destruction constitutes. It does not set out a self-sufficient description for the force of life, but ends with a reactionary articulation against the force of destruction. Nor does it retain a deep understanding of the complex relation among God, humanity, and the cosmos such as those expressed in the Asian theanthropocosmic vision and the phenomenology of *sin-ki*.

Therefore, theotao needs to thematize a *sociocosmic biography of the exploited life*, creatively pushing beyond a dialectical sociobiography of *minjung* and an innocent anthropocosmic vision.³⁸⁾ The *ugümch'i* phenomenon is an example of the sociocosmic biography of the exploited life, metaphorically telling the story of the two exploited lives, the feeble fish in the turbulent stream and the multitude of *minjung* in the *Ugümch'i* War. In addition, *ki* as both spirit and matter offers a clue to the mystery of incarnation. While the birth story of Jesus refers to the pneumatanthropocosmic vision *par excellence*, the passion narratives of Christ tell the sociocosmic biography of the exploited life *par excellence*. Jesus Christ as the theanthropocosmic Tao entails the life-breathing *pneumasociocosmic trajectory* of the *sin-ki*.

Finally, theotao as a new paradigm of Asian theology in the 21st century invites us to participate in re-habilitating the exploited life, including not only *minjung* and women but also endangered life systems and polluted nature, by the outpouring power of *sin-ki*. As the *ugümch'i* phenomenon illuminates, it requires the spirituality of tao that empowers the principle of radical return and reversal with the paradoxical power of weakness and emptiness. A primary task of theotao as a Christian theology in the third millennium is to re-habilitate our planetary and cosmic habitats, i.e., 'our' home (*oikos*) in the universe, with the re-visioning of the true com-union among God, humanity (the life), and Earth (the cosmos) and by

38) Kim Yong-bock argued that the social biography of *minjung* is a more authentic historical point of reference for theological reflection than the doctrinal discourses superimposed by the Church and in the orientation of Western rationality; see his "Theology and the Social Biography of *Minjung*," *CTC Bulletin*: 5:3-6:1 (1984-5), 66-78. For the sociocosmic narrative of the exploited life, see my "Asian Theology," 285-90.

the outpouring power of the cosmic Spirit, *sin-ki*. Therefore, doing a proper ecumenism for the third millennium demands not just an inter-Christian or an inter-religious dialogue, but a theanthropocosmic com-union to embody the transformative praxis in the pneumatociocosmic trajectory, the Tao.³⁹⁾

39) A version of this paper was published in *Windows into Ecumenism: Essays in Honor of Ahn Jae Woong*, Preman Niles ed., (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 2005), 140-156.

Abstract

Rampant ecological crisis is threatening the whole life system on the globe. The signs of the times indeed ask us to construct a theology of life in a new key. To meet this request, this paper proposes three theological paradigm changes; (1) a the-anthropo-cosmic vision, (2) a theotao with the Tao as a new alternative root-metaphor, and (3) a pneumato-socio-cosmic biography of the exploited life as a major theme for the theology of life.

In the last 500 years, Western Christian theologies have lost the concern for the created world by the influences of the Protestant overemphasis on personal salvation and anthropocentric mentality of the Enlightenment (“a turn to the subject”). Western theologians have been trying to correct this mistake by “a turn to the earth” and to formulate earth- or cosmo-centric ecotheologies. However, this simple shift of the center of the fundamental vision from humanity to the earth is an insufficient solution for complex ecological problems. For this is not only a continuation of Greek dualism and either-or thinking, recognized as a primary metaphysical reason to bring this ecological disaster, but also betrays a reductionism and essentialism, recognized as another reason for the crisis. The reality of the universe is rather dynamic and relational, consisting of the Triads of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, closer to the traditional East Asian cosmology. Hence, I argue for a major theological paradigm change toward a theanthropocosmic vision that believes that God, humanity, and cosmos are mutually interrelated but irreducible three axes of the universe.

The logos that has flourished and dominated as the root-metaphor for Western Christian theology for almost two millennia now has reached its limit, as postmodernism vehemently criticizes. As feminist theologies have proved, the logos theology is problematic and defective for ecotheology (eg., the ontology of the hierarchy of being). I argue both for the adoption of the Tao, a cardinal East Asian metaphor, an alternative root-metaphor for Christian theology and for a construction of ‘theo-tao’ (God as the Tao), a new paradigm of theology of life that embraces and explicates properly the theanthropocosmic vision.

Finally, I argue that a pneumato-socio-cosmic biography of the exploited life should be a major theme for the theology of life. In this serious ecological crisis, a theology of life needs to be based on a strong Christian spirituality to enable it to resist against human selfish mischief in

the merciless process of genocide, biocide, and ecocide. It should give a preferential option to the exploited life that includes not only *minjung* and women but also the wounded ecosystem and endangered life species. It needs to hear and tell pneumatosociocosmic biographies of the exploited life, the ecological stories of suffering, oppression, and exploitation. These narratives should be a good point of departure for a theology of life to explore wisdom with the Christian spirituality of hope and resurrection to execute a socio-cosmic transformative praxis for healing the wounded mother earth.?

Key Words

theanthropocosmic vision, theotao, pneumatosociocosmic biography of the exploited life, sociocosmic transformative praxis, sociobiography of minjung, Tao, ki, han, Great Ultimate, Non-Ultimate, Kim Chi Ha, Kim Yong-bock

Betweenness and the Authentic Selfhood: A comparison of Daoist thoughts with Heidegger within the context of living with an authentic selfhood.

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This article compares Heidegger's thinking of the authenticity (*Eigentlichkeit*) of the self with the Daoist notion of Authentic being-human (真人 *zhenren*).¹⁾ By doing so, it argues that both the idea of *Eigentlichkeit*

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1) In this article, the term 'Daoism' only refers to the Daoism of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu. Despite significant differences between Lao-Tzu, who tries to reform the ordinary world by embracing dao beyond (named) daos, and Chuang-Tzu, who seems to transcend the mundane world by thingification which means the individualization of dao into the nature of things, their understandings of dao and de bind them together into Daoism (Wing-Tsit Chan tr. and compiled., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 177-179).

Also, the word 'human being' seems to be associated with certain metaphysical thinking of substance. In Daoist context, human being is always to-be-human. The inversion of human being into being-human intends to express the concept

in Heidegger and that of *zhenren* in the Daoism of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu open up a space for betweenness. The authenticity of being-human is attained by becoming one with the transcendent (the unnamable dao in Lao-Tzu and be-ing in Heidegger), which is paradoxically embedded in the ordinariness by signifying its absence or its lack in it. Of course there are some differences between them. For instance, to be an authentic being-human, Lao-tzu practices actionless-action (無爲) by placing the self low and humble which is the way of the self-so-ing nature, and Chuang-tzu crosses over to things by deepening the selfhood until it can embrace all forms of the self in nature (物化), while Heidegger leaps into be-ing, which is no/thing, by facing the undeniable fact of the most lonely moment of its death through the dread lure of anxiety (*Ereignis*; enownment). However, despite the obvious differences, what makes them converge is human life, which is between the transcendent and the ordinary. In human life *t*here, as Heidegger's "handiness" (*Zuhandenheit*) can bring *Dasein* to the transformation of things into the enowning of the unnamable be-ing, Chuang-Tzu's crossing over to things may be interpreted as the momentum of the enowning of nature's self.

However, one should not forget that Heidegger's 'enowning' still holds its 'own' independence from be-ing and *t*here, while the authentic being-human is completely immersed in the self-so-ing of nature. This article argues that this difference shows the multiplicity of human betweenness, which is the transliteration of the Chinese word for human being. For in this betweenness lies the authenticity of human life in that the human is "a creature betwixt and between,"²⁾ who lives between heaven and earth with its dividedness between being divine and being mortal. Indeed, human life is incessantly put between be-ing and *t*here, between the unnamable and the namable dao, and its authenticity lies in its realization of the betweenness (*das Zwischen*) as the messenger of the transcendent. This thought of the betweenness of being-human is embedded in Heidegger and the Daoism of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu.

that human being is always on its way to be human.

2) Richard M. Palmer, "The Liminality of Hermes and the Meaning of Hermeneutics," (Jacksonville, Ill: MacMurray College, 1991), <http://www.mac.edu/faculty/richardpalmer/liminality.html> (accessed Nov. 10, 2005), 2.

Lao-Tzu's way to be one with the unnamable by actionless action (無爲)

According to Lao-Tzu, everything is given birth to between the unnamable and the namable dao, which are not both separate agents or origins but two different Way(s) of the one and the same self-so-ing (自然 *ziran*).³⁾ They are always together, yet one tends to perceive things only through their knowable dimensions, for instance, through their definitions and images, so that dao beyond human language is unreachable by humans and thus is forgotten. The one and the same self-so-ing is divided (between-ized, never separated) into the namable and the unnamable. Lao-Tzu brings to us the awareness that the known definitions or images do not bring a sense of full meaning to the things defined. For instance, a bowl is a vessel. We re/cognize, define and name it with its shape and appearance. Yet, it exists with its inner emptiness. More correctly to say, it exists *for* its inner void. Its shape and appearance serve its inner emptiness that has nothing to be seen. Yet this invisible inner void, which paradoxically shows itself visible in the form of the invisible, determines the reason for the existence of the bowl.⁴⁾ In other words, what we see does not completely determine the Way of our life. Rather, what we cannot see determines it. Thus, by discerning the betweenizing *dao* into the unnamable and the namable, the Daoist warns us not to live for things in sight, such as fame, wealth, promotion, ambition and so on. There is something un/recognized behind. This un/recognized may be more important and closer to the Truth of life, the Way (道). Human life carries on by embracing the betweenness, an unfathomable abyss between the unnamable and the namable *daos*.

The unnamable in fact moves without moving itself and acts without action (無爲 *wu-wei*), actionless-action (無爲) which is the Way of nature that is self-so-ing (無爲自然). The self-so-ing is not seen or heard or formed but only left its traces in names because it is not-a-thing and cannot be defined with names. The Daoist sage returns to this not-a-thing by emptying himself of everything humanly named. It means that the Daoist sage does not consciously strive to be virtuous because the virtue he can imagine and construct would be imperfect for delivering the unnamable dimension of

3) Cf. *DaoDeJing* ch.1; for translation, Chan, *A Source Book*, 139.

4) cf. *Dao-De-Jing* ch.11; Chan, *A Source Book*, 144-145.

dao to people. Thus, he gives up the ideal to be a sage and so to achieve humanity, also discarding away from him wisdom and righteousness.⁵⁾ In so doing, the Daoist sage puts himself low and inferior where the unnamable dao resides. This is the Daoist virtue to embrace the eternal and yet unnamable dao within human selfhood; virtue (德 *de*) which lets the person follow naturalness (自然 *self-so-ing*).⁶⁾ Unlike Confucian *junzi* (君子), whose virtue is *jen* (仁) emphasizing the relationality and interdependence of human beings in the socio-cultural world, the Daoist ideal of human being, *zhenren* (the “authentic person” [真人]), stresses the naturalness of ‘being-in-the-world.’ The prefix *Zhen*, which means ‘genuine,’ refers to a natural-ness as opposed to socio-cultural convention. It derives from “what is so-of-itself (自然),”⁷⁾ which has often been translated as Nature. This naturalness does not deny the importance of (human) culture and society, but it acknowledges the limitation of the cultural virtue such as *jen* and *junzi*. For culture is after all “artificial.”⁸⁾ It is nothing more than human interference with the natural flow of *dao*. By totally deferring itself to the complex flow of nature and by letting it go in terms of the three *wu* forms (no-knowledge 無知, no-action 無爲, and no-desire 無欲), the Daoist self makes itself “frictionless”⁹⁾ with nature. In so doing, the Daoist self integrates the betweenized *daos* as the unnamable and as the namable into

5) *DaoDeJing* ch.19; Chan, *A Source Book*, 149.

6) *De* 德, which “denote[s] the emergence of particularity” out of the natural flow(s), is not exclusively Daoist (David Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking from the Han: Self, Truth, and Transcendence in Chinese and Western Culture*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 39). However, this notion of *de* plays a key role in the Daoist thoughts, especially in Lao-Tzu’s Daoism (Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Philip J. Ivanhoe, ed., *Religious and Philosophical Aspects of the Laozi*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 239). It is said that the earliest text “attributed to Laozi,” which has been known well in the name of *Dao De Jing*, consists of two notions: “*dao* (‘Way’) and *de* (‘power’ or ‘virtue’)” (Csikszentmihalyi and Ivanhoe, *Religious and Philosophical Aspects of the Laozi*, 239). Most scholars of Daoism have focused on the notion of *dao*, yet much attention has not been paid to the notion of *de*.

7) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 165.

8) Robert C. Neville, *Boston Confucianism: Portable Tradition in the Late-Modern World*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 29.

9) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 167.

human life. In this way, it acknowledges that the realm of the beyond, which is unnamable and indefinable, lays a foundation upon the world of names, fames, and identities. *Dao* dao-ing itself should naturally flow out from the within of being-human, and this is the way of Nature fulfilling everything.

The authentic being-human is brought through this integration of the unnamable and the namable *dao* into the selfhood of a person, the integration which is carried out by properly nurturing the human body.¹⁰⁾ The integration called 'life-nourishment' (養生) paradoxically deconstructs the bodily confined boundary of the self by "forgetting the mind" (虛其心)¹¹⁾ so that the body-self can completely follow the natural flow of *dao*. In other words, the nourishment of body brings a genuine sense of self to the person by deconstructing the consciously constructed mind, which is presented in the form of the 'I' and represented as an isolated and independent entity. Presentations of the 'I' are often associated with a sense of 'we' which is always politically charged due to the fact that, in our ordinary life, the locus of the self is always "coterminous with its field of social activity and relations."¹²⁾ Here, the mind of the 'I' exists in an absorption of the 'I' into the 'we,' which is identified with the familial, social, cultural, or national boundary in Confucianism and which imposes illusory selfhood upon it. However, by nurturing the body, not the mind, the Daoist clears himself from the imposition of the illusory ideals of and for the 'we' upon the body-self so that it recovers an 'authentic' sense of selfhood, that is, the emptiness and/or nothingness of the self in which established identifications of the 'I' are so completely vanished and cleared that the 'I' continuously defers itself to the others and embraces them into it-self by placing itself low and humble where the body-self can find the unnamable *dao*. In this forgetting of the mind, the self returns to the original *dao* which is unnamable and follows the self-so-ing, that is, to the original state of the 'I,' which was one with nature that is 'self-so-ing,' and it

10) In *DaoDeJing* ch.13, Lao-Tzu says, "the reason why I have great trouble is that I have a body (and am attached to it). If I have no body, what trouble could I have? Therefore he who values the world as his body may be entrusted with the empire. He who loves the world as his body may be entrusted with the empire" (Chan, *A Source Book*, 145). Thus, in Lao-Tzu, how to properly nourish the body determines his/her 'world of the self'.

11) "by keeping the heart vacuous" (*DaoDeJing* ch.3; Chan, *A Source Book*, 141).

12) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 42.

recovers its authenticity.¹³⁾

Chuang-Tzu's way to be one with self-so-ing (自然) by crossing over to things (物化)

Chuang-Tzu deepens and widens Lao-Tzu in a way that he transforms the self by crossing over to things in terms of "mind-fasting"¹⁴⁾ so that it can transform things (物化).¹⁵⁾ Chuang-Tzu's butterfly analogy exemplifies "an inner transformation that is a change in the nature of consciousness itself," in which dreaming and awakening are "two phases of the same consciousness."¹⁶⁾ When Chuang-Tzu was awakened from his dream of being a butterfly and asked himself "whether it was Chou dreaming that he was a butterfly or the butterfly dreaming that it was Chou,"¹⁷⁾ what is fundamentally called into question is the 'I' itself. The 'I,' which has been thought of as the 'I,' is only an illusion from which one has to be awakened, not because the 'I' itself is completely illusory, but because it illusorily identifies itself with something else by the social and cultural

13) Cf.) Kuang-Ming Wu, *Chuang-Tzu: World Philosopher at Play*, American Academy of Religion: Studies in Religion 26, (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company & Scholar Press, 1982), 99.

14) The Inner chapter 4 in *Chuang-Tzu* explains it as following: "Unify your attention. Rather than listen with the ear, listen with the heart. Rather than listen with the heart, listen with the energies. Listening stops at the ear, the heart at what tallies with the thought. As for 'energy,' it is tenuous which waits to be roused by other things. Only the Way accumulates the tenuous. The attenuating is *the fasting of the heart*" (A.C. Graham, *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc, 2001), 68; the emphases are mine).

15) Robert E. Allinson, *Chuang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation: An Analysis of the Inner Chapters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 143-144; Note that the Confucian self-cultivation begins with knowing things in their proper place (from human perspective; 格物). Upon this world of things which is constructed by human categorization, Confucians build the authentic selfhood. On the contrary, Daoists aim at crossing over to things in themselves, deconstructing the human categorization.

16) Allinson, *Chuang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation*, 145; cf. Chan, *A Source Book*, 179-191.

17) Allinson, *Chuang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation*, 145.

imposition of the selfhood upon the 'I.' Human life has a dream-like illusory feature.¹⁸⁾ To know the illusory feature of human life is to awaken a true self from the illusions in life. When one realizes the illusory feature of the 'I,' "the problem of the self is not so much solved or resolved as it is dissolved,"¹⁹⁾ because, when one realizes that the 'I' is illusory and forgets the 'I-self,' there is no 'I' and no 'other,' which means that the 'I' does not exist. There is no need to see I/other as a subject/object divide.

To realize the illusory feature of the common sense of the 'I,' one does not need to do something special, such as Confucian self-cultivation or Buddhist meditation, because, for Chuang-Tzu, the 'I' (being-self 自我) is not something like a substance that can be defined, but it is already selfless self - the self which does not do anything but has nothing undone. (This is Chuang Tzu's "double negatives" - "Neither doing nor doing nothing, and nothing is left undone" 無爲而無不爲²⁰⁾). Unlike Lao-Tzu, who finds the authenticity of life in the unnamable beneath names, Chuang-Tzu finds that the authenticity of life lies in human self, which derives from nature's self-so-ing that acts in everything in the form of the 'I.' More precisely, the self (self-so-ing) of nature is dispersed in everything between heaven and earth, and the form of human self depends upon it. However, since the human mind always tends to define the self on the basis of the boundary, of which it can think, the humanly constructed self is always already in conflict with the primal self-so-ing, which does not know its boundary. Chuang-Tzu's mind-fasting is to forget the humanly constructed boundary of the self so that the

18) In Daoist understanding of being-human - the authenticity of human living - human being exists between dreaming and awakening. In this betweenness, there is no absolute distinction between right and wrong and no temporal distinction between past and future or between birth and death. In Chuang-Tzu's words, "when we dream we do not know that we are dreaming. In our dreams we may even interpret our dreams. Only after we are awake do we know we have dreamed. Finally there comes a great awakening, and then we know life is a great dream. ... Both Confucius and you were dreaming. When I say you were dreaming, I am also dreaming. ... Forget the passage of time (life and death) and forget the distinction of right and wrong. Relax in the realm of the infinite and thus abide in the realm of the infinite" (Chan, *A Source Book*, 189-190).

19) Allinson, *Chuang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation*, 146.

20) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 106.

self can be selfish, not in the form of egoism but in the form of an authentic self, which does not have its 'own' form of self. With this selfless self, the Daoist finds the authenticity in one's individual selfishness. From this perspective, to preserve one-self is not to injure the primordial self-so-ing within. In this vein, to be selfish can be a way to be a true self or to be the authentic self frictionlessly with nature. That is, to be selfish is just a step behind to be authentic or true(眞) to the self-so-ing of nature. Evolution thrives upon individuals because an individual is the basic unit of selection and because an individual acts selfishly to preserve it-self in evolution. Its selfishness waxes and wanes according to the boundary with which it can identify itself. From this perspective, an altruistic behavior is none other than a selfish behavior of the extended sense of the self, that is, of the 'we.'²¹⁾ Both the 'I' and the 'we' are based on the same selfish/altruistic duality. Thus, the common sense of selfish egoism is the most powerful illusion of the self and at the same time the closest to the truth of nature in that this selfish egoism enables the individual to be aware of it-self. Here, it is important to note that Chuang Tzu's individual does not have his/her egoistic self-interest. Individualism may turn into a form of egoism, if the individual has its egoistic self-interest for itself. When individuals do not have such self-interest, individualism would be "the way to Utopia."²²⁾ In such a society, in which individuals live without their self-interest, "what is good for me is good for everyone else."²³⁾ Ironically, it is culture that makes the individual to be exclusive and selfish or egoistic in the name of altruism. It imposes a certain ideal of the 'we' upon the I in the name of altruism. Yet, the we is nothing but the egoism of a certain group such as family, class, nation, ethnicity and so on. The I of the individual was not born that way. The I is initially neither exclusive nor inclusive; it is "non-exclusive."²⁴⁾ To come back to one's nature means to come home back to the non-exclusive I without its self-interest. The true self already forgets it-self. By forgetting it-self, the self is ready to embrace and respond to every other thing in the world.

21) Cf) Elliott Sober and David S. Wilson, *Unto Others: the Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 324-327.

22) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 119.

23) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 119.

24) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 119.

After all, through mind-fasting, which empties the self of everything artificial including appetite, intentions, emotions, action (爲) and senses, Chuang-Tzu finds “the way to come home to oneself,”²⁵⁾ to one’s authentic selfhood. In its authenticity, the self “[crosses] over to thing-ness” (物化), in which the self has to defer itself to the ironic “parity of things.”²⁶⁾ By letting the self defer to the ordinary complexities, the Daoist self “open[s] to the de of [its] natural environments, so that the environment contributes to [the self], making [it] potent and productive, and [the self] contribute to their environments, interpreting and maximizing the possibilities of those things which constitute the world.”²⁷⁾ By deferring itself to things at present, the self accomplishes “the transformation of things (*wuhua* 物化),”²⁸⁾ which as a matter of fact means a thingification (of the self), the transformation of the self into the primal self-so-ing (nature) by becoming one with every single thing emerging out of the world. When the self becomes one with everything in nature, it now becomes the Authentic Being-human (真人), who actualizes everything within himself as “a good mirror of Heaven and earth,”²⁹⁾ which only reflects things as they are, instead of distorting them. That is, the Authentic and True Being-human “neither stores nor rejects things” but only accepts them as they are.³⁰⁾

Heidegger’s way to be the authentic selfhood

Human being for Heidegger is *Dasein*, which refers to betweenness (*das Zwischen* between be-ing and t/here) and whose enownment (*Ereignis*) grants the authenticity (*Eigentlichkeit*) of being human.³¹⁾ *Dasein* gains its

25) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 121; cf. Inner Chapter ch.4 in A.C. Graham, *Chuang-Tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-Tzu*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 68.

26) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 251.

27) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 64.

28) Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 64-65; “we become one with all things” 萬物與爲一 (Hall and Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, 248).

29) Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 124.

30) He exists like *chora* in Plato: “Being self-less, he is the true self. ... Doing nothing, feeling nothing, knowing nothing, there is nothing that he does not, feels not, and knows not” (Wu, *Chuang-Tzu*, 126).

31) Emad and May’s “translator’s foreword” in Martin Heidegger, *Contributions to*

authenticity from its interpretation of the be-ing concealed and hidden in the t/here which brings to it an ecstatic union with be-ing. Dasein's "existence [*Existenz*]," an existentiell³²⁾ relation of be-ing and beings t/here - 'my being' - is the "condition of the possibility of authenticity [*Eigentlichkeit*] and inauthenticity."³³⁾ Dasein is always and already disclosed in its existentiell structure, not in its objective structure, that is, "an I is always this being, and not others."³⁴⁾

However, *Dasein* does not exist in-itself. The understanding of *Dasein* always and already contains the understanding of others because *Dasein* is always the being-there-with-others (*Mitdasein*). Yet, they are not the others "from whom I distinguishes itself," but rather the others "from whom one mostly does not distinguish itself."³⁵⁾ Thus, the other is "a double of the self" because "the relation of being to others ... becomes a projection of one's own being toward oneself 'into an other'."³⁶⁾ That is, the other 'is' none other than the I's projected other who is not totally the other but the other who together belongs to the 'we.' In this context, the boundary of *Mitdasein* is constituted by a kind of narcissistic projection of the 'I,' and the existentiell boundary of the 'mineness' of *Dasein* extends over to the boundary of the we, the boundary within which the 'I' is able to be together with them as belonging to the so-called 'my' world, that is, the boundary of my concern of which the I has to take care. Thus, the being-in-the-world is always misinterpreted because the 'we' always projects "the subject-object

Philosophy (From Enowning). Studies in Continental Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xix-xx.

32) For Heidegger, a distinction between existential (*existenzial*) and existentiell (*existenziell*) is important. Existence refers to the ontologically universal structure of human existence; an existentiell existence refers to "my" concrete conditions of existence (Ron L. Cooper, *Heidegger and Whitehead: A Phenomenological Examination into the Intelligibility of Experience* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), 17). Nevertheless, existential being is not completely separated from the existentiell being. For, as Heidegger already mentions, all existence resides in the 'mineness' of *Dasein*.

33) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 10; 49.

34) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 108.

35) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 107; 111.

36) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 117.

relation" onto this 'being-in-the-world,' which is "the constitution of Dasein itself."³⁷⁾ This existentiell boundary of 'my' world is enclosed with "handiness (*Zuhandenheit*)," which constructs and defines things in terms of relevance to each other from the perspective of the 'I,' the relevance which textures the referential structure, in terms of which Dasein is referred to and in turn "constitutes the worldliness of the world."³⁸⁾ In this sense, the handiness (*Zuhandenheit*) defines the place of *Da* (t/here) because the referential relevance is the degree of familiarity of *Dasein* with its surrounding world, and because the place of the world with its relevance is always and already 'over t/here' (*Da*). This sense of place is not objectively measured and calculated because it just refers to the everyday sense of the world in which "the 'above' is what is 'on the ceiling,' the 'below' is what is 'on the floor,' the 'behind' is what is 'at the door,' "³⁹⁾ and so on.

Yet, the narcissistic projection of the dull 'I' in the 'we' is not solipsistic, but it is rather driven by the they, which is the other in the inconspicuous everydayness to which the self and other belong together. Now the 'they' becomes the subject of the imposition of the 'me' upon the 'I,' and, under its sway, the 'I' loses its authentic selfhood and becomes inauthentic. For *Dasein's* projection of the 'mine' onto the other is in the most cases initiated by the 'me,' which is projected from the 'they' upon the 'I.' In these double projections of the 'I' onto the 'we' and of the 'they' onto the 'me,' the authenticity of *Dasein* is divided into the I-me distinction and the we-they distinction. The ambiguous 'they' between the 'we' and the 'other' blurs every kind of difference and peculiarity, averaging and publicizing the 'we' into an anonymous mass everywhere in which "the self of one's own *Dasein* and the self of the other have neither found nor lost themselves"⁴⁰⁾ so that everyone t/here exists as alike. In this averaged 'they,' the 'who' of *Dasein* is not the 'I' but "the they-self."⁴¹⁾ Thus, *Dasein* cannot easily escape from its being-thrown-into the publicness of the they, which masters and determines *Dasein* before the latter knows itself. It is in vain for *Dasein* to try to find its authenticity in the

37) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 55; 55.

38) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 67; 78; 81.

39) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 96.

40) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 119; 120.

41) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 247.

'me.' For the they enforces it to identify itself so that the 'I' is always and already divided and disrupted. T/here "ambiguously"⁴²⁾ between the 'I,' which is the sense of the self, and the 'me,' which is represented by the they as the 'I,' *Dasein* is entangled with the world of the they by falling prey to the world. That is, it lives with its inauthenticity, which is *Dasein's* entanglement with the they and which thus alienates *Dasein* "from the authentic self."⁴³⁾ However, this inauthenticity never refers to "anything like no-longer-being-in-the-world" but to "a distinctive kind of being-in-the-world which is completely taken in by the world and the *Mitda-sein* of the others in the they."⁴⁴⁾

The authenticity of *Dasein* is paradoxically acquired from its awareness of its embeddedness in the they, in which it is "dispersed in the multiplicity of what 'happens' daily,"⁴⁵⁾ that is, in the inconstancies of the they-self in the everydayness. This they, in which *Dasein* embedded feels its being at home, cannot saddle the tidings of time and ages but rather discloses its ambiguity and inconsistency due to the ruthless flow of time that is the face of the totally other, with which it cannot get intimated and acquainted. The embeddedness, in terms of which *Dasein* initially wants to secure its ground of existence, does not grant such a security for its existence because the temporal flow drives everything from the not-yet to the no-longer. This inability of the they to grant a firm foundation of existence lets *Dasein* be anxious of its existence, and this *Angst* (anxiety) drives *Dasein* out of its entanglement of the they, letting it know ahead of its possibility of absolute nothingness - of its death - and disclosing the ultimate groundlessness of its existential structure. Now *Dasein* is aimlessly cast away because the world it existentially constructs is about to collapse down to the ground. However, this *Angst* (anxiety) never goes away because it deeply resides within *Dasein's* existentiell structure, which enables it to realize that being-t/here really means "being-away" from the t/here (*Weg-sein*)⁴⁶⁾ due to the basic structure of time. The anxious realization that it is incessantly driven away from t/here into the no-longer brings *Dasein* to the fearful anticipation of the

42) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 163.

43) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 166.

44) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 164.

45) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 356.

46) Heidegger, *Contributions to Philosophy*, 19.

not-yet, which discloses the stubborn possibility of its absolute nothingness - its death. Then, everything turns into something inauthentic, running toward the possibility of absolute nullity. The they anxiously conceals and covers up this fearful fact so that *Dasein* can illusorily feel its being at home in the world of the they.

Nonetheless, as *Angst* (anxiety) deepens within itself, *Dasein* feels its solitariness, although still being-in-the-world. Then, *Angst* drives *Dasein* into its individualization, into "solus ipse,"⁴⁷⁾ that is, solipsistic individualism, pulling it out of its entanglement with the world of the they. It keeps reminding *Dasein* of "the possibility of a nullity not-yet-to-be-passed."⁴⁸⁾ This possibility of nullity keeps coming back as an absolute other to the present *Dasein*. In this solitary 'moment,' *Dasein* hears a voice, the voice of conscience which "comes from me, and yet from beyond me and over me."⁴⁹⁾ It does not speak, yet it is heard "silently, unambiguously."⁵⁰⁾ The silent voice of conscience does not give any information but summons *Dasein* to the silence, "to the reticence of itself," reminding *Dasein* of its inappropriate care for the others and thus it is "guilty toward others in being-with with them."⁵¹⁾ It is so "resolute"⁵²⁾ that it "[lets] oneself be summoned out of one's lostness in the they" by bringing *Dasein* "to the existence of its situation."⁵³⁾ The resoluteness has *Dasein* respond to the voice of conscience and concerns the others.

Upon hearing the voice of conscience, *Dasein* finds itself at the Moment, a moment when the past of the no-longer and the future of the not-yet are ecstatically integrated, although any integration is bound to the irresistible flow of time and disappears forever. In this ecstatic integration,

47) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 176.

48) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 303.

49) Michael E. Zimmerman, *Eclipse of the Self: the Development of Heidegger's Concept of Authenticity*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981), 74.

50) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 251.

51) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 253; 265.

52) Heidegger never allows a possibility of animal *Dasein* because the authenticity of being between be-ing and t/here can be achieved by thinking, which, for Heidegger, does not belong to the realm of animals (Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington and Rachel Bowlby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 56-57).

53) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 276; 276.

an ordinary moment becomes the Moment, in which the being's eternal recurrence as the same in the changing locus of *t*/here is playfully disclosed. Every moment *t*/here is always already the ecstatic union of the temporal modes of the past, the present and the future. *Dasein*'s realization of this leads into the destruction of time, which has been constructed by tradition in a way of stuffing the ever-flowing and ever-in/abiding time with certain past or with certain ideal so that it can insist on itself as the origin of the 'I,' the 'we' and 'beings.' This destruction recovers the authenticity of selfhood in *Dasein* by having *Dasein* accept the fact that being-*t*/here is being-away. In this sense, the Moment is none other than the moment of enlightening awareness (覺) of the ecstatic temporal unity, through which the self embedded in the temporality of *Dasein* transcends the *t*/here and is transcended by it-self.

Thus, the Moment is the authentic moment of "enowning" (*Erleignis*) in which *Dasein* leaps into its foremost authenticity of be-ing out of *Angst* by realizing the nullity and groundlessness of being-*t*/here with the 'they.' It is not a possession and fixation of the passing-by of time but an acceptance of it. By letting go of it, *Dasein* now crosses "from the hitherto accepted I-oriented self-consciousness"⁵⁴⁾ to the authentic owning of the self. The enownment (*Ereignis* or *Erleignis*) is in a sense the 'I's breaking up with the 'me,' which is generated by the they. In other words, enowning is like an inner transformation of *Dasein*, through which betweenness (human-being-between-world-and-earth) is now authentically re/constructed by existentially modifying the they "as an essential existential," "by clearing away coverings and obscurities, [and] by breaking up the disguises with which *Dasein* cuts itself from itself."⁵⁵⁾ It is not a separation of *Dasein* from the world of the they but "a modified grasp of everydayness."⁵⁶⁾ That is, *Dasein* is not separated from the they, but rather the existentially modified 'they' becomes "authentic being-one's-self."⁵⁷⁾ For the authentic self now 'enowns' (authentically owns) things at hand into its integration of the Fourfield (das Geviert) between earth and heaven, between wo/man and divine.

54) Heidegger, *Contributions to Philosophy*, 224; 47.

55) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 122; 121; with the original emphases.

56) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 167.

57) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 248.

Das Zwischen (間) and human betweenness (人間)

For Heidegger, the authenticity of selfhood lies in betweenness (間 *das Zwischen*) of being-t/here, neither entirely belonging to the unnamable (being) nor blindly being immersed in the namable world of the they. Although it seems that the basic idea of betweenness (*das Zwischen*) belongs to the later Heidegger in *Beiträge zur Philosophie*, it is already contained in his notion of authenticity (*Eigentlichkeit*) of being-t/here. For Heidegger, betweenness 'owns' its initiative to commence another beginning, and it means that be-ing and being-t/here are the betweenizing of no/thingness, which can embrace them together by emptying itself. Human being is this betweenness. For Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu, although human being lives between the unnamable and the namable, between dreaming and awakening, everything only fulfills the Way of nature's self-so-ing. There is no need to be awakened as long as life, although it may be illusory, follows the Way. The attainment of virtue (de 德) to integrate betweenness is not a human initiative but only part of nature, its self-so-ing to preserve it-self. Nevertheless, Chuang-Tzu's mind-fasting and Lao-Tzu's forgetting of the mind enable us to recognize something unnamable, and this recognition puts us in the between.

The self-so-ing of nature, the origin of the authenticity of selfhood, put itself between the namable and the unnamable dao, neither of which is opposite nor contradictory to each other to the extent that the unnamable dao is the primal beginning of everything and the namable dao is called the 'mother' of everything' (cf. *DaoDeJing* ch.1). In the betweenness, there is hardly a sense of self, which is like an independent and atomic substance, whose essence is 'thinking' itself. Rather, the self including the human self is between apparent (the namable) and phenomenal (the unnamable), as borrowed from Heidegger's distinction. The nominal appearance is more than a semiotic nominality, which lacks its own reality. Although they have semiotic features that refer to something ultimate, names are those with which we construct our 'own' worldhood and from which we find the meaning of our being within the cosmos. All the names surrounding our being in the world are based upon that which cannot be named, that is, upon the unnamable that is self-so-ing. To reach the authenticity of life, the human self has to make it-self identical with the unnamable by "mind's fasting," which is the emptying of the mind so that it can be filled with dao.

By emptying it-self, the mind returns to the primal emptiness (太虛),⁵⁸⁾ in which the human body/mind and dao of the self-so-ing nature becomes one, into which the “primal spirit” (神 or “daemonic” in Parkes’ translation) comes and resides, and in which the person becomes the authentic being-human who fully embraces its emptiness into its ‘own’ selfhood.⁵⁹⁾

As the authenticity of being-human resides within the dynamic betweenness of the unnamable and the namable dao, *Eigentlichkeit* (authenticity) in Heidegger lies in be-ing’s projection of it-self onto the t/here. It does not only mean that be-ing is the authentic foundation of beings t/here but also that the authenticity of beings lies in its being-projected-onto-t/here and its being-abandoned-t/here. This motive of abandonment is a very crucial difference from the Daoist thought of dao, since dao never abandons things generated out of its dynamic betweenness but rather takes care of them as their mother. This abandonment lets *Dasein* realize that the authenticity of a being does not mean a return to its origin, which is be-ing, but rather an establishment of its “own-hood” as the between (*das Zwischen*). In Heidegger, betweenness (*das Zwischen*) is the liminal⁶⁰⁾ space between authenticity and inauthenticity, between be-ing and beings. Like

58) It is very important to note that the Daoist ‘emptiness’ (虛) has a crucial difference from the Buddhist notion of emptiness, which is nothingness. The Daoist ‘emptiness’ does not completely expunge the sense of the ‘I’ from the state of being-empty, while the Buddhist emptiness (空) intends a complete nothingness, in which any sense of the ‘I’ is absolutely dissolved into the nothingness. This difference derives from the East Asian notion of nature, which is self-so-ing 自然 that is beyond any thing-ness and yet at the same time resides within everything, which enables every thing to unfold its ‘owning.’

59) *Chuang Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, trans. David Hinton (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1997), 51.

60) The term ‘liminal,’ whose Latin ‘*limen*’ means ‘threshold,’ comes from the anthropologist Victor Turner, who used this term to refer to “a certain state experienced by persons as they pass over the threshold from one state of life to another,” for example, the stage of the passage rite at puberty between childhood and mature adulthood (Palmer, “Liminality of Hermes and the meaning of hermeneutics,” 1). In this betweenness stage, the person does not belong to either here or there. That is, s/he is “betwixt and between all fixed point of classification” (Victor Turner, *Dreams, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 232).

Hermes, the messenger of Zeus who brings his word to mortals, (human) betweenness brings the speechless voice of be-ing to *Dasein* to awaken it from its concealedness in the they. However, the betweenness in itself is not human being yet because human being still belongs to beings so that the moment of its being-human has yet to come. In other words, beings are entrapped in their inauthenticity, which “[objectifies] oneself as a continuing ego-subject, thereby concealing the fact that one is really openness or emptiness which, paradoxically, one already is.”⁶¹⁾ To be an authentic being-human, which is the betweenness, *Dasein* takes a step back from the they. By taking a step back, which is “a movement back from embeddedness in a set of fixed definitions of reality,”⁶²⁾ *Dasein* becomes the betweenness, *das Zwischen*, which belongs neither to be-ing nor to the t/here. This betweenness is human because *Dasein* (being-t/here) is always and already ‘human.’ This human betweenness gives authentic selfhood to *Dasein*, and it also is “the vessel to be emptied so that Being can manifest itself in a way which changes history.”⁶³⁾ The point here is that Heidegger’s authenticity of *Dasein* is not a return to the origin but rather a construction of its “own” selfhood as the between (*das Zwischen*).

Likewise, for Daoists, to be an authentic being-human is to live in the between by mind-fasting and/or the forgetting of the mind. The enlightened Confucians often want to explain truth and thus to persuade people to be and to do being-human (仁). However, as Chuang-Tzu points out, they in fact trap truth into the languages and definitions, with which they try to clarify dao. Unlike them, the authentic being-human in Chuang-Tzu never declares humanity to serve human ‘beings.’ Instead, it transcends humanity to preserve him/her-self as empty which is the way to “serve heaven.”⁶⁴⁾ Definition and name put a distinction between right and wrong, between true and false, and in so doing they set up a boundary of dao. Thus, human endeavor to disclose the truth of dao ironically hides truth or dao because it cannot be included or explained by human means such as language. Only through its negation can it be discerned: for example, this is not dao or that is not dao. By fasting the mind, one becomes and enters into the realm of

61) Zimmerman, *Eclipse of the Self*, xx.

62) Palmer, “Liminality of Hermes and the Meaning of Hermeneutics,” 4.

63) Zimmerman, *Eclipse of the Self*, xxiv.

64) Hinton, *Chuang Tzu*, 52.

betweenness - being between the unnamable and the namable dao - in that one is neither dao itself nor things t/here. This betweenness is not the betweenness of good and evil, of right and wrong, or of true and false. Such divisions come from the human act of naming things. There is something beyond the division and distinction which is ungraspable and yet which grounds everything upon it-self by its self-so-ing. The relationship between the unnamable and the namable is like the relationship between names and the naming act. The naming itself cannot be named, and yet this nameless (act of naming) is the primal beginning of things.⁶⁵⁾ The naming itself is beyond any distinction, which the name(s) will bring out. The naming and the named are not separated and yet not the same. Rather, there is something unnamable between the named and the naming act. That is, the unnamable behind the named is not unreal or nothing, but it is not-a-thing in the sense that it cannot be categorized with names. Daoist 'emptiness' refers to this 'not-a-thing-ness.' The ordinary human selfhood is surrounded by the names (or identities) constructed mostly from the culture. By subverting in terms of the mind's fasting the established cultural practice, which is required to belong to the 'they,' Daoists recover the naturality of human nature, and this is the Daoist ideal of being-human, that is, the authentic being-human. Nevertheless, to the extent that the authentic being-human has his/her name, like Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu, s/he is not yet completely one with self-so-ing. It means that s/he still has its own identity different from the self-so-ing itself and thus still 'between' - being between self-so-ing and ten thousand things (human betweenness 人間).

However, this betweenness, which derives from nature's self-so-ing or from the self-betweenization of nature, is not yet the same as Heidegger's betweenness, which is generated by be-ing's abandonment of beings t/here and in which the betweenness of being-t/here (Da-sein) like a foundling desires for its returning to the origin, substituting it with things that belong to the they. Nevertheless, the authentic selfhood of human betweenness as clearing and as no/thing in Heidegger is not far away from the authentic being-human in Daoism when Heidegger thought of *Sein* (be-ing) as "nothingness in contrast to everything that is."⁶⁶⁾ Given that this nothingness

65) 名可名也 非恒名也 無名萬物之始也 有名萬物之母也 ("Name that can be named is not the name. The nameless is the origin of all things. That which is named is the mother of everything" (*Dao De Jing* chap. 1)).

of be-ing is not a mere emptiness but rather “a source of being,”⁶⁷⁾ *Sein* (be-ing) is very analogous to the unnamable dao. This no/thingness of *Sein* and the unnamable ceaselessly disrupts the named, categorized and further idealized, which the they projects upon the ‘I,’ exhorting it to follow the ‘me’ the they imposes upon. This experience of no/thingness awakens *Dasein* from the illusoriness of the tidings of the ordinariness, although the hows of experiencing the no/thingness are fundamentally different in that Daoism does not experience Heideggerian existentiell anxiety.⁶⁸⁾ Thus, when the self is fully open to the possibility of nothing, Heidegger’s Being and the Daoist Dao can converge into a horizon of no/thing (not-a-thing), to the extent that Heidegger’s *Dasein* “lets its ownmost self take action in itself” upon hearing the call and that, by fasting the mind and by listening with the primal spirit, the Daoist self awaits Dao to arise out of things which transforms everything.⁶⁹⁾

Further, Heidegger’s abandonment is not to give up or to deny being-t/here but to “let beings be on their own.”⁷⁰⁾ Like the unnamable, which between-izes itself into the unnamable and the namable in order to generate the ten thousand things, be-ing’s refusal in fact means its self-betweenizing into be-ing, which is no/thing, and beings so that *Dasein* can be on its

66) Graham Parkes, ed., *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 61; According to Otto Pöggeler, Heidegger, at least in *Der Feldweg* 1947, was not unfamiliar with the distinction between the unnamable and the namable daos (Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 51). In Holzwege, Heidegger took the example for be-ing as no/thing from a jug, whose usefulness lies in its inner emptiness, not in its external shape and form (Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 61). This example by Heidegger has a direct reference to *Dao-De-Jing* ch.11. Here, according to Heidegger, “Being and nothingness disappear into the ‘worlding’ (*Welten*), when the thing lets world come near and abide, when world takes place in things, and man renounces all will to the ‘unconditioned’ (*das Unbedingte*)” (Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 52).

67) Palmer, “Liminality of Hermes and the Meaning of Hermeneutics,” 4.

68) Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 122-126.

69) Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 265 (*Sein und Zeit*, 288); Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 127; Hinton, *Chuang Tzu*, 51-53.

70) Heidegger, *Nietzsche: The Will to Power as Knowledge and as Metaphysics*, Vol.3. ed. David F. Krell (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991) vol.III, 181.

'own.' Being-on-its-own is none other than 'Ereignis' (*Er/eignis*) in the forward movement of 'eignis,' and it means that authenticity (*Eigentlichkeit*) comes from the 'owning' of *Dasein*, which is the force of *Dasein*'s 'mineness' in its worlding.⁷¹⁾ *Dasein* 'constructs' its "own" world out of its earthliness, whether it is authentic or inauthentic, by arranging things handily (usefully) for itself. This enowning power of *Dasein* inherently comes from be-ing's creative and playful unfolding unto the t/here. The difference between the authentic and inauthentic *Daseins* lies in whether it believes that the constructed worldhood is the given fact or that it is its play of creation, which is based upon the illusoriness of names given by the they. In its own authentic mode, *Dasein* literally can "enown" (en/own; authentically own or construct) the world from its 'own' perspective, not from that of the they, accepting the temporariness of its existence. It means that being-t/here enowns be-ing itself, which is not-a-thing, so that it let itself follow the eternal playful recurrence of be-ing. Thus, be-ing's refusal and abandonment of beings grants the 'enowning' of *Dasein* as human betweenness t/here, as dao becomes no/thing in order to grant the existence of the ten thousand things on the earth.

As seen from this perspective of 'enowning,' Heidegger's *Zuhandenheit*, which can become a transformative force to construct the world of *Dasein*, does not seem to be oppositional to the Daoist way of being natural because *Zuhandenheit* is the force granted by be-ing, with which *Dasein as das Zwischen* 'en-owns' it-self in its form of 'human-betweenness.' In other words, *Zuhandenheit* is the mark of be-ing's existence in *Da* (t/here). It means that enownment is not an egoistic construction of *Dasein*'s mineness but rather its acceptance of be-ing's granting existence, in which *Dasein* withdraws itself both from the transcendent be-ing and from the everyday blindedness in the they. By withdrawing into the between, *Dasein* relevantly enmeshes things into the worldhood, which is not the realization of the ego of *Dasein* but of fulfillment of be-ing's granting and gifting. Likewise, the unnamable be-ing of nature, which is self-so-ing (自然), resides in the world of names and completes the ordinary. The actionless action (無爲) is the praxis of self-so-ing within our ordinariness so that nature and life go together without

71) Cf.) "Translator's Foreword" in Heidegger, *Contributions to Philosophy*, xix-xx.

friction. In this context, Chuang-Tzu's transformation of things (物化) by transforming the human self into nature's self (濟物) does not seem to refer to something different from *Ereignis*. The self 'owns' (authentically owns or 'en-owns') the world to preserve it-self, and it means that it appreciates all daos in ordinary things. Thus, the crossing over to things, which is initiated from the paradox of the 'I' between Chuang-Tzu and the butterfly, is in fact a realization of the parity of every boundary of the self. It is the appreciation for the ordinariness into which the self-so-ing withdraws in order to grant the existence of things. Likewise, *Er-ignis* is nothing but *Dasein*'s appreciation for its thankfulness to be-ing which grants its existence t/here, and this thankfulness enables *Dasein* to be authentic. That is, everydayness, which is the source of inauthenticity, is not separated from the transcendence of be-ing as no/thing, but rather it is "a modification of authenticity."⁷²⁾ To be authentic (potentiality of Being with resoluteness) is to live the ordinariness of life thoroughly. Transcendence embedded in ordinariness; this is the basic idea of human betweenness. Enownment and crossing-over-to-things are the self-so-ing of the unnamable transcendence within ordinariness.

Nevertheless, Heidegger's idea of living the betweenness authentically still orbits Western metaphysical thinking in that his Way is always pursued by thinking rather than by mind-fasting. For Heidegger, thinking is "a kind of 'waying' through which the Way, *Tao*, comes to presence."⁷³⁾ Joan Stambaugh shows us that Heidegger in *On the Way to Language* says about Way (of thinking), which is "walking on it itself."⁷⁴⁾ The way (of thinking) in Heidegger is "not already there for us to follow, but comes into being as we go along it."⁷⁵⁾ It does not have its beginning or end or goal. Thinking as Way makes its way ('way-making' *Bewegung*).⁷⁶⁾ However, Chuang-Tzu would never allow thinking to be the authentic being-human because any thinking only brings its illusorily constructed boundary to the self so that the authentic self-so-ing is viewed as contained in a boundary. The crossing-

72) Zimmerman, *Eclipse of the Self*, 45.

73) Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 85.

74) Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 81.

75) Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, 82.

76) Note that a recent translation of *DaoDeJing* by Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall translates dao as "way-making," which is the true and authentic dao that cannot be put into words (2003, 77).

over to things is to put out thinking. Is it possible for Heidegger to think without thinking? Heidegger still seems to worry of the possibility of being abandoned. Thinking of it-self, its authentic self, after all brings anxiety to the thinking self because it is no/thing which is not it-self and because this inevitably gives a feeling of being abandoned to Dasein. However, from the Daoists' point of view, life is always more than thinking. By fasting the mind, the self expels the interconnected emergence of worries from its being-t/here.

Abstract

Authentic selfhood arise from the between, that is, from human betweenness. Lao-Tzu finds authentic selfhood between the unnamable and the namable; Chuang-Tzu finds it between dreaming and awakening; Heidegger finds it between Being and beings. In the between, the authentic selfhood is covered by illusory names and identifications.

How do we regain our 'own' selfhood? The Daoist way is to integrate the unnamable and the namable into the nurturance of human body. It is to recover the authentic selfhood, a kind of selfless egoism. It imitates the way of the self-so-ing (自然), the primal selfhood of nature. The crucial procedure of the Daoists in attaining the authentic selfhood is how close one comes to the self-so-ing (自然). For we are nature. Our life is neither given nor abandoned, but it is the self-so-ing itself. Make oneself one with the self-so-ing by accepting the inner void within ourselves or by crossing over to the things.

Heidegger seeks for the enownment (*Er-eignis*) of Dasein in the between (*das Zwischen*). As an abandoned being by Being, *Dasein* lives embedded in the they, yet it observes the shadow of death that leads into the solitariness of its being. Then, it hears the voice of Being in reticence. Through the voice, it gains strength to insist its own-ment t/here. However, its wound from the abandonment cannot completely be healed so that it resists against a complete union with Being itself. T/here it finds its place - betweenness.

Likewise, the Daoists failed to fulfill a perfect union with the self-so-ing (自然) ironically by their worldly success: they left their names, which they found illusory. Thus, they are stuck in the between. In this sense, Heidegger and the Daoists have reason to meet and to talk about their respective wounds and failures. Betweenness is such a place ambiguously located between the transcendent and the ordinary.

Key Words

Daoism, Lao-Tzu, Heidegger, actionless action, chuang-Tzu, being-self, authentic selfhood, Dasein, betweenness

Creating a Culture of Reconciliation and Life through *Hanpuri* and *Hanmaji* - A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance in the *Bongsan Talchum* (*Bongsan Mask Dance*)

Choi Young-Sil*

Preamble

During the earliest period of its history in Korea, when the Gospel of Christ was being propagated, the Korean church was the quintessence of salvation bringing liberation to the *baekjeong*,¹⁾ slaves, peasants, and powerless women who had been living a repressed and *Han*-full life under the patriarchal tradition of Confucian feudalism and caste structures. However, as the church gradually became institutionalised and authoritarian it began

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1) The *baekjeong* occupied the lowest rung in traditional *Joseon* (Korean) society and were a stigmatised minority, comparable to the “untouchables” in India. They were regarded as inferior even by low-status slaves. Consequently, they were severely discriminated against by ordinary people throughout the *Joseon* period. (Translator’s Notes).

to take on the characteristics of a patriarchal hierarchy, and the Gospel, which had liberated the poor, became distorted into a Gospel for the powerful. During the Japanese colonial period the autocratic leaders of the church acquiesced to the unjust power of the colonial overlords and merely sought to further their positions and preserve their livelihood. Many continued to distort the Truth of Christ by blindly adhering to the logic of ideology that sought to legitimate the division of the Korean people in order to preserve their dictatorial power over the people.²⁾ In spite of Jesus teaching us that we “cannot serve both God and Mammon” (Matthew 6:24). Korean Christians became immersed in building bigger churches, neglecting the poor and powerless of our society.

The church did not simply neglect the poor. The autocratic leaders of the Korean church used the doctrines and laws that they had formulated on the basis of an arbitrary interpretation of Biblical passages to castigate individuals, labelling them as “reds,” “gays,” “cripples,” and “divorcees” and branding them “sinners.” They further disparaged women in the church and demanded that they simply obey and keep silent. Wholly disregarding the reality that the Korean people, as a nation, faced in a world of colonial domination and autocratic dictatorship the church urged their membership to simply seek spiritual revival. Gradually the church became a place where only the so-called and self-perceived righteous and blessed could enter, a place for the rich and powerful. As a result, the church, rather than alleviating the suffering and *Han* of the poor and the powerless, the so-called ‘sinners’ of society, added to it. The *minjung* and women who were increasingly marginalised from society and the church rhetorically asked “Is there true salvation within the church?” The gradual ostracism of the weak, powerless, women has been a recurring phenomenon within the Korean church for many years.³⁾ What is more worrying is that the *Han* of those

2) Park Sun-kyeong strongly criticises the fact that after liberation from Japanese colonial domination in 1945 the majority of the churches in South Korea uncritically adhered to the logic of the dictatorial governments that referred to North Korea as “the principal enemy” and aligned themselves emphatically with the government’s anti-communist ideology. *Hangug Minjog-gwa Yeoseong Sinhag-ui Gwaje* [The Korean Nation and the Task of Feminist Theology] (Seoul: Korean Christian Literature Society), 115.

3) Son Gyu-tae presents an extensive investigation into the ways in which the Korean church today has become the object of society’s criticism from a social-

who have been marginalised from society, as well as the church, has a tendency to explode in a violent manner, increasing social conflict in Korean society.⁴⁾

The question for us today is how can the church truly engage in conversion, a true *metanoia*, which will enable us to become renewed as a church which can assuage the *Han* of the *Han*-full? It is obvious that an act of *metanoia* requires that the Korean church reclaim the Gospel of Jesus, that Gospel which is the liberating Truth and Good News to the poor and oppressed. Bearing this in mind, this article looks at the Korean traditional methods of assuaging *Han* through *sori*, *talchum*, and *gut*. More specifically, this article will look at the *Miyalhalmi* Dance⁵⁾ from a feminist

ethical perspective. "Hangug Gaeshingyohoe Sahoejeok Shinroeseong Wigiwa Geu Mirae" [The Crisis of Social Trust in the Korean Church and its Future] in *Midgo Argo Midgo - Jeong Yang-mo Gyosu Euntot Ginyeom Nonchong* [Believing and Knowing, and Knowing and Believing - A Festschrift for Professor Jeong Yang-mo] (Waegwan: Bundo Chulpansa, 2001), 398-441.

- 4) Korean society has witnessed many instances in which persons who have become economically deprived because of the socio-economic structures exasperated by the prolonged division of the Korean peninsula and continued dictatorial policies in South Korea have taken out their frustrations in indiscriminate acts of violence, including homicide, directed against the more affluent members of society. The more recent incidents in which an individual set fire to an underground train in Daegu, the recurring instances of peer abuse in our schools, and the numerous violent homicides that occur in our society today can be interpreted as a violent explosion of the *Han* that has welled up in the *Han*-full of our society. According to a media report on the Seung Hee Jo incident, more people commit suicide in Korea than die from gun related incidents in the United States. This clearly demonstrates that, when *Han* is allowed to fester and build up in individuals it has a tendency of violently exploding, eventually leading to psychological disorders, suicide, or acts of aggression directed toward others.
- 5) The *Bongsan Talchum* (Mask Dance) is composed of seven Parts, of which the *Miyalhalmi* is the seventh. It relates the story of Miyal, an elderly lady (*Halmi* is a regional dialect for *Halmuni*, meaning Grandmother, and usually used to refer to an elderly woman). Miyal and her husband are forced to flee their village home by the turmoil of war, and eventually become separated. After being separated from her husband Miyal forages through the countryside with her son, desperately searching for her lost husband. Then, one day, more tragedy strikes

theological perspective. This is because *sori*, *talchum*, and *gut* were the traditional cultural elements that were utilised by our forebears for assuaging the *Han* of the *Han*-full, and creating a new dynamic of reconciliation and life. These elements, tragically, were repressed by the Japanese colonial authorities. Furthermore, I wish to contend that by investigating the *Miyalhalmi* Dance from a feminist theological perspective we will be able to distinctly recognise the presence of the Truth of the Jesus Gospel within the traditional cultural methods of assuaging the *Han* of our people, a process that has been long overlooked by the Korean church and theologians.

Sori, Talchum, and Gut as Hanpuri

In a world where history has been dominated by the Anglo-Saxon male from the Western, industrialised countries the disenfranchised *minjung* and women have suffered inexplicable agony, sexual exploitation, and death. Within the Korean cultural tradition *Han* has been used to refer to the particular experience of traumatic victimisation that an individual is unable to adequately express and forced to bear within themselves, an act of violence committed against them without a distinctive perpetrator who can be called to account.⁶⁾ The *Han*-full are those who are forced to endure

as the son, who went to the woods for firewood, is eaten by a tiger. Finally, after a prolonged period of suffering Miyal is able to meet up with her long lost husband. During their meeting, as she is relating the travails that had befallen her, she finally tells him that their son is dead, eaten by a tiger. The husband is angered by this news and demands that they separate and go their own ways. Just as they are arguing, the concubine of the husband enters the scene, further enraging emotions. In the end, Miyal suffers an untimely death and undeserved death. Another character, Old Man Namgang calls a *mudang* perform a *gut* so that Miyal's spirit will be able to depart to the other world and enter the Land of Happiness. The Dance ends with the *gut* appeasing Miyal's spirit. (Translator's Notes).

- 6) Baek, Nak-cheong describes the *Han* experienced by the Korean people as follows: *Han* is different from simple resentment. It is an ambiguous feeling of distress, a nameless suffering and pain that one suffers, and which one is unable to pinpoint its origin or perpetrator thereby enabling an act of retribution or calling to account. This *Han* reveals, on the one hand, the learned wisdom and kind-heartedness of the *minjung* who have responded to the experiences of oppression and violence by deciding that naming the perpetrator only increases

suffering without being able to relieve themselves of this *Han*.

Professor Seo Nam-dong presented the definition of what the Koreans refer to when they speak about *Han*.

The Korean people have had to endure extensive experiences of invasion by surrounding countries because of their relative weakness. This has led to their national existence, itself, being perceived as *Han*; the people who have had to endure suffering and oppression by autocratic and authoritarian governments have come to consider their existence as a people as *Han*; women, who have been denigrated under the patriarchal structures of a Confucian ideology have come to consider their feminine existence as *Han*; the outcasts, slaves, and individuals relegated to servitude, which in the most extreme circumstances accounted for approximately a third of the overall population of Korea, have considered their life, itself, as *Han* because they have been entrapped in a legal and systematic structure which prevents them from breaking free of the *social* stigma and reclaim status as citizens.

However, Professor Seo further elaborates by stating that the *Han* of the Korean people is not simply a personal emotion of resentment or vengeance. Rather, it is an expression of waiting for reunion, healing, and reconciliation, a characteristic that is well represented in the Legend of the Stone Gate.⁷⁾ In this respect, within the Korean tradition the *Han*-full have

the evil in one's hearts, as well as a sense of resignation. On the other hand, we can also see the extensive and oppressive nature of the violence perpetrated against them that does not even allow for the naming and recognition of the perpetrator. *Ingan Haebang-ui Nonrireul Chajaseo* [In Search of A Logic of Human Liberation] (Si-in sa, 1979), 166.

- 7) The Legend is presented thus: On the first night that a husband spent with his new wife he had a sudden urge to urinate and rushed out of the house in search of the toilet, which traditionally was situated outside, in the yard. As he was rushing out his outer garment caught on the stone hinge of the stone gate entrance of the house. The husband thought that the wife had attempted to hold onto his clothes as an improper expression of lust. Without a backwards glance the husband left the house and his new wife behind, determined that he could not live with such an immoral woman. After forty years the husband finally returned home. Upon entering the house he discovered that his wife was sitting, poised

not sought to appease their *Han* through revenge or resentment. They have, rather, sought to assuage their *Han*, the process of *Hanpuri*, that resides in the depths of their hearts through the expressions of *sori*, *talchum*, and *gut*, a process that is the rending of their own selves. For example, in the novel, *Seopyeonjae*,⁸⁾ by Lee Cheong-jun the dialogue between the owner of the inn, the brother who is looking for his stepfather and sister, and the sister who has become a blind *sorikkun* (singer of the traditional music, *pansori*) that takes place in the inn where the sister is living, making a living by singing *pansori* to guests, best represents the *Han* experienced by Koreans and how they assuage this *Han* through *sori*.

Han is not something that you can simply implant within a person. It is not something that is received from another person. Rather, *Han* is like the dust that gathers over the passing years in the space of everyday life. It is the result of a collection of life-long experiences. For some, life itself is an accumulation of *Han*, and the accumulation of *Han*, life. ... In any case, it is probably a good thing that she has forgiven her father. It is best for the father, as well as herself. ... If she had not forgiven her

and sedate, wearing the same clothes that she had been wearing the night of their wedding. He also discovered the torn piece of cloth from his garment caught on the hinge of the stone gate entrance. With much regret he went toward his wife and clasped her shoulder with his hands. At his touch her physique crumpled and became a pile of ash. Within the narrative of this legend, the *Han* that the wife had was more than a simple resentment or feelings for revenge directed toward the husband. It was, rather, a *Han* that was waiting, expectantly, for the husband to realise his mistake and return to assuage the wife's *Han*. Seo Nam-dong, "Han-ui Hyeongeonghwa-wa Geu Sinhagjeok Seongchal" [The Imagery of Han and the Theological Reflection of the Image] in *Minjung Sinhak-ui Tamgu* [Exploring *Minjung* Theology] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983), 88-89.

- 8) The novel, published in 1976, is found in *Ilheobeorin Marul Chajaseo* [In Search of Lost Words] a collection of short stories by Lee Cheong-jun. It is the story of a *sorikkun* who sleeps with a widow in a remote mountain village. When the widow becomes pregnant as a result and has a child, the *sorikkun* takes the little girl and trains her to become a *sorikkun*. In order to make her a better *sorikkun*, one who can emphatically express the emotions of *Han* contained in many of the *pansori* songs, he intentionally blinds her. The story tells how the blind little girl eventually learns to assuage her *Han* through her *sori*, and in the end forgives her father.

father, her *sori* would have become one of resentment rather than *Han*. Because she forgave her father her *sori* could be more deeply expressive of the depth of *Han* ...

Many people say that the *sori* of the Southern regions are songs of *Han*. It is probably more correct to say that it is an opus of *Hanpuri*, the assuaging of *Han*. The *sori* of the Southern regions is not an expression of the toxic *Han* that has accumulated within us, but rather a process of assuaging *Han* and releasing it from our being, much like undoing a tightly pulled knot in our souls. For those who find that the knot of *Han* is especially tight, *sori* is a tool which enables them to live a life of assuaging *Han* and thus undoing those knots. That is probably the case with your sister as well.⁹⁾

For the men and women who lived life on the bottom-most rungs of life, enduring oppression and suffering the *talnori* (theatrics with masks) performed the role of assuaging the deep feelings of *Han* that they held. Professor Hyeon Yeong-hak, a *minjung* theologian says that this *talnori* was an instrument of resistance toward the status quo employed by the *minjung*, a choreographed disorder challenging the order of society. He interprets the *talnori* as having been an expression of the absurdity and falsehood of the existing order of society through a choreographed staging of disorderliness that presented the *minjung* with a form of emotional ecstasy and opened the way for new visions and possibilities to be uncovered. He also investigated the humour, satire, and laughter in the *talnori* as expressions of the *minjung* and interprets the *talnori* as an aesthetic expression of the *minjung*'s secular experience of the dredges of society that are transformed into a religious experience through which they come into contact with the transcendent world, a world which the so-called "righteous" *yangban* and ruling elite are unable to enter. Through the *talnori* the *minjung* are able to sublimate their tragic situation through a process of self-objectification by thoroughly exposing themselves. In this way they are able to experience a "critical transcendentalism." Hyeon goes on to argue that this experience of the

9) This passage from *Seopyeonje* is quoted from Seo Nam-dong, "Han-ui Hyeongseonghwa-wa Geu Shinhagejeok Gochal," in *Minjung Shinhak-ui Tamgu*, 92.

transcendent does not attempt to seek solace in the present structures but provides the strength and courage to struggle for change and liberation by critiquing it.¹⁰⁾

Along with the village community, the numerous guts that were performed, such as the *Maul Gut*, *Dure Gut*, *Pulmul Gut*, *Shin Gut*, *Jib Gut*, the *Ogwi Gut* and *Jinogi Gut* for the dead, provided a communal space where the deep *Han* between the divine and humanity, between humanity itself, and between humanity and nature were assuaged, and conflict and discord were overcome and truly reconciled.¹¹⁾ Baek Gi-wan referred to the *gut* as a gathering point where those who are experiencing the same kind of suffering can converge together. In this sense, it was a democratic gathering organised by the *minjung*, and was also symbolic of their struggle against the feudal society in which they lived, as well as the creative expression of their cherished desires for change. Additionally, the *gut* in traditional Korean culture was always performed on the spot where *Han* manifested itself. In this sense, the *gut* always took place in the places of labour in which the *minjung*, quite literally, worked to their death but were denied the fruits of their labour. Therefore, this place, the field of labour was their place of *Han*. As the *minjung* could not continue to live without assuaging the *Han* that accumulated over an extended period they, inevitably, performed

10) Hyeon Yeong-hak observes that though the *minjung* return to their ordinary lives after the mask dance performance is finished it does not mean that they simply return to acquiescence of the original status quo. On the contrary, at the opportune moment (the *Kairos*) they engage in active resistance and even revolutions. When such acts are violently repressed, they retreat and re-start the process by dancing their hopes for a new world. *Yesu-ui Talchum* [Jesus' Mask Dance] (Cheonan: Hanguk Shinhak Yeonguso, 1997), 128.

11) Ju Gang-hyoen, "Maul Gongdongche-wa Maul Gut, Dure Gut Yeongu" [A Study of the Village Community and the *Maul Gut* and *Dure Gut* in *Minjok-gwa Gut - Mongok gut-ui Seroun Yeollimeur Wihaye* [Nation and Gut - Toward a New Horizon of Openness] (Seoul: Hagminsa, 1987), 61 states, "The *gut*, itself, is a process of appeasement. As such, through a *gut* the knotted-ness of calamity and disease is assuaged, and this process is referred to as the process of "*shinmyeong*" (encountering the divine). In particular, the *Daedong Gut* is the space where the divine is encountered through the expression of social, biological, and psychological grudges. Through the proceedings of the *gut* the satisfaction and liberation of relieving the grudges, of assuaging the *Han* occurs as the encountering of the divine."

gut on the spot. Through a *gut* the *minjung* sought to overthrow their reality, and the central instrument of such revolutions was the *gut*.¹²⁾

Not many theologians have studied the practice of *gut* from a theological perspective. This may be because the practice of *gut* was considered by the Korean church as being idolatrous, an act of worshipping heathen gods, while even the mere act of attending a *gut* was considered as contradictory to proper Christian faith. However, the Catholic theologian, Bak Yeong-il identifies the *gut* not as superficial shamanism but rather a traditional Korean indigenous religious phenomenon, *Mugyo*. He has conducted research into the spirituality of *Mugyo* that is manifest in the spirit of *gut*, the understanding of salvation expressed by *Mugyo*, and has attempted to engage *Mugyo* in a religious dialogue with Christianity.¹³⁾ The Protestant feminist theologian, Cha Ok-sung argues that the *gut* is not a shamanistic practice that should be discarded. She stresses the fact that the space where the *Maul Gut* (Village *Gut*) takes place becomes a place for denunciation. As such, it performs the vital function of providing space where the hidden stories are told, history is corrected, traditions are passed on, and truth revealed. In addition, she engages in a theological hermeneutics which views the *gut* as a process of assuaging the wrongful death of the innocent, thereby preserving their integrity and becoming a space for reconciling the living and the dead, as well as bringing healing to the relationship between the living.¹⁴⁾

A Feminist Theological Investigation of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance

This section of the paper will engage the *Miyalhalmi* Dance from a feminist theological perspective. We shall begin this section by first presenting, briefly, the summary of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance as it is presented by

12) Baek Gi-wan, "Minjok-gwa Gut" [The Nation and Gut] in *Minjok-gwa Gut - Mongok gut-ui Seroun Yeollimeur Wihayeo*, 9.

13) Bak Il-yeong, *Hangug Mugyo-ui Ihe* [Understanding Korea's Mugyo] (Kyeongbuk: Bundo Chulpansa, 1999)

14) Cha Ok-sung, "Hanguk Yeoseong-ui Jongyo Gyeongheom" [The Religious Experiences of Korean Women] in *Hangug Yeoseong Shinhaghoe Pyeon* [Korean Feminist Theologians Association ed.], *Hangug Yeoseong-ui Gyeongheom* [The Experiences of Korean Women] (Seoul: Korean Christian Literature Society, 1994), 113-33.

Professor Hyeon Yeong-hak.

On the remote island of *Jeju*, a husband and wife are forced to flee from their isolated village, *Mangmak Gol*, due to war. Unfortunately, the husband and wife are separated in the chaos. At last, they have succeeded in finding each other, and copulate. However, because they have grown too old with the passage of time they are unable to conceive. During the years that they have been searching for each other, both have endured suffering beyond words. The elderly woman, *Miyal*, who is a *mudang*, suffered the pain of losing her son to a tiger while the son was in the forests, retrieving firewood for their poor neighbours. The husband, meanwhile, barely sustained himself by working as a day labourer in the stone pits, as a tinker, and by foraging potatoes and acorns. His clothes were tattered and the hat on his head was made of leather taken from dead dogs. He was often beaten by tax collectors, and even by monks. As they were relating their stories *Miyal* discovers that her husband has a mistress. This sparks an emotional argument, with the couple deciding to go their separate ways. However, *Miyal* is turned out by her husband with nothing, and in the heat of argument he beats her to death. The Part ends when the elder of the village, *Namgang*, comes and performs a *gut* to assuage the spirit of *Miyal* and send her to paradise.

Professor Hyeon Yeong-hak looks at the Part 4 - *Nojang's* Dance and Part 6 - *Yangban's* Dance from a *Minjung* Theological perspective and interprets these as the *minjung's* attempts to ridicule and satirise the hypocrisy of the religious leaders and *yangban*, thereby expressing their desires for a new world through the *talchum* (Mask Dance). However, he views the *Miyalhalmi Dance* as simply describing the reality in which the *minjung* are victimised. He fails to find any elements of liberation in this part of the *Bongsan Talchum*. Thus, he states, "It is the ill fated reality of the *minjung* that not only human made wars and social structures but nature, in the form of a tiger, brings pain to their life, conflicting interests caused by the existence of concubines and mistresses cause strife amongst the *minjung* themselves, and the *minjung's* fate in life is to die an untimely death after untold suffering while simply looking toward the next world in search of solace. ... the *Miyalhalmi* Dance is thoroughly tragic ... The *Miyalhalmi* Dance, unlike the dances of the *Nojang* and *Yangban* is the depiction,

criticism, and satirising of the intolerable suffering and pain that is the lived reality of the *minjung*.”

A perfunctory review of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance seems to concur with Hyeon’s assessment that it is a depiction of the painful reality in which the *minjung* live. However, when viewed from a feminist theological perspective the script of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance reveals more than simply a depiction of the *minjung*’s painful reality.¹⁵⁾ When we look closely at the script we see that Miyal is an old lady, a *mudang* who existed on the bottom-most rung of the social strata of the time. She was separated from her husband during the confusion of war, witnessed her son being torn to death by the ravages of a tiger, and endured intolerable suffering during her long search for her lost husband. In contrast, the husband, in spite of the difficulties that he experienced, sexually assaulted a Buddhist nun in a monastery and passed himself off as an unmarried man, taking a female employee from a roadside inn as his concubine. Although Miyal finally meets up with her husband her husband renounces her and chooses the concubine over her. In the end, she is beaten to death by her own husband.

The *Miyalhalmi* Dance is not simply a story of the average *minjung*. It clearly reveals that the *minjung* of the *minjung*, those who suffer the most from wars of invasion and patriarchal cultures and social structures are not the men but the women in the bottom-most strata of society who are powerless, robbed of health and wealth. It also causes us to reconsider the reality of women living on the Korean peninsula today who continue to endure suffering and pain. The numerous women who, even now, are forced to suffer, those who suffered humiliation and denigration as concubines and mistresses; those who were forced to work as sex slaves for the Japanese military, and who upon returning home were denied compensation for their suffering; the multitude of female labourers who were exploited in the name of economic development; the endless number of women who suffer from sexual assault and domestic violence but are silenced because of the patriarchal social structure and culture; the women in the sex industry who are considered mere tools of sensual pleasure by

15) This study uses the same version of the script as that investigated by Hyeon Yeong-hak. This can be found in Lee Gyu-hyeon, *Hangug Gamyongeuk* [Korean Mask Dramas] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1995), 301-25.

men; the numerous women who are exploited by the U.S. military and are the unseen victims of political and ideological division, all of these women have lived, and continue to live *Han*-full lives.

Then, does the Miyalhalmi Dance simply portray the suffering reality of the women, the *minjung* amongst the *minjung*? Not in the least. At first glance, it appears that Miyal is the embodiment of the tragic female, one who has endured untold suffering to find her husband only to be chastised and rejected, finally succumbing to a brutal death at his hands. However, Miyal is not simply a woman who suffers a tragic death. In order to flesh this out, let us take a closer look at the script.

Miyal presents us with an image of a woman who, in spite of the traditional Confucian teachings of the Seven Sins and the Three Servitudes of the Woman, confronted her husband and fought for her status. When her husband, who had a hidden concubine, chastised her and sought to be rid of her she did not attempt to ignobly hold onto him. She looks him straight in the eye and responds by saying, "Let's separate, if you want, and each go our own ways." She also demands that the husband return the items that she brought at the time of their marriage, as well as an equal share of their common possessions. When the husband ignores these demands and begins to beat her, she fights back and bites him. During the course of the fight between Miyal and her husband, the concubine discovers that she has been lied to. She, in turn, demands that she be given her share of the material possessions that the husband had promised her when they were marrying. However, the husband denies this request from the concubine as well. At this, the concubine joins the fray and the fight takes on another complication. While the two women are flailing their fists at him, the husband manages to slip out from between them and sneak away. During the confusion, Miyal is hit in the face by the concubine, who had attempted to strike the husband, and dies.

This reading of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance shows that it is not simply about the tragic death of a powerless old lady who became the victim of jealousy, a fight between two women over one man. Neither is it simply the story of an old and frail woman who is the victim of male injustices perpetrated under a patriarchal socio-cultural structure. Rather, this story is equivalent to

the story that Jesus tells in the Gospel of Luke, the one in which the widow consistently perseveres in front of an unjust judge to reclaim her rightful privileges (Luke 18:1-8). The actions of Miyal portray the feistiness of biblical women, individuals who struggled and fought against the autocratic social and religious structures, the crafty teachings, and the legalistic regimen of their times.¹⁶⁾ In this sense, the concubine is also a woman who was the victim of male deceit and exploitation, and she, too, fought for her rights. However, Miyal, in contrast to the women found in the Bible, appears to have been unsuccessful in securing her rights and, in addition, suffered a tragic death. Was her struggle in vain? Not at all. I will, now, attempt to argue for meaning in Miyal's death by exploring the *Jinogi Gut* that took place afterwards.

The Culture of Life Created Through the *Hanpuri* and *Hanmajji* of *Gut*

Miyal, who had suffered an unjust death, was totally abandoned by her husband and everybody else. It is at this point that the character "Old Man Namgang" comes on the scene. Old Man Namgang is the incarnation of the South Pole Star which is responsible for the longevity of human life, and is also referred to as the Star of Age and Mercury.¹⁷⁾ Old Man Namgang, who did not even know Miyal, empathises with her fate and weeps over her unjust death. He goes to summon a *mudang* who can ferry her spirit to the Land of Happiness. The *mudang* who is summoned by Old Man Namgang gathers all of the people from the neighbourhood and performs a *Jinogi Gut*, a *gut* for the dead. Legend has it that the *Jinogi Gut* originated from the belief that the spirits of those who died an unjust death roamed the nether world and brought misfortune to the living. Why is it that the spirits of those

16) For more details on such women found in the Bible, refer to Choi Young-sil, *Shinyagseongseo-ui Yeoseongdul* [Women in the New Testament] (Seoul: Korean Christian Literature Society, 1997); *Seongseo-wa Pyeonghwa* [The Bible and Peace] (Seoul: Mindeulle Chegbang, 2004); and *Seongseo-wa Yeoseong* [Women and the Bible] (Seoul: Mindeulle Chegbang, 2004).

17) In some editions of the script the title, Old Man of the South Pole is used. See, Park Jeon-yeol, *Bonsan Talchum* [Bongsan Mask Dance] (Seoul: Hwasan Munhwa, 2001), 247; Lee, Gyu-hyeon, *Hangug Gamyonguk* [Korean Mask Dramas].

killed unjustly torment the living? It is my contention that this is because the spirits of those unjustly killed harass the living so that they living will attempt to reveal the truth and punish the unjust, thereby establishing justice.

The *mudang* who stands before the body of Miyal at the invitation of Old Man Namgang begins to narrate the long tale of Miyal's travails, giving voice to many of the things that Miyal was unable to say while alive. Through this ritual those who are gathered in front of Miyal's body come to realise that Miyal has died a wrongful death and empathise with her, consoling her spirit and sending it to the Land of Happiness. When the *mudang* begins to sing the long tune of the *Baridegi* Female Spirit,¹⁸⁾ who is the guide of the spirits to the other world, and utters the last words of the departed, the gathered neighbours weep over the fate of Miyal's spirit and present all that they have at the altar as an offering of solace. The *mudang* tears a piece of cloth, which opens the door to the Land of Happiness for the departed spirit and the *Jinogi Gut* comes to an end.

In the Korean context, the *mudang* who officiated at the *gut* were all women. This was because only those who have experienced the full extent of a life that is *Han*-full can appreciate and empathise with those living with *Han*. This was why women, who have lived the most *Han*-full lives at the bottom-most strata of Korean society, have managed to discover the divine in the midst of their *Han*-full lives, becoming the mediator between Heaven and Earth and performing the role of the priest who appeases and resolves *Han*.¹⁹⁾ This brings us to an important element in our investigation. The

18) Traditionally, the spirits in folk religion are males. However, the *Baridegi* is female. She was born the seventh child of a royal household, a princess. She was abandoned by her parents because she was a girl and endured a great deal of suffering. When she hears of her father's illness she sets off on the long road to Hades, and after a lot of difficulties, returns with the medicine that brings her father back to life. The *Baridegi*, who endured the most stringent suffering as a woman, became the deity that gives back life.

19) Ju Gang-hyeon states that, "the fact that the *dangol* or *mudang* were from the bottom-most strata of society but were called upon to fulfil the role of Priest for the Community clearly demonstrates the irony of the most dejected of humankind functioning as the most deified, and how the relationship with the divine experienced by the lowest of castes can be transformed into the experience of the divine with power to save the entire community." "Maul

appeasement of Miyal's departed soul which allowed it to enter the Land of Happiness was not due to the actions of the *mudang* alone. All those who had gathered for the *gut* that the *mudang* performed came to realise that Miyal had died an unfair and undeserved death. They empathised with her fate and wept on her behalf, finally presenting all they had as gifts. Without such communal participation the *gut* would not have been successful.

Jo Heung-sun comments that the reason why those who were gathered round the *mudang* and wept as she was performing the final rite and chants was because this would be "the last opportunity for them to face"²⁰⁾ the departed. However, I would like to present a different interpretation for their tears. Wouldn't it be more appropriate to interpret their tears as those of repentance, a way of asking forgiveness for ignoring the plight of their neighbour and letting her die an unjust and undeserved death? I do not regard the materials that the people presented at the end of the *gut* as seeking personal betterment by appeasing the spirit of the departed. They are symbolic expressions of their commitment to work for justice so that no one else will suffer the same injustice or an undeserved death like Miyal. There can be no experience of true reconciliation or salvation without such communal actions that establish justice and assuage the *Han* of the *Han*-full.

As a result of the *Jinogi Gut*, the departed spirit of Miyal is able to enter the Land of Happiness. Then what is this Land of Happiness? Is it simply a place that the spirit goes to after one is dead? Would it be too much to regard this Land of Happiness as being something akin to the Kingdom of God, the Reign of God referred to in the Bible, a land in which the chains of injustice are broken and the dynamics of justice and life representative of the Kingdom of God is realised? This would enable us to interpret the death of Miyal and her entry into the Land of Happiness in the following way.

Gongdongche-wa Maul Gut, Dure Gut Yeongu" [A Study on the Village Community and the Village *Gut*, Cooperative *Gut*] in *Minjog-gwa Gut* [The Nation and *Gut*] (HagMinSa, 1987), 62. Seo Nam-dong also refers to the *mudang* as the "National Priest who assuages the *Han*" that resides in confounding tangles within Korean society. "Han-ui Hyeongsanghwa-wa Geu Shinhagjeok Seongchal" [The Imagery of Han and the Theological Reflection of the Image], *ibid.*, 97.

20) Jo Heung-sun(?), Lee Bo-gyeong(?), *Gut - Seoul Jinogi Gut* [*Gut - The Jinogi Gut of Seoul*] (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1971), 86.

Although Miyal, who is a powerless old lady suffering under the oppressive social structures imposed by foreign invasion and patriarchy, further becoming the victim of an undeserved death, her death results in the denunciation of the husband's violence and abuse, calls those who witnessed yet ignored her suffering to repentance, and succeeds in establishing a dynamic of God's Kingdom of justice and reconciliation.

When the *Jinogi Gut* is completed Old Man Namgang comes out and proclaims, "Arise, one and all, a new light has dawned." These words of Old Man Namgang contain more than a simple expression revealing the end of the gut and encouragement for people to return to reality and normality. They are the proclamation of a new dawn, the chasing away of the darkness of injustice through the tearful and repentant resolutions to sever the chains of injustice that individuals made before Miyal's spirit. In this sense, they are like the words of Jesus who began his earthly ministry with a proclamation that the Kingdom of God is at hand. They are a prophetic voice sounding the end of darkness. Darkness cannot defeat the Light (John 1:5). The Kingdom of God where the *Han* of the *Han*-full is acknowledged as the *Han* of the very people of God, leading to a struggle with the powers of injustice to sever its chains of oppression and to assuage the *Han* of those who have bled and died undeservedly is here, established in our midst. In this respect, the Miyalhalmi Dance is not simply a story of the tragic reality of their *minjung*, their fate of suffering. Rather, it is a story which reveals how the women, who have suffered and died throughout the historical travails of the Korean nation have still managed to be the subjective creators of true justice and life, even in the midst of their suffering and *Han*.

The Church as the Priest of *Han*, the Pacifier of the Knots of *Han*

We have seen in the previous paragraphs how the traditional practices of *chang*, *talchum*, and *gut* that had been neglected and ridiculed as shamanistic nonsense by the Korean church and theology contributed to the creation of a new historical experience by assuaging the *Han* of the *Han*-full who suffered throughout the history of the Korean people. As Hyeon Yeong-hak had stated, "God did not come riding on the backs of the missionaries but was present in the midst of our history as Liberator. If we believe this to be true, then the Korean church and its theology must

actively embrace our traditional culture to assuage the *Han* of the *Han*-full and open the ways for creating true reconciliation and a new historical experience of life. I would like to propose several tasks that the Korean church faces on the basis of an interpretation of the *Miyalhlmi* Dance in the *Bongsan Talchum*.

The Church as Listener of the Cries of the Han-full

The Korean church, and for that matter the church in the world, should not be satisfied in simply resting assured in its salvation within the safety of its walls, peddling a cheap religion of blessings and transcendence and following the materialism of the world that is being conducted under the pretence of globalisation. As Old Man Namgang went to the abandoned Miyal who had been abused and killed under the oppressive system of foreign occupation and a patriarchal society, the Korean church must go to those who have been marginalised and excluded from society, and the church, to live *Han*-full lives. The church must go to the homeless who wander the streets without any place to go; the elderly who have been forsaken by their families; the underpaid workers; those who have robbed and committed other crimes; homosexuals; victims of domestic violence and abuse; women in the sex industries; the foreign workers who work and live in our midst; and the Comfort Women who have been abused many times over, physically by the Japanese soldiers and then mentally and emotionally by those who refuse to take responsibility and compensate them for their suffering and pain. The church must listen to their stories and their cries of pain, must learn to cry and shed tears with them, and walk in solidarity to appease and relieve their *Han*.

The People of God that Jesus had gathered as his followers and called the Church was not a building. God is not limited to the confines of the walls of a building. The People of God, those whom Jesus has called to be Church, is the whole of the created world. Jesus has called all the people of this earth to be God's people and invited them to partake in the Kingdom of Heaven. However, the ones who answered Jesus' call were not the rich, the powerful or the religious leaders but those who had been oppressed by them, the tax-collectors and prostitutes, the lame and those possessed by evil spirits. In this respect, the Korean church today must become a Community of the Poor that walks in solidarity with those ridiculed and despised as worthless, sinners by those who perpetuate the unjust structures

of oppression and exploitation.

The Minister as the Priest of Han

We saw in our investigations above that the *mudang*, an individual who had been ridiculed by the Christian tradition, was the one who received the heavenly revelations that would appease the *Han* of the victims, performing the role of the Priest of *Han*, an agent assuaging the *Han* of the *Han*-full. The question would then be whether the leaders of the Korean church know the pain of the *Han*-full, and whether they are adequately performing the role of a Priest of *Han*, assuaging their *Han*. The leaders of the Korean church should be asking themselves whether they have been acting as false prophets, speaking words of false peace and blessings to the rich and powerful who engage in acts of injustice, and whether they have been false shepherds who have preyed on the flesh of the sheep entrusted to their care. They must seriously reflect on whether they have condemned innocent individuals as “sinners” on the basis of arbitrarily interpreted verses from the Bible, causing the women and *minjung* to be further victims of *Han* by excluding and marginalising them, and turning the church into the den of thieves and house of money changers that Jesus had so strongly condemned.

Within the history of the church the women who had followed Jesus and remained faithful to their calling as his disciples, taking on the cross in obedience, were excluded as the church became institutionalised and structured its polity around males. During the time of Jesus’ earthly ministry, as well as the earliest Christian communities, women were responsible for performing various duties, including that of teachers, deacons, prophets, disciples, administrators, and priests. They even went on to work as leaders in evangelism and ministry after Jesus’ death. However, during the Patriarchal Period of the church’s history the autocratic leaders of the church labelled women as “witches” and systematically excluded them from the life of the church, even burning them at the stake. Within the present context of the 21st century many of the male autocratic rulers in the church are utilising selective passages from the Bible to effectively gag the women in the church and deny their right to become ministers. However, I wish to contend that the role of Priest of *Han* can best be performed by those who, themselves, have experienced *Han*, similar to the experiences of the *mudang* whose primary role is to assuage the *Han* of the *Han*-full. In

this respect, it is the women who can better perform this role. Those who have no experience of *Han* will not be able to wholly empathise with those whom they claim to be ministering, nor will they be able to adequately share in the pain. Even worse, they can further perpetuate the *Han* of the *Han*-full by looking down upon their *Han*-filled experiences and either belittling them or failing to appreciate the gravity of pain and suffering it entails.

The Duty of the Church to Properly Proclaim the Truth of the Gospel

The Korean churches all claim to be proclaiming the true gospel, the pure gospel. Then, what is the Truth of the Gospel which Jesus proclaimed? The *mudang* who has come to receive the heavenly revelation through the *Jinogi Gut* becomes the departed spirit of Miyal and tells all the people who have gathered where her death took place, what injustices were involved, and consequently assuages Miyal's *Han*. In this respect, the ministers of the Korean churches need to preach that the Gospel of Jesus is Good News to the poor and oppressed, while at the same time being the news of imminent judgment to those who abuse power and perpetuate injustices. The church must properly bear witness to the reasons why the weaker nations and the weaker, powerless people suffer death and abuse, they must also proclaim prophetically the true meaning of their resistance and struggle.

Miyal, according to the established patriarchal social order that elevated the status of men while denigrating that of women, was an "evil" woman, a "violent" woman who had dared to fight back against her husband and bite him in defiance of the Law of the Three Servitudes. However, if we accuse Miyal of using violence against her husband, then what can we call the taking of a concubine and the abuse and abandonment of Miyal? Aren't such actions the embodiment of violence committed against the powerless by the powerful? As a matter of fact, the so-called violence that Miyal is accused of using is not violence but the struggle of the powerless in opposition to and against the violence perpetrated by her husband. It is a struggle to live.

Therefore, the Korean church should refrain from simply mimicking the logic of the powerful in labelling those who are less so "sinners", "terrorists" or "axes of evil" according to their vested interests and arbitrary value judgments. An Byeong-mu describes those who were treated as sinners in Jesus' time as those victims who bore the pain of the world that

resulted from the distorted structures of society.²¹⁾ If we are to adequately interpret the words of Jesus, those who ate from the wheat field on the Sabbath were the poor and hungry persons in need of God's grace, individuals who were blameless, without sin (Matthew 12:7). In Jesus' view, those who stood condemned to judgment were not the poor who were despised as "sinners" but those in power who arbitrarily abused the religious laws to cause others to "stumble and fall" making them "to become sinners." Therefore, the Korean church must stand and pronounce the judgment of the Kingdom of God against the powerful countries and individuals who cause the weak to stumble, calling them to account and to repentance. This repentance should not merely be playing lip service. It must include the specific act of returning everything that has been exploited and taken (Matthew 5:26). This is the true Gospel of reconciliation and peace that can liberate the unjustly oppressed.

The Duty of the Church to Stand Up Against Injustice

During the military dictatorship of Park Jeong-hee a poet by the name of Kim Ji-ha was imprisoned and tortured by the government. He once wrote of his poems that he desired them to be "the sound carrying *Han*, a messenger of *Han*."²²⁾ He describes his vision for the church as "the church as comforter that assuages the *Han* of the *minjung*, thereby severing the cycle of violence that mitigates *Han*, a church transforming this cycle into another dynamic, a church which understands and acknowledges the place of a limited use of force in order to affect this severance, a church that is a sanctuary for all fighters and radicals who struggle in the dark."²³⁾

21) An Byeong-mu, *Minjung Shinhak Iyagi* [Story of Minjung Theology] (Cheonan: Hangun Shinhak Yeonguso, 1988), 33-4.

22) "This small plot of land on which we live, the Korean peninsula, is filled with the cries of spirits that have died unjustly. I desire my poems to be the medium of such cries, the messenger of *Han*, the sharp consciousness of historical tragedies. A poem of the incarnated spirits."

23) These words were written by Kim Ji-ha during his time in prison from November 1974 to 15 February, 1975. They were later published as part of his works from prison. The quote is taken from Seo Nam-dong, "Han-ui Hyeongsyeonghwa-wa Geu Shinhagejeog Seongchal," [The Imagery of *Han* and the Theological Reflection of the Image], *Ibid.*, 101.

What is the church to do if it is to sever the cycle of violence that mitigates *Han* and assuage the *Han* of the *minjung*? Kim Ji-ha says that the church should acknowledge the place of a limited use of force. What does this mean? What is he referring to by a limited use of force? I regard Kim's words as stating that the church is not to remain silent in the face of violence but to stand against it and fight. When we look at the Gospel's portrayal of Jesus we discover that he was not simply meek and humble while establishing the true peace that liberates the oppressed. Jesus, himself, stated that he came to the world to give the sword, to set fires, and to cause divisions.

In order for the church today to truly be reborn as the church that assuages the *Han* of the *Han*-full it must stand against and fight the existing structures of injustice that cater to the status quo of the powerful, although this may bring persecution upon itself. If Jesus had not disclosed and condemned the injustices of his times and challenged the legal structures of his society he would not have been crucified on the cross. Jesus did not simply preach on the development of inner spirituality while disregarding the political, social, and cultural context in which he was situated. However, the church has gradually come to conform to the status quo and defend the oppressive practices of the imperial powers, keeping silent in fear of the authoritarians, refusing to fight the fight that Jesus fought. As a result, the church is no longer a recipient of persecution as a consequence of fighting against the unjust. Paul said that to suffer for justice is the privilege of a Christian (Philippians 1:29). The Christians and the church should never lose this privilege of suffering for standing on the side of the oppressed and suffering people in history.

The Responsibility of the Church to Open Itself as a Space of Reconciliation, Breaking Down the Walls of Intolerance.

The assuaging of Miyal's *Han* through the *Jinogi Gut* is not something that the *mudang* achieved on her own. It was the result of a cooperative effort by all those who had gathered at the *gut*, learned of the unjust death of Miyal and shed tears of empathy at her fate, and prayed together for a new world in which there would be no more unjust deaths, finally coming together to present their gifts at the altar and share a common meal. In order for this process of *Hanpuri* where the historical event of reconciliation occurs in the *gut*, the Korean church must break down the crafty words and doctrinal

intolerance that limit its vision. The interpretation of the Bible and the doctrinal standards that the Korean church regards as being its “traditions” were those that are based on the theological positions of the 18th century American fundamentalism brought to Korea by Western, Anglo-Saxon, male missionaries.

Professor Seo Nam-dong, who sought to interpret the Bible from the eyes of the suffering *minjung* in Korean history, re-interprets the Western theological concepts of Christ, salvation and judgment, sanctification, and Holy Spirit. In the parable of the Good Samaritan that Jesus presents in Luke 10 the traditional Western theological interpretation presents Christ as the Good Samaritan. However, Professor Seo Nam-dong says that it is not the Samaritan but the groans of the person who was robbed that was the “call of Christ” beckoning to the passers-by. He says that depending on how we listen to this call and respond to it is the deciding factor of whether we enter the path of salvation or judgment. He also argues that the simple sharing of bread and wine within the traditions of the church is not a true sacrament but that the act of sharing what one has with one’s suffering and oppressed neighbours is the sacrament that mediates the true existence of Christ. Living in solidarity with the *Han*-filled suffering neighbours in our context is receiving the Messiah into our midst, partaking in his forgiving grace. He refers to this as the Messiah-ness of the suffering *minjung*, and the forgiving character of *Han*.²⁴⁾

The Reverend Lee Seon-ae, a feminist theologian, says that the women who took on the burden of the sins of the unjust political leaders and endured the yoke of slavery are the Messiah, described in Isaiah 53, who “took upon himself the burden of others, the Lamb of God that was pierced and slain.” What kind of Messiah is the Korean church waiting for today, and what kind of salvation and judgment, the calling of the church, is it preaching from its pulpit? Isn’t the church distorting the Gospel of Jesus and denigrating the *minjung* and women by engaging in a Biblical hermeneutic and formation of doctrines from a perspective of the powerful? Aren’t we refusing to acknowledge the God of Love, who freely forgives and claims as his own all people by discriminating against the adherents of other religious traditions? Are we not, furthermore, culpable of the blanket

24) Seo Nam-dong, “Han-ui Hyeongsanghwa-wa Geu Shinhagjeok Seongchal” (The Imagery of Han and the Theological Reflection of the Image), *Ibid.*, 97.

denunciation of the traditional cultures of sori, *talchum*, and *gut*, labelling them as heretic and satanic, thereby disregarding the role that they played in providing the energy for the liberation of the *minjung* and Nation, assuaging the *Han* of the poor and oppressed *minjung* and women, and mediating the saving reconciliation between the dead and living, as well as between the living?

Those who are studying the traditional cultures of Korea today criticise how the *gut* and *salpuri*, which had originally been agents of assuaging the *Han* of the *minjung* have now become distorted into a system of exploiting the *minjung* and women. This would seem to coincide with the extreme cases of distortion that we can see taking place with regard to the Gospel of Jesus occurring in the church. We can be certain of one fact. If the church continues to oppress and fill the hearts of the poor, powerless, and marginalised *minjung* of our society with *Han* by arbitrarily interpreting selective passages from the Bible and utilising that as a pretext for doctrinal formulation, then the church is no longer a Jesus Community. The place where the restrictive and confining walls of religious doctrine and institutionalism are broken down and true solidarity with the poor and oppressed takes place, enabling the creation of a new history of life, this is where the true people of God are gathered, and this is the true Church in which the saving acts of God take place.

In this regard, I argue that the church must not remain within itself. The Korean church should not be satisfied, anymore, with simply gathering amongst themselves in perfunctory acts of worship. It should open its doors and go out to where our neighbours are suffering, engaging in acts of solidarity with them and sharing in their pain. The church must ring forth the clarion call that names the imperialistic motivations and greed of the powerful who distort reality so that they can justify their continued exploitation and renewed invasion of the weaker countries and peoples. The church should work to appease and assuage the *Han* of the powerless so that they do not become poisoned with the logic of power that encourages one to oppress the other. We must follow a process of *Hanmaji* that acknowledges one's *Han*-full-ness and begins the process of assuaging it without becoming an agent of vengeance and resentment. By taking on the *Han* within us with our entire being we must act to sever the oppressive structures that create a culture of competition and death. Let us go forth and dance the *talchum* of divine encounter together, assuaging the *Han* of those

Han-full lives and creating a new culture of reconciliation and life. *Deong-gi Deong-gi Deong Deong, Deong Deong Deong-gi Deong*, Arise, one and all, a new light has dawned!

* * The following is a re-interpretation of the Miyal Dance from a feminist theological perspective. I would like to encourage us to adopt it as for an alternative Christian culture. One could further interpret the following in more contemporary forms and perform it as a talchum or conventional play. The part presented in bold italics reflects my presentation of it as an alternative Christian culture.

The Miyalhalmi Dance in Bongsan Talchum

Characters: *Miyalhalmi*, Husband, Concubine, Neighbours, Old Man Namgang, *Mudang*

The characters for Neighbours can be altered to reflect contemporary Korean society. Possible examples would be a Priest, Buddhist Monk, Christian, a foreign worker from Asia, and others. They would not need to wear masks. The Neighbours can enter the stage towards the end of the gut performed by the Mudang when invited by Old Man Namgang. Alternatively, they can partake in the dance rituals from the beginning.

Act One

All the characters enter and dance together. Suddenly, this scene is violently disturbed by the invasion of a neighbouring Superpower and in the confusion of war Miyal is separated from her husband, later witnessing the death of her son. She cries “Yeonggam, Yeonggam” as she roams the countryside in search of her husband. At the other end of the stage the husband is portrayed sexually assaulting a pretty Buddhist nun and taking a concubine, generally living a loose and wasteful life.

Scenes depicting the activities of the imperialist powers and those that denounce the injustices committed by the powerful can be added as further/alternative examples contrasting the suffering of Miyal.

Act Two

After much suffering and difficulty, Miyal is finally reunited with her husband. They embrace each other in joy, and copulate. Afterwards, Miyal relates her experiences and tells how their son died, and how she suffered over the past months. However, her husband who had been listening to her relate her experiences begins to abuse her, becoming violent, and finally attempting to abandon her. This was because he wanted to preserve his relationship with the concubine. When Miyal realises the ulterior motives of her husband she says, "Let's separate and go our own ways, if that's what you want." She also demands that he return her dowry and her share of what is left of their possessions. The husband, however, refuses to give her anything and begins to beat her. At this, Miyal fights back and bites her husband.

This scene can be used to exemplify the Han-full lives that many women are forced to live. We can also use it to describe the plight of women who are suffering from sexual exploitation and violence within the culture of competition and militancy in today's Korean context. Many women continue to live as poor and powerless minjung. However, we must also emphasise that the victimised women are pro-actively struggling and fighting against the structural injustices that they face with their whole bodies.

Act Three

The concubine, who had been standing to one side and listening to the argument between Miyal and her husband, eventually learns that she was lied to by the husband, who had told her he was unmarried. At this, she joins the argument and fight. Amazingly, the husband is able to somehow escape from the midst of this heated argument and fight. The two women do not realise that the husband is gone and continue to fight. The fight ends tragically when Miyal, the older and weaker of the two, is struck down. The concubine hastily runs away from the scene and the husband who had escaped returns to check on Miyal. He discovers that she is dead. After a brief moment of silence in which he appears to show remorse, he suddenly stands up and abandons the body.

This scene can be used to denounce the reality faced by women who

suffer from the abuse and violence perpetrated by men within the patriarchal structures of present society.

Act Four

Old Man Namgang, who is the incarnated deity overseeing the lifespan of humankind, comes to Miyal's body and weeps over it. He calls a *mudang* to comfort the dead and lead it to the Land of Happiness, and gathers the neighbours for the *Jinogi Gut*. The *mudang* transforms into Miyal and tells those who have gathered how she died an undeserved and unjust death. In the process, the *mudang* becomes the Baridegi, once again reiterating Miyal's experience of injustice. The *mudang* then calls the husband and concubine forward and calls them to confess their sin and wrongdoing. She also goes on to tell the gathered neighbours that they are not without fault for knowingly ignoring Miyal's plight and turning a blind eye and ear to her undeserved and unjust death. All the people, including the concubine and husband, confess their sin and present offerings to the altar. When Old Man Namgang, the *mudang*, neighbours, husband and concubine all confess their wrongdoing and weep in repentance, Miyal is reborn. All those who had gathered at the *gut* rejoice and dance in happiness. A catharsis of forgiveness and reconciliation takes place. After the *gut* is finished, Old Man Namgang comes forward and declares, "Arise, one and all, a new light has dawned."

The mudang is replaced with a minister or priest. The priest should not be dressed in western robes but in traditional clothing. The priest does not simply remain in the church praying, but actively goes out into the world in search of the Han-full, assuaging their Han and addressing their grievances. The priest addresses the sins of the powerful, and also castigates the Christians for being silent to the injustices. The priest, the powerful who have sinned, and the Christians who have been silent all confess and repent, offering gifts. Those who suffered unjust and undeserved deaths are resurrected, and everyone joins in dancing a dance of peace and reconciliation, rejoicing in the establishment of justice, forgiveness and reconciliation. One of the members comes forward to proclaim that a new dawn, a new history of God's Kingdom, a Kingdom of service, sharing and peace has come. All sing praises in joy and pray together.

Abstract

Through much of its history Korea has been a victim of countless invasions by more powerful foreign powers. As a result, the Korean people have suffered many instances of oppression and exploitation at the hands of the powerful. Within this experience of suffering, the majority of Korean women have lived *Han*-full lives due to their experiences of extreme sorrow and pain that were a consequence of their being the poorest and weakest of the *minjung* in Korean society, a status which burdened them with additional suffering from the power structures within that society. Even today, in the new millennium the powerless *minjung* women suffer under the culture of competition and death, oppressed by the powerful. Within this context, this article raises the following question: Is the church appropriately assuaging the *Han* of those who are living such *Han*-full lives? Is the church today creating a culture of true reconciliation and life which liberates the oppressed?

After Jesus' ascension the church has continuously sought to consolidate its powerbase through institutionalism. As a result, the institutionalized church has drifted away from the teachings of Jesus and followed the competitive culture dominated by the powerful, raging religious wars and pursuing materialistic wealth while remaining silent to the injustices of the authoritarian autocrats. Furthermore, the church has continuously interpreted specific portions of Scripture in a manner that reflects their fundamental and literalist hermeneutic practices and devised doctrines based on such narrow perspectives. Utilising such instruments the church has labelled those who dare to differ or contradict their teaching as "sinners," increasingly marginalising and excluding the weak and powerless. Consequently, the church has become a distorted platform of power which uses arbitrary laws and doctrinal teachings to further oppress the oppressed and add to their *Han* rather than appeasing and alleviating the *Han* in the lives of the *Han*-full.

In light of this reality, this article looks at the culture of reconciliation and life that is produced through the Korean cultural traditions of *sori*, *talchum*, and *gut*. Regrettably, these traditions had long been ignored by the Korean church and theologians. More specifically, this article attempts to engage in a feminist theological interpretation of the *Miyalhalmi* Dance in the *Bongsan Talchum* (Mask Dance). It looks at how Miyal sought to

struggle and fight against the oppression of a patriarchal social structure and the invasion of foreign powers. It also explores how the practice of *Hanmaji* performed through the practice of *gut* denounces those who were responsible for the unjust and undeserved death of Miyal, awakens those who had been silent and who ignored the plight and suffering of the weak and powerless to an extent where they are compelled to repent and renounce their silence, and involves the people who have gathered at the *gut* in such a way that they are able to empathise with the *Han* of Miyal, finally embracing all the participants in a new dynamic creation of reconciliation. The article challenges the Korean church and its theology to revisit Korean traditional cultural elements that had been ignored and regarded as inferior. It also calls upon the Korean churches today to move beyond the Western traditions of legalism and doctrinalism to reclaiming the essence of the Christian Gospel, thereby enacting the specific task of assuaging the *Han* of the *Han*-full in our society.

Key Words

the Miyalhalmi Dance of the Bongsan Talchum, Han & Hanpuri, reconciliation & life

Notes for Contributors

Thank you for your interest in writing for *Madang*. As you know *Madang* is a place for the sharing of ideas and promotion of thought concerning various theological concerns in an Asian context. Because we come from various cultures and languages we use English as a common means of communication. To help that communication *Madang* uses a particular style in its articles. Any serious academic journal does the same because using a common style helps the readers engage directly with the text and gives the journal a unified feel. Please submit your article of around 10,000 words in Microsoft Word format by e-mail or disc. Include an abstract (approx. 500-600 words), key words and a biographical introduction (50-60 words) on your academic background, research interest, major publications, etc. A bibliography is not normally necessary since full bibliographical references are given in the footnotes. However you may include a bibliography if you wish.

General Notes on Style

In general the style for *Madang* is based on the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition.

The main text is double spaced; footnotes and block quotations are single spaced. Commas and periods precede closing quotation marks (either double or single). Colons, semicolons, question marks, and exclamation points all follow closing quotation marks unless a question mark or an exclamation point belongs within the quoted matter.

He said, "The end is near." She said, "I like it," and then ate it.

He wrote, "Theology can be considered a form of science"; however, I would disagree.

Avoid contractions such as "isn't", "can't", "it's". These should be written in full ("is not", "cannot", "it is"). Words such as "man", "men", "mankind" are these days perceived by many English speakers to refer to adult males only. If you mean all people then use words such as "people", "humankind", "humanity", or consider changing to the first person plural ("we").

Biblical quotations: use a modern reputable translation (e.g. NRSV) unless there are particular reasons to do otherwise. The NRSV can be searched and copied from the website: <http://bible.oremus.org>.

Spelling: Use either British English or American English - whichever you are most comfortable with; but be consistent. Don't mix them together. Romanisation of Korean names. It is better to adopt the official Korean system, promulgated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2000. Details (in English) are at their website: <http://www.mcst.go.kr/english/roman/roman.jsp> or can be obtained from the managing editor.

Madang normally follows the practice of writing Korean and Chinese personal names in the traditional order of family name followed by given name(s). For example: Kim Chi-ha. The hyphenation in the given names shows that these two characters are a single compound which cannot be separated. If a Korean or Chinese has adopted a western form of name, such as John Kim, then that name would be treated as a western name. If however an author has an established professional practice of using a different form of their name, then follow that form. An example could be a Korean who wishes to incorporate his or her baptismal name, in which case the name could be written as Kil-dong John Hong.

Citations

References to books, articles, etc are by numbered footnote. Examples of the footnote for some of the main types of material are:

1. R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism: Contesting the Interpretations* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 58.
2. Irene Bloom, "Introduction," in *Religious Diversity and Human Rights*, ed. Irene Bloom, J. Paul Martin and Wayne L. Proudfoot (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1-11.
3. Kwok Pui-lan, "Business Ethics in the Economic Development of Asia: A Feminist Analysis," *Asia Journal of Theology* 9.1 (1995): 133-34.

For a work written in a language not in Roman script (such as Korean):

Use romanised titles in their original language. Include an English translation of the title in square brackets []. This makes it obvious to the reader that the work which is being quoted from is in Korean and not English.

4. Kim Chi-ha, *Tonghak lyaki* [The Story of Tonghak] (Seoul: Sol, 1994), 20.

For a translation:

5. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 27.

For a second or subsequent edition:

6. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 293-94.

For the Bible:

7. Gen 10.12-13. NRSV.

After asking her for water the woman said to Jesus, "Sir, you have no bucket, and the well is deep. Where do you get that living water?" (Jn 4.11). This encounter shows multiple levels of understanding.

For a citation of a work quoted from another source:

8. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 293-94, quoted in S. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 19.

It is better however, if possible, to locate the original source and to quote directly from that.

For a book published electronically:

9. Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders' Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/> (accessed June 27, 2006).

For an article in an online journal:

10. John Hayes, "Hard, Hard Religion: The Invisible Institution of the New South," *The Journal of Southern Religion* 10 (2007):1-23, <http://jsr.fsu.edu/Volume10/Hayes.pdf> (accessed June 10, 2008).

Do not use "ibid." "loc. cit." or "op. cit." For example:

First reference:

Rosemary Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 72-74.

Subsequent references (if no other works by Ruether are cited)

Ruether, 58.

Subsequent references (if other works by Ruether are cited)

Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk*, 161.